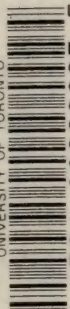


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CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
OF
AFFAIRS IN IRELAND,
1641—1652.



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A
CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
OF
AFFAIRS IN IRELAND,
FROM 1641 TO 1652.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED.

WITH AN
APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY

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ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND FACSIMILES.

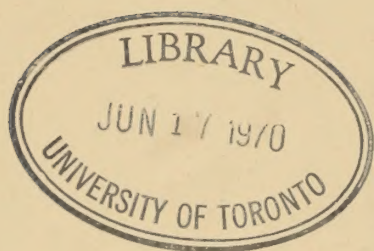


VOL. III.

DUBLIN:
FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.
1880.



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PREFACE.

THE conclusion of the “Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction,” published in this volume, contains the closing chapters of the fifth book, together with the entire of the sixth or final book—so far as now extant in the manuscript.

The narrative is continued of the affairs of the latter part of the year 1651, and terminates in December, 1652.

The matters chiefly treated of in this portion of the “Aphorismical Discovery” are as follow : the project for establishing an Irish Confederation ; the negotiations of the Irish with the Duke of Lorraine, and the impediments and obstacles to their completion, caused by the opposition of the King’s Deputy, Clanricarde, and his adherents ; the acts of the Irish Assembly at Jamestown, in October, 1651 ; the surrender of the city of Limerick to Ireton, in the same month ; the Council held by the Deputy, Clanricarde, and his supporters, at Galway ; the proceedings of the Irish Provincial Assemblies of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster ; the arraignment of Prior Antony Geoghegan by Clanricarde ; the negotiations of the latter and of some of the Irish leaders with the Commissioners of the English Parliament ; the surrender of the town of Galway, and the capitulation of the Leinster commanders, in May, 1652 ; the continued resistance of the Ulster commanders and of the leaders of the native Irish of South Leinster ; the successful inroads on the Parliamentary territories made by them and by Colonel Richard Grace ; the surrender of the latter, in August,

1652; the trials and executions under the Parliamentary courts; the negotiations of Lieutenant-General Richard Ferrall and the remnant of the Ulster forces; the defence of the Island of Boffin, on the western coast of Ireland, by the Irish Royalists; and the overtures in December, 1652, for its ultimate surrender to the representatives of the Parliament of England.

The "Aphorismical" author's accounts of, and comments on, the events of 1651-2, in this portion of his work, are of high value, as we have not elsewhere accessible any narrative of affairs in Ireland during these years written from a similar point of view or with so intimate a knowledge of the personages and circumstances of the time. Nor does any other writer furnish such important and characteristic details in connexion with the struggle so long maintained by the ill-armed and isolated Irish Royalists, with very inadequate resources, against the numerous, organised, and fully supplied troops of the Parliament of England.

The documents in the Appendix are in chronological sequence to those in the Appendix to our second volume, and commence in July, 1650, with a letter from Sir Charles Coote to Lord Deputy Ireton on the military operations in Ulster and the battle of Scarriffhollis in the preceding month.

Details relative to the career of Emer Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, are given in Appendix II. It is to be observed that no confirmation has been found of the statement, at page 151, from Lord Chancellor Clarendon, that Mac Mahon had, in his earlier years, resided in or near Dublin, and had privately communicated political information to Sir George Radcliffe.

The English official chronicle of Irish wars, in Appendix III., extends from August 1649, to the following July. It does not supply many dates, and its orthography is inaccurate in many places.

The Gaelic poem of the year 1650, styled the "Irish Vision at Rome," of which an English version will be found in our Appendix,¹ is one of the

¹ xxxiv., p 190.

few contemporary compositions which have come down to us from the native Irish of those times on their own affairs and in their own language. Though rhapsodical, and abounding in the pleonasms characteristic of Gaelic compositions, the poem is of interest as an expression of the views of a native Irish author at an important epoch of his country's history. The scene is laid in Rome, at the grave of the exiled Ulster chiefs. There the poet represents Erin as appealing, in agonising tones, to the Almighty, on behalf of her people ; but, while deploring the deaths of Owen O'Neill and Bishop Mac Mahon, she expresses her confidence in Hugh O'Neill and other surviving Irish leaders, and her belief in the ultimate triumph of their cause.

Until the publication of the "Aphorismical Discovery," the only account in print of the proceedings of the Ulster party, from 1641 to 1650, was the brief "Relation" by Colonel Henry Mac Tuoll O'Neill. This officer's grandfather, Phelim Mac Tuathail, Tuhill or Tuoll O'Neill, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of General Owen O'Neill's regiment in the Ulster army, in 1645, and commanded a party of horse and musketeers at the battle of Benburb, in 1646. Colonel Phelim Mac Tuoll O'Neill was reputed to be one of the best of the Ulster leaders, and is frequently mentioned with commendation in the "Aphorismical Discovery," as a courageous, humane, and successful commander. In 1649, he was appointed Colonel, and, in the ensuing year, he defeated a party of the troops of Coote and Venables in Ulster. His name appears among those attached to the Ulster Declarations in June, 1648, and in May, 1650. In the latter year, he was taken prisoner at Scarriffhollis. After that engagement, he was, according to his grandson, executed by being "knocked on the head with tent poles." By order of Sir Charles Coote, the head of Colonel O'Neill, together with that of Henry Roe O'Neill, was impaled at Derry.

Colonel O'Neill's "Relation," though limited in extent and meagre in several parts, supplies some local and personal details not elsewhere given.

It was apparently compiled, late in the seventeenth century, at the request of Colonel Charles O'Kelly, of Aughrane, who had been engaged in these Irish wars and had capitulated with Reynolds, the Parliamentary Commissary, in 1652.¹ The "Relation," which was published, with many inaccuracies, in a miscellaneous collection at Dublin, in 1772, is now printed in our Appendix² from the copy in the Bodleian Library, which is the only manuscript of it at present known.

Of the two Military Diaries, now printed³ for the first time, the earlier extends from July to November, 1650. The second and more copious Diary opens on the 20th of May, 1651, and terminates in the following November. These Diaries, preserved among the papers of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, are anonymous, but were evidently kept by military officers in the service of the Parliament of England. Although defective in some places, through careless usage, they supply many particulars, hitherto unprinted, in connexion with the operations of the English forces, especially in the province of Munster.

The second Diary is defective at the commencement and opens with part of the ordinance issued at Waterford on the 1st of May, 1651, by which the Parliamentary Lord Deputy, Ireton, decreed that officers of his army should be held incapable of trust or command, if they married women of the Irish nation that were, or had recently been, Papists, and whose change of religion was not judged by fit persons to flow from "a real work of God upon their hearts." Ireton also ordered that horse-soldiers marrying such women should be reduced to serve on foot; and that foot soldiers so marrying should be obliged to act as pioneers. All officers of the army were enjoined by Ireton to use their utmost endeavours to prevent such marriages. The Diarist notices that an expectation was entertained of obtaining possession of the city of

¹ See page 335; also "Macariæ Excidium, or the Destruction of Cyprus." By Colonel Charles O'Kelly. Edited by J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq., for the Irish Archæological Society, 1850.

² xxv., p. 196.

³ Appendix xxx., pp. 218—63.

Limerick through "correspondency with some within," but he observes that few plots of that kind were successful. He mentions the transport of soldiers by water in "cotts," "a kind of vessel of one piece, hollowed, and some of them "capable of thirty men."

In describing an attack made in May, 1651, on the Castle of Birr, by Colonel FitzPatrick and the Irish, the Diarist mentions "that they had laid eleven ladders, bearing two on breast; that others wrought on the wall with pickaxes in four places; that, being beaten back, they renewed the assault, bringing with them a certain engine called a sow (in the hollow-ness whereof many might work shot free), for breaking through the wall."

In June, 1651, the Diarist writes that he considered that "the mercies of the Lord," in bringing the Parliamentary forces over the Shannon, and his goodness to their friends in Connacht, deserved more than the bare mentioning "even in a very diary," all parts of their work being "full of God," who, for a time, "seemed not to answer them at all."

The Diarist, however, does not mention that, as stated in another Parliamentary chronicle, the Irish made many fierce sallies from Limerick, to the heavy loss of the besiegers. It is observable that the portion of the Diary for the 15th of July is missing, on which day, as we learn from English sources, Ireton, in his attempt upon the island, lost a large number of men, with their leaders, Major Walker, Captain Graves, and Captain Whiting.

Ireton, in a proclamation, declared that he had abundant cause to acknowledge that the Lord had "graciously led, guided, encouraged, and blessed them," and so gave "comfortable and hopeful encouragements to the strengthening of their hearts and hands, and sweet testimonies that he was yet with them." Immediately afterwards, the Diarist informs us that they began to play against the Castle on Thomond Bridge with twenty-eight cannon and two mortars. According to the "Aphorismical" writer, Ireton's losses at Limerick exceeded eight thousand men.

The interesting notices in the "Aphorismical Discovery" of the defence and surrender of Limerick, in 1651, are supplemented by many entries in this Diary, as also by other documents in our Appendix, which, as there collected, constitute the most copious contemporary account yet published of that prolonged and remarkable siege.

From these documents, it will be seen that, after the siege had been continued for about a year by the Parliamentary army, conditions for surrender were tendered to the garrison and city by the Lord Deputy Ireton, in June and July, 1651. These terms were rejected, but Ireton and his Council of War expected to reduce the city, by private negotiation or by famine, in about three months.

The plague, meanwhile, had commenced its ravages within the walls, and, the expected relief not arriving, various movements towards surrender were made by parties in the city, some of whom were suspected of being influenced by corrupt motives. In October, after a cannonade had been commenced, negotiations were renewed, and articles agreed upon between Ireton and the Recorder, with others, on behalf of the city.

The military Diarist of the Parliamentarians notes, that the course pursued, without their knowledge, by some of the officers within the city, in taking possession of one of the gates, "hastened the conclusion of the business more than did our batteries or force intended, which we afterwards found would have been an obstinate resistance, very difficult and hazardous to us."

The articles finally agreed upon were even more severe than those which had been previously offered; and from any benefit under them ten persons, who had principally contributed to the holding out of the place, were especially excluded. Amongst these were the Roman Catholic Bishops of Limerick and Emly, the Governor, Major-General Hugh O'Neill, Major-General Purcell, Geoffrey Barron, and Dominic Fanning, who had been Mayor of the city.

Ireton, in his official letter, reported that, on obtaining possession of

the city of Limerick, they had “presently hanged” the Bishop of Emly, Major-General Purcell, and the last year’s Mayor, and had set up their heads on the gates.¹

Some weeks after the surrender of Limerick, Patrick Archer was despatched from Galway by Lord Muskerry, as a confidential Royalist agent to obtain supplies and assistance on the Continent, and specially to ascertain the intentions of the Duke of Lorraine in reference to Ireland.

To the instructions given to Archer, Lord Muskerry appended the following memorandum: “If there be no hopes of considerable supplies from the Duke of Lorraine, or that the King be not in a growing condition to bear up in England, all is lost here, and it will be necessary in time to think how to get conditions abroad, for there will be no living in this climate, especially for a gentleman of any consideration or interest; at least, if it come to that pass, I am resolved to take some foreign course for a livelihood, for I am certain there is no trusting at home.”²

Of the state of Ireland, in the period immediately antecedent and subsequent to the surrender of Limerick, in 1651, we have in our Appendix³ an interesting and hitherto unpublished personal account by John King, Protestant Dean of Tuam, who was dispatched thither as an agent from Charles II. King landed near Derry in June, 1651, and remained in Ireland till the 16th of the following February. His account of his employment in Ireland, and of the state of affairs in that kingdom when he left it, was delivered to the King and read in Council at Paris in April, 1652.

Many of King’s statements corroborate those in the “Aphorismical Discovery,” although written from a different point of view. The principal impediments to the interests of Charles II. in Ireland were, King considered, the ill-affection of some leading persons abroad who expected terms from the Parliament; the neglect of all other resources in

¹ Appendix xxxi—iv.—Additional local details in connection with the siege will be found in the “History of Limerick,” by Maurice Lenihan, Esq. Dublin: 1866.

² Appendix xxxvi. p. 273.

³ xlvii., p. 300.

hope of aid from Lorraine ; and the renewal of the Excommunication issued by Rinuccini. The chief persons devoted to Charles II., in addition to the Deputy, Lord Clanricarde, were, according to King, Lord Muskerry, commander-in-chief in Munster ; Edmund O'Dwyer, in Tipperary ; David Roche, in Cork and Kerry ; Murtagh O'Brien, in Clare ; and the Earl of Westmeath, in Leinster. The Ulster forces he estimated at three thousand foot and five hundred horse, "who," he wrote, "pretend to have made the Lord Clanricarde their General, yet never answer his commands." The "great wants of the kingdom," King stated, were "money, arms, ammunition, and bread." He added that the Irish were inclined, if supplied, to continue the war, on account of their great love of his Majesty's royal government, and the known perfidy, breach of faith, and ill-usage experienced by them at the hands of the Parliament party. He urged on the King the importance of communicating with his adherents in Ireland by dispatching faithful persons in some Irish ships then in France to such of the Irish harbours as were open and free from the enemy.

The notices in the "Aphorismical Discovery" of affairs at this period are sustained by a contemporary letter from Patrick Archer,¹ in which he mentions that the Irish were never so prosperous nor so successful as they had been in the last summer. Archer stated that they had done more services upon the enemy than had been effected during the past four years both in Leinster and Munster ; that they had cut off large numbers of the English horse, and levied contribution to the very gates of Dublin, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Limerick ; and that not a man of the enemy dared to come three miles from their garrisons with less than thirty or forty horse. "We have," added Archer, "as gallant and as good men as any in Christendom, if we had but means and men to keep them together, and commanders to do execution according to desert." The most active men in Leinster were, he mentioned, Sir Walter

¹ Appendix xxxix., p. 279.

Dungan, Captain Scurlock, and Captain Naish, who, as well as Grace and Fitz Patrick, had done very gallant services. The powder received from abroad was, Archer observed, the worst that was ever seen, not being worth two shillings a barrel.

In January, 1651-2, the Commissioners of the Parliament of England for the affairs of Ireland issued a proclamation from Kilkenny,¹ with the object of bringing the war to a conclusion, and of preventing the daily attacks upon the English and such others as desired to live peaceably under the Parliament's protection. They ordered all smiths and iron workers to remove themselves, families, forges, and tools, into or within musket-shot of garrisons, castles, or forts, in possession of the Parliament's forces. The sale of unwrought iron, horse-shoes, and nails, was prohibited, unless under license. All persons, except those belonging to the army, were forbidden to make fire-arms or other instruments of war, or to sell ale, wine, or strong waters. Fairs or markets were also prohibited, except in places occupied by the forces of the Parliament.

By an order of the following month,² the Commissioners of Parliament, with the advice of several of the commanders of the army, at the Council of War at Dublin, notified that all persons inhabiting certain parts of Leinster were excepted from the protection of the Parliament. Among the places so excluded from protection were portions of the county of Wicklow, Carlow, Dublin, and Kildare. Persons, however, not being "Irish and Papists," were allowed to dwell within the precincts of the Parliament's forces by permission under the hands of the commanders-in-chief, "describing the stature, age, and colour" of those so licensed, and of such not more than two were to be permitted to reside in any one garrison, castle, or fort.

Any persons coming within the specified districts without protection were to be taken, slain, and destroyed as enemies; their cattle and

¹ Appendix xxxviii., p. 277.

² Appendix xli., p. 283.

other goods there found might be seized or spoiled, as the property of enemies.

The Parliamentary Colonel Jerome Sankey, who had been much in the confidence of the late Deputy, Ireton, reported officially¹ that, during the winter months, he, with other officers, had spent much time in pursuing the Irish in the non-protected quarters of Leinster and in burning and consuming their goods. He stated that, on computation—exclusive of non-protected people—there had been upwards of four hundred officers and soldiers, killed, and three hundred and fifty taken; some of the latter he had exchanged for prisoners and others he had sent to Spain. There had also been taken many hundreds of the cows and horses, as well as muskets, and other arms of the Irish. This “hard usage,” according to Sankey, had induced many to offer to come into protection.

The town of Galway had, since the autumn of 1651, been blockaded and besieged by Sir Charles Coote and Commissary Reynolds. Ireton contemplated also bringing the Parliamentary troops under his command in Munster, against Galway, after the surrender of Limerick. It was decided not to do so during the winter, and Ireton died of fever or plague at Limerick in November, in the same year. He was succeeded in office by Edmund Ludlow, whose command in the army was next to that of the late Deputy.

Galway town was for a time commanded by General Preston, and there the King's Deputy, Clanricarde,² convened, towards the close of that year, a Council of his adherents, among whom were Lords Westmeath, Muskerry, Athenry, Sir Richard Blake, and others, none of whom, according to the “Aphorismical” author, had yet shown the least sincerity in the common cause of the Irish, but were rather in antagonism to them, and imbued with treason against “God, King, and nation.”

¹ Appendix xlv., p. 296.

² Ulick De Burgh, fifth Earl, born in 1604, only son of Richard, fourth Earl of Clanricarde, and Frances, daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham; she had been previously married to Sir Philip Sydney and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

From the proceedings of these "factionists," we are told, the town became distracted ; every man anxious for his own particular interest ; "old and young citizens did not agree ; civil and martial were at odds ; men and women in contestation—nay, one family could not conform themselves to one and the same sense, so strong were the ingredients ministered by the pseudo-council of Clanricarde to the townsmen and militia."

On the affair at Galway, in the early part of 1651-2, between Lord Clanricarde and Father Antony Geoghegan, much new information is supplied by the fifth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery." This is supplemented by the papers on the subject in our Appendix,¹ now printed for the first time from contemporary official copies at Oxford, certified by the Secretary of Lord Clanricarde.

The hitherto received account of these matters in connexion with Lord Clanricarde, has been that given as follows by his friend and contemporary, Lord Clarendon :

"The deputy [Clanricarde] had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next ; and appointed an officer of trust, with some horse, to watch him, and search him ; which they did ; and found about him a letter, which contained many reproaches against the marquis, and the intelligence of many particulars ; which the messenger was carrying to Ludlow. It was quickly discovered that the letter was written by one Father Cohogan, a Franciscan friar in Galloway [Galway], where the deputy then was ; but much of the intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The deputy caused the friar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his complices. The friar confessed the letter to be of his writing, but refused to answer to any other question ; and demanded his privilege of a churchman, and not to be tried by the deputy's order. The conclusion was, the popish bishops caused him to be taken out of the prison ; and sent to the deputy, 'that if he would send to them his evidence against the friar, who was an ecclesiastical person, that they would take care that justice should be done.'"²

This proceeding convinced the deputy, that he should not be able to do the king any service in that company ; nor durst he stay longer in that town, lest they should make their own peace by delivering up him and the town together ; which they would have made no scruple to have done.

The "Father Cohogan," referred to in the foregoing extract from Lord

¹ Appendix xlii., pp. 285-91.

² "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England." By Edward, Earl of Clarendon. Oxford : 1843, vol. ii. p. 790.

Clarendon's History, was Antony Geoghegan,¹ Prior of Connall, and Vicar-General of Meath. He had studied and taught at the Sorbonne with great credit, and, late in 1650, was selected, on the recommendation of Rinuccini and Massari, by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide to represent them in Ireland, and furnished with instructions from Rome, to be imparted solely to the Irish Bishops. He was also directed to keep the members of the Congregation informed on the state of affairs in Ireland.

Clanricarde, we are told by the "Aphorismical" writer, publicly declared Geoghegan to be guilty of treason, punishable by death, and desired the Archbishop of Tuam to degrade him. The proceedings were, however, abandoned, as, on an investigation, the Archbishop, according to the "Aphorismical Discovery," was convinced of the innocence of Geoghegan. The "Aphorismical" author, who speaks highly of the character and acquirements of Geoghegan, mentions that he had himself perused the documents connected with this case. Among the papers on the subject in our Appendix will be found a report of the Examination of Geoghegan, taken, in February, 1651-2, by the Bishops of Clonfert, Kilmaeduaugh, and Down and Connor, and the Prior of the Convent at Galway. To this is added Geoghegan's own statement, declaring that he was guiltless of the charges brought against him by Lord Clanricarde.

The first of the Irish Royalist officers who entered into terms with the Parliament for himself and his soldiery, was John Fitz Patrick. He had been appointed Colonel by his cousin, the Earl of Westmeath, and had distinguished himself on some occasions against the Parliamentarians. With the latter, however, he agreed, early in 1652, to transport himself and his regiment to the service of the King of Spain. He thus, according to the author of the "Aphorismical Discovery," "basely betrayed his nation, King, and religion." A protest was issued against

¹ The "Aphorismical" writer, vol. ii. p. 66, enumerates ten commanders of reputation of the name of Geoghegan who fell in the wars in Ireland between 1641 and 1649. A member of this family was Roman Catholic Bishop of Clonmacnois from 1647 to 1657, and of Meath from the latter year till 1664.

Fitz Patrick, by the Royalist nobility, clergy, gentry, and officers of the province of Leinster.¹ In this they declared that, contrary to his engagement to his commander, and his own public protestation, he had committed an absolute breach of the trust reposed in him, by undertaking to draw away from his Majesty's army four thousand foot and four hundred horse, to the service of some foreigner in league with the Parliament, or to be employed in Ireland, at the State's election. They declared that FitzPatrick, for his own particular interest, had assented most inhumanly to the exclusion of his father from life and fortune, and articulated privately for his own estate in reversion. "He hath," they continued, "not only given the first example and precedent of treason and perfidy of the most dangerous consequence to the safety and preservation of this kingdom, but also hath administered cause to the enemy to promise themselves greater assurance that others will run the like score, to the great disadvantage of the nation in all their proceedings, as by the several experiences, since his defection, was found, for which the said Colonel standeth deservedly excommunicated by the clergy, and in respect thereof exempted from the congregation of the faithful, and in no sort to be communicated with. In consideration whereof, and in discharge of our duty to God, our King, and country, and for prevention of the bad effects to be produced by such malicious machinations, we do by this public instrument protest against Colonel FitzPatrick, for his said treacherous acts and agreements, as being most destructive and fatal to the Catholic religion, his Majesty, and liege people, which we declare to the world, whereby to remain as an indelible brand of infamy upon the said Fitz Patrick, whithersoever he shall come, and upon all that do or shall adhere to him. Whereof we desire all Christian Princes, States, and Potentates, to whom the said Fitz Patrick shall come, to take notice, and his Majesty's

¹ A copy of this document, referred to in the "Aphorismical Discovery," is preserved among the "Egerton MSS." in the British Museum, and will be found at page 389 of the present volume.

subjects, specially the natives of this kingdom, wheresoever they shall meet him."

The "Aphorismical" author condemns Fitzpatrick for not having stipulated for toleration of religion, nor for the safety of his parents. Fitzpatrick's father, he tells us, died of grief at his son's conduct; and his mother, having been arraigned by the Parliamentarians, was executed at Dublin. Ludlow mentions that she was condemned to be burnt, and that the sentence was executed accordingly. From another source, we learn that the witness, on whose evidence she was condemned, afterwards acknowledged to having been suborned by the Parliamentarian Colonel, Axtel, who was himself hanged at London, in 1660.

Fitz Patrick's capitulation was followed, on the 23rd of March, 1651-2, by that of Colonel Edmund O'Dwyer, commander-in-chief of the Irish brigade in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford. By the articles entered into on this occasion, it was agreed that all the horse and foot under the command of O'Dwyer should deliver up their arms and horses, in consideration of which they should have protection for their lives and personal estates, and liberty to live in such places as should be thought fit by Colonel Sankey, they acting nothing to the prejudice of the Parliament. Compensation was to be awarded for their horses; and such of the officers or soldiers as desired were to have liberty to quit Ireland for service with any foreign prince in amity with the State of England. The agreement contained several other articles, which will be found in full in our Appendix.¹

Sankey reported to the Parliament² that Colonel O'Dwyer and his officers had been driven to this agreement in consequence of finding themselves "entangled, their quarters destroyed, their men daily taken, killed, hanged, sent to long sea, and themselves put to that hazard and hardship that they usually removed two or three times a-night."

Colonel Sankey also mentioned that O'Dwyer deserved consideration

¹ xlv., p. 294.

² xlv., p. 296.

for his conduct and courtesy to some Englishmen, and to all prisoners, his exact and punctual performance of his word in all engagements, and his very honest and friendly demeanour to Parliamentary officers, who were his prisoners, and whom he speedily released on fair terms.

The treaty with the Parliament party was carried out, on behalf of the Irish, by officers appointed for that purpose. O'Dwyer's brigade consisted of the remainder of five regiments of foot, namely, those of Colonel Edmund O'Dwyer, Colonel Walter Butler, Colonel Donogh O'Dwyer, Colonel O'Meagher, Colonel White, and the fragment of O'Dwyer's own regiment of horse, which had formerly numbered fourteen troops.

Notwithstanding this and other capitulations, various independent Irish commanders, with their forces in Leinster, maintained a series of successful inroads upon the Parliamentarians during the early part of the year 1652. Many of these exploits are mentioned by the "Aphorismical" writer, who tells us that, wherever the Irish and the Parliamentarians met in those days, the latter "had the worst," and the Irish "ever thrived."

According to our author, the most distinguished of the Irish military leaders in Leinster were Colonel Bryan Mac Phelim O'Byrne, the Kavanaghs, described as "ever constant in their principles," Colonels Walter Brenagh or Walsh, Richard Grace, Dunne, Lieutenants Carroll and Egan.

Of Captain Naisse or Nash, referred to by Parliamentary chroniclers as "the notable quarter-beater," the "Aphorismical" writer states that he "was a brave servitor, mighty fatal to the enemy, especially in the county of Kilkenny; nay, did several times enter the gates of that city, kill some Parliament troopers in the street, and carry away the best horses from the very stables; he was more fortunate in extraordinary services than a man of treble power might promise, continually lay in wait for the enemy, not for any covetousness of spoil (as I believe), rather proceeded of his good nature and Catholic inclination to the common good of his country."

The author of the "Aphorismical Discovery" describes the circumstances

of Nash's death, in encountering, with eight followers, the Parliamentary Colonel Cooke, with twenty horsemen. One only of the Parliamentarians and five of the Irish escaped with life, but all were wounded. Captain Nash himself and Colonel Cooke fell together dead to the ground. The "Aphorismical" writer observes that, "the flower of chivalry in the county of Kilkenny" faded with the death of Captain Nash. "A very good relation," he adds, "I had of this gentleman's courage and sincerity; I beseech the Divine Majesty that he may be pleased to remunerate him."

Galway, the last town in Ireland which held out for the King, whose Deputy, Clanricarde, with his Council, had taken up their residence there, was, after negotiations and the conclusion of articles of agreement, surrendered to the Parliament on the 12th of May, 1652.

According to the "Aphorismical Discovery," Clanricarde insisted on the surrender of Galway, in opposition to a large majority of the King's adherents there. For this and other acts, regarded as prejudicial to the Irish, we find him here stigmatized as "the master-piece of the Treasonable Faction;" a friend to the common enemy; and a foe to his King, nation, and religion. Lord Clanricarde was believed to have written an account of his part in these transactions, which, it is to be regretted, has not hitherto been accessible. The "Aphorismical Discovery," it will be seen, presents a different view of Clanricarde from that given by his friend, Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who in his History described him as "a person of unquestionable fidelity, whom the King would without any scruple trust, and whom the Irish could not except against, being of their own nation, of the greatest fortune and interest among them, and of the most eminent constancy to the Roman Catholic religion of any man in the three kingdoms."

Hallam, unacquainted with the view taken by some of the Irish Royalists of the acts of Clanricarde, characterized him as "perhaps the most unsullied character in the annals of Ireland."¹

¹ "Constitutional History of England," by Henry Hallam. London: 1846, i., 554.

On the day of the surrender of Galway, the chief military organization of the Royalists in Leinster, styled "the Irish party," was dissolved by the articles which the Earl of Westmeath, commander for the King in that province, entered into at Kilkenny with General Ludlow, commander-in-chief of the Parliament forces in Ireland. These articles, similar in the main to those with O'Dwyer, and generally referred to as the "Kilkenny Articles," are given in the seventh chapter of the sixth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery," and other particulars, in connexion with them, will be found in our Appendix.¹

Many of the Irish Royalists objected to and protested against the conduct of Lord Westmeath and his associates, as illegal, in accepting the "Kilkenny Articles," which left large numbers at the mercy of the Parliamentarians and virtually suppressed the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. Within thirteen days after the conclusion of the "Kilkenny Articles," the clergy of Leinster, assembled in congregation at "a place of refuge," unanimously repudiated and condemned them as both unjust and wicked. Under penalty of excommunication, the clergy adjured both ecclesiastics and laymen not to accept the ungodly and wicked peace, nor to join with the Parliamentarians in any way. On the twenty-second of the following June, however, Lord Muskerry, commander for the King in Munster, capitulated with the Parliament on terms somewhat similar to those of the "Kilkenny Articles." The officers and soldiers under his command surrendered their arms and horses at Killarney, Macroom, and Kilmallock. Liberty was accorded to Lord Muskerry to transport five thousand men to serve in any foreign State in amity with the Commonwealth of England.²

On the 28th of the same month, the Marquis of Clanricarde, Deputy for the King, agreed with the Parliamentarians to withdraw his power and authority for further acting in Ireland, and, under a safe conduct, to depart out of that kingdom and "repair unto such foreign kingdom or

¹ lvii., p. 315.

² Appendix lxiv., p. 324.

state as he should make choice of." He was also authorized to transport three thousand soldiers for foreign service.¹

In July, 1652, Sir Theobald Bourke, Viscount Mayo, Colonel Hugh O'Connor, and the other chief Royalists in Connacht, also capitulated with the Parliament.

Some of the Irish, however, still hoping for aid from abroad, continued in arms in the fastnesses of Kerry, in islands in Ulster, and in the woods and mountains of Wicklow.

The Ulstermen, according to the "Aphorismical" writer, had "no inclination of agreement with the Parliament, other than upon honorable conditions for both laity and clergy, the scope of their warfare hitherto." The Parliamentary Colonel Venables, writing from Belturbet in Cavan, in June, 1652,² mentions that in a contest there between the Irish and the horse and dragoons under Sir Theophilus Jones, "the charge was very gallantly performed by the [Irish] enemy, who disputed it with the sword's point and push of pike"—"both sides being so eager to fight that they had almost forgot to fire."

With a view to the suppression of those Irish leaders who would not surrender on the terms of the "Kilkenny Articles," the Parliamentary authorities in Ireland publicly offered rewards in money, ranging from three hundred to one hundred pounds, to any who would bring, or cause to be brought, to the district commanders the persons or heads of Sir Phelim O'Neill, Magennis, Lord of Iveagh, Maguire, Lord of Enniskillen, Philip Mac Hugh O'Reilly, Colonel Myles O'Reilly, Colonel Myles Mac Sweeny, Colonel Collo Mac Mahon, Captain Hugh Mac Mahon, and Lieutenant-General Ferrall.³

The Parliament at London, in August, 1652, passed an enactment for "the settling of Ireland."⁴ The preamble of the Act stated that, after the

¹ Appendix lxvii., p. 331.

² "Several Letters from Ireland, read in Parliament the sixth of July, 1652." London, 1652.

³ Manuscript Council Book of the Commonwealth, 1652, p. 313.

⁴ Appendix lxxv., pp. 341-6.

expense of much blood and treasure, the Parliament of England, by the good hand of God, had suppressed the Rebellion in Ireland and brought affairs to such an issue that a total reducement and settlement of that nation might be speedily effected. The object of the Act was stated to be that the people of the nation of Ireland might know that it was not the intention of the Parliament of England to extirpate that whole nation, but that mercy and pardon, both as to life and estate, might be extended to all husbandmen, ploughmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort, on submission to the Parliament of the commonwealth of England; and that those of a higher rank and quality might know the Parliament's intention concerning them, according to their respective demerits and consideration. This Act excluded from pardon for life or estate upwards of one hundred of the principal peers, gentry, and proprietors, Anglo-Irish as well as Irish, together with all persons who, since 1641, might have been concerned in, or accessory to, the movements in Ireland against the Parliament. It also decreed forfeitures against persons of the "Popish religion" residing in Ireland who had not manifested their constant good affection to the interests of the Commonwealth of England.

In some cases, the forfeitures of estates were to be carried back to 1639, and power was given to the Commissioners of Parliament to "transplant" persons from their usual habitations to such other places in Ireland as should be judged most consistent with the public safety.

Under the Act, pardon for life and estate might, however, be obtained by persons having no real estate in Ireland, nor personal estate to the value of ten pounds, who had not been excepted from pardon, and who would lay down arms within a limited time, and subscribe an engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England.

Within two days after the passing of this Act for "the settling of Ireland," Colonel Richard Grace, the last of the Irish commanders of

importance in arms in Leinster, was driven by extremity to capitulate with the Parliamentary Colonel Jerome Sankey.

The "Aphorismical" author mentions details in connexion with many of the exploits of Colonel Grace. Amongst these, he describes an engagement near Nenagh, in Tipperary, in which Grace, aided by Loghlin O'Morra and Colonel Gawly, with very inferior numbers, after a contest which lasted from ten in the morning till six in the evening, overcame Cromwell's Life-Guard, all "major officers," who, we are told, subsequently declared that they had never seen better soldiers than those Irish.

Colonel Grace's fortunes had, however, now "so ebbcd" that he found it difficult to muster even twelve accoutred soldiers to attend him in his negotiation for conditions. These terms, which were agreed to on the 14th of August, 1652, are given in full by the "Aphorismical" writer, who observes that they were far better, and "in a transcendent degree more honourable," than those obtained at Kilkenny by the other Leinster commanders; moreover, that they included as good conditions for the clergy as for any other persons—a point omitted by the other leaders in making their terms. The "Aphorismical" author commends Grace highly for his courage, honour, and steadfast adherence to his engagements, and adds that he was esteemed by the very enemy more than all the rest, both peers and commanders. Ludlow mentions that on the submission of Grace's forces, Colonel Sankey caused a Captain, a Lieutenant, and a Serjeant, with other officers, to be shot, for having revolted at Carrick to the Irish.

In the present volume will be found a facsimile of a print of Colonel Grace, published at the time, inscribed—"The pourtraiture of Collonell Richard Grace, now utterly routed by the coragious Coll: Sanckey."

On the state of Ireland, in the latter part of the year 1652, we have now here published for the first time a valuable report¹ prepared for

¹ Appendix lxxvii., pp. 350-8.

Charles II., by Captain William Heald, from personal observation. This report, which was entrusted by Heald to Thomas Holder, the King's Admiralty agent at Brest, was placed by the latter in the hands of Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, among whose papers it is still extant.

Heald, after expressing his hope that his profession as a soldier would excuse the defects of his pen, mentions that, in his opinion, Ireland, in its then state, stood more reducible for his Majesty than it did at any time during the preceding two years. He gives many details and reasons in support of his assertions, and mentions various circumstances exhibiting the discontents existing among the English officers and soldiers. He also notices the antagonism between the officers of the Parliamentarians in Leinster and Munster and those of Coote's army in Connacht, satirically styled "Tame Tories" by the former.

Heald refers to the disinclination of the Royalists to treat with Ludlow or the Parliamentarian Commissioners, whose articles they had seen so often violated without scruple. He mentions that those who thought themselves secure in reference to their persons and estates, found the sword wrested from them; their persons, on strange and unexpected pretences, arrested; their estates, contrary to faith and engagement, confiscated; and no less than life and all exposed by faithless and arbitrary tyranny. "Now," wrote Heald, "whereas the laying down of arms may seem totally to have disfurnished them of all provision of war, I do assure you that none came to the English, but such as were altogether broken and unserviceable, as myself can experimentally testify, who, receiving the arms of two troops of their horse, under the conduct of Sir Ulick and Sir John Burke, found with them only seven pistols and nine swords, not one of the petronels in case to give fire, the Captains whispering me they had better arms for a new business."

Heald mentions that the Irish, provoked by the slavery they were under, had determined to make another effort in the King's behalf; and towards

this, he states, "persons of better quality have been and still are daily called upon by the prayers and tears of their dear countrymen, that those very leaders that so lately laid down arms are not likely to enjoy any rest till they re-assume them. For which purpose missives were dispatched on all hands with all possible secrecy, yet the enemy, growing jealous of such meetings as the Catholic gentry used to have, but dissembling it, called to Kilkenny the aforesaid gentlemen, with many others of his Majesty's more eminent subjects of the provinces of Munster and Leinster ; where, charging them with unlawfulness of meetings, breach of articles, combination, conspiracy, plots and projects, without admission of defence, or plea of justification, they immediately sentenced them to death, which was accordingly out of hand put in execution, and they most inhumanly massacred some, others they murdered closely in prison, the rest publicly butchered, all quartered and dissected, their heads and other parts fixed on stakes in the most conspicuous places of their towns, garrisons, and castles." "Nor," adds Heald, "is the project peculiar alone to those of Munster and Leinster, but also to those of Connacht, who, receiving the like summons to appear at a certain day at Loughrea, Galway, and the towns of their respective baronies throughout the province, by God's mercy gaining some premonition of the impending dangers, did absent themselves at the time appointed."

Heald represented that it would be of great advantage to his Majesty's cause to foment the existing divisions among the Parliamentary forces, and proposed to effect arrangements for that object. The Irish nation, he observed, "so resolutely labours its own relief, that if any supply of men, arms, ammunition, and money for their encouragement were but timely afforded, no doubt but it would with much facility be reduced, since so worthy things have been and are daily on all hands done since the coming in of that small but welcome relief."

He also gives details of the forces which still retained their arms in the different provinces, as well as a note of the Parliament's army in Ireland.

The statements of Heald are supplemented by a letter¹ from Thomas Holder to Charles II., in reference to affairs in Ireland, in which, among other matters, he refers to the services rendered by the two Irish frigates, the "St. Francis" and the "St. Patrick."

In an order² issued in December, 1652, Charles Fleetwood, Commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces in Ireland, referred to the late loss of the fort of Arkyn, in the Isle of Aran, and intimated that, from remissness of officers, the thorough and effectual prosecution of the enemy yet remaining in Ireland was neglected. Fleetwood ordered that no commander or officer should be absent for a night from his post; that Irish persons should be disarmed before entering any garrison; and that, at no time, above the number of two Irish at once, and those unarmed, should be suffered to enter any castle, fort, or citadel, upon any occasion whatsoever, without special order.

The "Aphorismical Discovery" concludes with notices in connexion with the surrender of Boffin, or Inisboffin. That island, on the western coast of Ireland, had been fortified as an ultimate stronghold by the Irish Royalists, many of whom, both lay and ecclesiastical, took up their abode there. Negotiations for the surrender of Inisboffin to the Parliament were, in December, 1652, opened with Colonel George Cusack, who commanded in the island, and he, with Colonel Dudley Costello, and other officers, came to terms with Commissary John Reynolds in the following February. Under these articles,³ the Parliament undertook that Cusack, as well as the officers, soldiers, and ecclesiastics then in Boffin, should be conveyed to the north of Spain. The island was delivered up on the 17th of February. John Jones, Parliamentary Commissioner in Ireland, writing at the time of the surrender, mentioned that the articles were suitable to the difficulty of gaining the place by force. He observed also that, during the time of the treaty, there was so great a calm that the

¹ Appendix lxxvii., p. 358.

² Appendix lxxviii., p. 361.

³ Appendix lxxx., p. 364.

ships of the Parliament rode in safety close to the island, which they could not have possibly done, if any wind had been stirring.

It is to be regretted that the manuscript of the "Aphorismical Discovery" should be defective at the close, where we might have expected to find the author's statements relative to the circumstances connected with the termination of the war in Ireland.

Although a reward of three hundred pounds was offered in 1652 for the person or head of Sir Phelim O'Neill, he was not arrested until the early part of the following year. About the same period, Lord Clanricarde left Ireland for England in a Parliament ship. Isolated parties of the Irish were however still in arms against the Parliamentarians in March, 1652-3; and of these the principal were in Ulster, with their garrison in the Castle of Loch Uachtair.

On the state of Ireland at this period, the Parliamentary Commissioner, Colonel John Jones, wrote as follows from Dublin to Major Scott: ¹ "There is no way to reduce this land to a perfect and lasting peace but by removing all heads of septs, and priests, and men of knowledge in arms, or otherwise in repute, out of this land, and breaking all kinds of interest among them, and by laying waste all fast counties in Ireland, and suffer no mankind to live there but within garrisons, for which end Declarations are going out to lay waste the whole county of Kerry,² and a great part of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Clare, Galway, Roscommon, Sligo, etc., the whole counties of Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Tyrone, Monaghan, and Armagh, except pieces of baronies in some of them not considerable. Likewise part of Longford, Meath, and Louth, bordering upon those counties; the whole county of Wicklow, and part of King's and Queen's counties."

Colonel Barrow, with the Parliamentary forces, succeeded in reducing

¹ Appendix lxxxii., p. 370.

² "The countrey [of Kerry] was by the last powers that subdued it, laid waste for many years, soe as it was death for any man woman or child to be seen in it." Report on the state of the County of Kerry, 1673. MS.

some of the Irish parties in Ulster. Having burned their boats, by means of a "fiery float," and destroyed their corn, he commenced his operations against the Castle of Loch Uachtair, of which Colonel Philip O'Reilly was commander.

It was not, however, till the 27th of April, 1653, that Philip O'Reilly, with Maguire, Colonel Myles O'Reilly, and others of the Ulster party, entered into articles with Colonel Theophilus Jones to lay down their arms, with liberty for themselves, their officers, and the ecclesiastics of their district, to depart to any foreign country in amity with the Commonwealth of England. After the conclusion of these articles, Colonel Philip O'Reilly undertook, on their ratification by the Lord General Fleetwood and the Commissioners of Parliament, to deliver up the Castle of Loch Uachtair to Colonel Jones for the use of the Commonwealth of England.

Colonel Philip O'Reilly subsequently commanded a regiment in the Spanish service, in the Netherlands, and to him John Colgan, the eminent Donegal hagiographer, dedicated his treatise on Duns Scotus, published at Antwerp in 1655. Colgan referred to the great antiquity of the family of O'Reilly, and to the sacrifices which he had made in the cause of his countrymen. Through the munificence of Colonel O'Reilly's uncle, the Roman Catholic Primate, Hugh O'Reilly, frequently mentioned in the "Aphorismical Discovery," Colgan had been enabled to publish the first volume of the "Acts of the Irish Saints," the literary and historical importance of which has been widely appreciated.

In connexion with Sir Phelim O'Neill, whose arrest by the Parliamentarians, in 1652, has been mentioned at page xxviii, some matters may be here noticed, as furnishing more details relating to him than have been hitherto accessible.

The prominent position which Sir Phelim O'Neill¹ occupied in Ulster

¹ Phelim, Phillom, Felimy, and Felix were modernized forms of the old Gaelic name of Feidhlimidh—Latinized Fedlimius. According to the bards, Feidhlimidh—styled *Reachtmar* or the legist—ruled as King of Ireland in the second century; and the name appears to have come into use in the O'Neill clan towards the fifteenth century.

caused him to be regarded by the ejected settlers and their connexions in England with feelings of animosity, and in the London likeness of him, reproduced in our second volume, he is designated "The chief Traitor of all Ireland." It would, however, have, no doubt, been beyond Sir Phelim's power to control the uprising and oppressed Irish people, whose appeals for justice had been answered by the rack or other tortures, and whom some of the planters in Ulster had complacently proposed to extirpate by hunting them down with wolf-hounds.

In statements hostile to Sir Phelim O'Neill, as well as in other documents, we, however, find details which seem not to accord with the accounts of his reputed severity and antagonism towards the English and Scotch.

In the preface to our first volume, it has been mentioned that Sir Phelim O'Neill held the manor of Kinard or Caledon, with other lands in Tyrone, under the Crown of England,¹ that he had studied law at Lincoln's Inn, conformed to the established religion, and sat in the Parliament at Dublin as member for Dungannon.

According to the "Aphorismical Discovery," Sir Phelim was one of a select number of persons of eminent position, sworn to a secret engagement, the object of which was to establish the authority of the King against the existing Parliament of England by surprising, for his Majesty's use, the chief strongholds in Ireland, and seizing the principal officials of the Puritan government there.

Lords Ormonde, Antrim, and Maguire, with others of high rank, were said to have been in the confederacy, with the King's approval ; but this matter is involved in obscurity, adequate materials not having up to the

¹ By Patent of 14 December, 1613, James I. granted to Catherine Ny Neale, widow of Terence or Tirlagh Oge Neale, and wife of Robert Hovenden, gentleman, 760 acres of land in the county of Tyrone, and 1600 acres in the county of Armagh, to be held for her own use for the term of ten years, with remainder to Phelimy Roe Neale, son and heir of the said Tirlagh. After Hovenden's death, the King granted to the same lady 320 acres in Tyrone for her own use for life, with remainder to her son, Phelimy, for ever. The whole was created into the manor of Kinard, with 500 acres in demesne, a power to create tenures, as also to hold courts baron and markets.—Patent Roll of Ireland, xi James i. Part 3. No. 1.

present been accessible for a full investigation of it. We have, however, from the Marquis of Antrim a statement of the existence of the design for the advancement of the King's interests against the Parliament. Antrim is said to have communicated on the subject with Sir Phelim O'Neill, who, with Lord Maguire and others, seems to have supposed that the design had the approval of Ormonde and the King.¹ Sir Phelim was, we know, also at this time in secret correspondence with Daniel O'Neill, in England, as well as with Owen O'Neill, and several Irish officers and ecclesiastics on the Continent.

The unexpected arrest of Lord Maguire having discouraged those engaged in the projected movement in Ireland, they, according to the author of the "Aphorismical Discovery," "gave ground and dissembled, but Sir Phelim, nothing dismayed, took Charlemont and several other holds for his Majesty's use."

The fort of Charlemont—commanding five counties—was especially objectionable to the Ulster Irish, from its formidable position as well as from its associations. It was erected to secure and maintain English domination over the districts which had been for centuries the home and patrimony of the O'Neills and their correlative septs. The name of Charlemont kept alive the memory of the severities practised by Charles Blount, after whom it was styled, and who, as commander for Elizabeth, effected the reduction of Ulster by visiting its natives with fire, sword, and famine. Lord Caulfeild, who commanded in Charlemont when it was surprised in 1641, was the heir of the Oxford officer, who had, on behalf of the Crown of England, taken possession of the household goods and lands of Sir Phelim's relative, Hugh O'Neill, the exiled Earl of Tyrone,²—

¹ Antony Wood mentions, that Sir Edward Walker, Secretary at war to Charles I., in a book which he had compiled took occasion to speak of the Irish and called them *Rebels*: "His Majesty, who before that time had perused the book, did, among several alterations made therein with his own hand, put out the word *Rebels* with his pen, and over it wrote *Irish*," Fasti Oxon., 1692, vol. ii., col. 702.

² "The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donel, Earl of Tyrconnel." By the Rev. C. P. Meehan, M.R.I.A. Dublin: 1870.

regarded by many as a martyr for his religion and his country. It would appear that the death of Lord Caulfeild, in 1641, has been unjustly ascribed to Sir Phelim O'Neill.¹

Sir Phelim's capture of the castle of Strabane, in 1641, is alleged to have been carried out on the invitation of its occupant, Lady Jane Gordon, daughter of the Marquis of Huntly, and widow of the second Lord of Strabane. When Sir Phelim came to the castle, it is said that, to avoid suspicion, the musketeers were ordered to fire—but so that their shot should pass over his head.

Lady Strabane became the wife of Sir Phelim O'Neill, and, with a view to preventing the Parliamentary Scots from possessing themselves of the castle of Strabane, she is stated to have earnestly urged him to burn it—although she had expended large sums on its buildings and gardens. It is also to be observed that Lady Strabane's brother-in-law, James Hamilton, third Baron of Strabane, associated himself in arms with Sir Phelim O'Neill and the Ulster Irish.

In a proclamation,² dated the 24th of October, 1641, Sir Phelim declared that his movements were not intended against the King, nor against his English and Scotch subjects, but only for the defence and liberty of the Irish of the kingdom.

In November, Sir Phelim O'Neill came with his forces to the siege of Drogheda, on invitation from the chief noblemen of Leinster, who appointed him commander-in-chief of the forces there. A commission³ from Sir Phelim, in the following January, sets forth that the soldiers under it were to be employed for the upholding of the King's authority.

Sir Phelim O'Neill was chosen commander-in-chief of Ulster at a meeting of the Irish leaders at Monaghan, and the importance attached to him by the Government at Dublin is indicated by their having offered, in a proclamation⁴ in February, 1641-2, one thousand pounds for his head,

¹ See vol. i. p. 631 ; iii. 381.

² Vol. i. xxiv., p. 363.

³ xxxiv., p. 373.

⁴ Id. *ibid.* xxviii., p. 383.

while the highest amount named for the head of any of the Ulster leaders associated with him was six hundred pounds.

By authority of the Confederation, Sir Phelim O'Neill was appointed President of Ulster. The "Aphorismical" author speaks favourably of him, in his account of the early stages of the movement in Ireland, but mentions that he fell in estimation, from having become inflated with some "odd conceit of his own actions," and from having aspired to the Earldom of Tyrone. The latter, however, he is stated to have disclaimed, at the instance of Lieutenant-General Daniel O'Kahan. According to Sir Phelim, there was no truth in the statement that he was chosen Earl Tyrone at the Hill of Tullaghoge, or that he had ever assumed that title.¹

Sir Phelim does not appear to have long acted in harmony with Owen O'Neill. In 1646, Rinuccini found that a bitter enmity existed between them, arising from private causes and from their rival prospective claims to the Earldom of Tyrone. The Nuncio, however, effected a temporary reconciliation, and their forces acted in combination at the battle of Benburb. A daughter of the Leinster General, Thomas Preston, became the second wife of Sir Phelim O'Neill, and she is said to have influenced him against Owen O'Neill, and to have brought her husband over to the party of Ormonde in the Confederation. Sir Phelim consequently finds little favour with the author of the "Aphorismical Discovery," who includes him among the "factionists."

In a letter of 1646, Ormonde informed Sir Phelim O'Neill that he had received with much satisfaction the assurance of "his right affections," and desired frequent correspondence with him.²

Sir Phelim was, under the authority of Ormonde and the Confederates, nominated as one of the Commissioners entrusted with the government after the conclusion of the peace in 1648. In January, 1648-9, the following letter in reference to him was addressed to Ormonde by Sir Richard Blake, Chairman of the Assembly of the Confederates:

¹ Appendix lxxxi., p. 367.

² Vol. i. clii., p. 700.

" May it please your Excellencie,

Soe faithfull and loyall for advauncement of his Majestie's service, and soe fruietfull and merritting in assistance to the conclusion of the now happie peace agreed vpon, this Assembly haue found the endeavours and reall actions of Sir Phelym O'Neill, that they haue giuen me in commaunds to pray your Excellency noe way to giue eare to any misrepresentation to be made of him, but that still hee be continued in your Excellencies favour as a man of noble extraction and highly ambitious to forward his Majesties service, allwaies conformable and obedient to government and capable and worthy of his Highnes speciall fauours; and vpon distribucion of places and preferements of honour and trust in this kingdome, the Assembly doe recommend in speciall manner to your Lordship to preferr this noble gentleman to a place suitable to his merritts and abillities, which, as their commaunds, is humbly offered by

Your Excellencie's most humble servant,

Ri : Blake."¹

Sir Phelim was appointed by Ormonde Colonel of a regiment of foot and Governor of the important fort of Charlemont, which, as already mentioned, he had captured at the commencement of the rising in 1641.

In March, 1648-9, he applied to Ormonde for instructions with reference to Bishop Mac Mahon, then his prisoner in Charlemont fort, after having been accidentally captured by his troops. The Bishop, however, soon succeeded in effecting his escape.

In a letter² in April, in the same year, Sir Phelim assured Ormonde that his Excellency had no true information concerning Ulster; that Owen O'Neill was not of so much importance as was supposed; that to concede his conditions would breed great jealousy in the army; and that he (Sir Phelim) would, on certain terms, undertake to quiet the province. "As for my part," he added, "I will build my fortunes upon your Excellency's favour to deal with me as you think best; for, while I live, I will ever go your ways, and will be faithful to your Excellency as any kinsman or servant you have in the world."

Again, in a letter in August, 1649, Sir Phelim protests to Ormonde that he will ever during his life be true to him and his ways; and states that

¹ Dated: "Kilkenny, 17 Jan. 1648[-9]." Addressed: "For his Excellency, the Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant-General of Ireland." Endorsed: "17 Jan. 1648[-9]. Sir Phelim O'Neill's recommendation from the Assembly." Carte Papers xxiii., p. 174.

² Vol. ii. Appendix iv., p. 208.

he can give as fair an account of his efforts for his Majesty's advantage as ought to be expected at his hands. Ormonde in reply wrote that he had no occasion to vary from his good opinion of the fixedness of Sir Phelim to what he professed to him in reference to his Majesty, and that he was sensible of his readiness to offer himself to further the King's service.

On the death of Owen O'Neill, in November, 1649, Sir Phelim endeavoured without success to obtain the generalship of Ulster, through his influence with Ormonde, who, in a letter in February, 1649-50, thanked him for his attention to the King's interests.

Sir Phelim O'Neill took part in the engagement at Scarriffhollis in June, 1650, and after the defeat there, succeeded, with a party of his soldiers, in reaching the county of Tyrone.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Down and Connor, and some of the Ulster commanders, in a letter¹ in the following August, gave Ormonde a favourable account of Sir Phelim's brave defence of the fort of Charlemont against the Parliamentary forces, who were three times repulsed there with great loss. Sir Phelim was, however, necessitated to capitulate by want of ammunition and provisions, as well as by the loss of most of his chief officers and soldiers.

The letter of Sir Richard Blake, at page xxxiii, with that of the Roman Catholic Prelates, and other documents, give, it has been observed,² reason to question the accuracy of statements hitherto put forward in print against Sir Phelim O'Neill. Had his character been such as represented by some writers, "it is scarcely possible that the Confederate Assembly, consisting largely of noblemen and gentlemen of English descent, would have recommended him to Ormonde, or that Ormonde would have treated him with the respect he did or promised him his countenance with the King," if he considered that there were real grounds for the representations which had been made to his prejudice.

¹ Appendix vii., p. 173.

² "Report presented to the Right Honourable Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls." By C. W. Russell, D.D., and J. P. Prendergast, Esq., London : 1871.

In June 1651, Charles II. addressed a letter from Stirling to Sir Phelim O'Neill, in reference to a rumoured defeat of Coote and his adherents. Charles desired Sir Phelim to protect the English and Scots within the limits of his command who submitted to the King's authority, especially such as had evinced good affection towards his father and himself.

In 1652, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered by the Parliamentarians for the person or head of Sir Phelim O'Neill, a much larger sum than that proclaimed for any of the other Ulster commanders still in arms. Sir Phelim was arrested early in the following year, on an island in the county of Tyrone, and sent as a prisoner to Dublin.

An official examination, purporting to embody statements made by Sir Phelim O'Neill on the 23rd of February, 1652-3, is now for the first time printed in our Appendix,¹ with a facsimile.

Sir Phelim, in March, 1652-3, pleaded not guilty to the several charges of High Treason propounded against him in the High Court of Justice at Dublin, by the Attorney-General, in the name and on the behalf of the Commonwealth of England. Many of these charges were based on statements made ten years previously by Robert Maxwell, Rector of the Protestant Church at Tynan, in the County of Armagh, whence he was ejected soon after the commencement of the disturbances in Ulster.

Of the trial no report has been published, but the following hitherto unprinted notes are extant amongst some indistinctly written and apparently contemporary memoranda entitled "the judgment against Sir Phelim O'Neill, 5th March, 1652-3":

"The High Court of Justice hath taken in[to] their serious consideration the evidence, and, upon debate, they find you guilty.

"Briefly sum up material parts of the evidence, upon serious consideration whereof the Court hath found you guilty.

"For the general charge:

"Testified out of your own mouth, you were heard to say that the plot was for six years in your head before you could bring it to maturity.

¹ lxxxi., p. 367.

"That, to bring about your own ends, you had demeaned yourself as a fool, in four great men's company, that you might not be suspected after.

"But you entered into the Rebellion and had discovered yourself : the greatest of them saw that Sir Phelim O'Neill was no such fool as they took him for.

"Yet now, at last, you have proved yourself a fool. The wicked man is the greatest fool in the world : Thou fool, this night shall they take away thy life.

"Habemus confitentem reum : Confessed in your examination : "That, before the breaking out of this Rebellion, the plan was communicated between you and the Lord Maguire and Rory O'Moore and Philip O'Reely : that you met with them several times in Dublin and discoursed of the plot.

"That, at some of those meetings, Colonel John Barry, Sir James Dillon, Anthony Preston, and Hugh Mac Phelem Birne, were present.

"That you took an oath of secrecy.

"That, at those meetings, it was agreed that the Castle of Dublin and the several forts in Ireland should be taken ; and that you should take the fort of Charlemount.

"It appears also, by the sequel, with how much treachery and cruelty you performed that part.

"That you were invited by the Lord of Gormanston, and some other lords and gentlemen of the Pale, to the siege of Drogheda, and that, upon that invitation, you came thither with your forces. That, at Bewley, you received a commission from the lords and gentlemen of the Pale to be commander-in-chief of all the forces at the said siege.

"That, at Monaghan, you were chosen commander-in-chief of Ulster by Philip O'Reely, Mac Mahon, Maguire, the Magennyses and other septs of the Irish, and received a commission from them to that purpose.

"That, by order of the Supreme Council of the Rebels at Kilkenny, you were made President of Ulster.

"Tis testified that, at the Hill of Tullahogue, you were chosen Earl of Tyrone, and thereupon assumed the style and title which you subscribed to your letters, Tyrone.

"That, being swelled big with these high titles, you changed your style, and was called his Excellency, Lord General of the Catholic Army ; your meat served up with drum and trumpet ; you wrote in a royal style—' We will and command,'—' According to our royal intentions.'

"You granted commissions of trying for murder ; power of life and death ; and to some of your rascals you granted *jura regalia* within their own territories. Sir Phelim made seales in corporations at places oftentimes of his own.

"To consummate all this grandeur, you received, by the hand of Father Paul O'Neale, your postilion fryar or Popish priest, who went thirteen times for you to Brussels in half a year, a Bull from the Pope, whereby you were created Prince of Ulster, which creation was performed at the Hill of Tullaugh ogue,¹ with all the barbarous Irish ceremonies anciently belonging to the great O'Neale.

¹ The rath of Tulach Og, near Dungannon, in the County of Tyrone, was, till the close of the sixteenth century, the place of inauguration of the chiefs of the O'Neill clan, to whom the O'Hagans were hereditary legists. Captain John O'Hagan and others of the name are mentioned with commendation in the "Aphorismical Discovery" as commanders under General Owen O'Neill. By warrant of Queen Victoria in 1871, the Right Hon. Thomas O'Hagan, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was created Baron O'Hagan of Tullaghogue in the County of Tyrone.

"Healthis drunk upon the knee to Sir Phelim O'Neale, Lord General of the Catholic Army in Ulster, Earl of Tyrone and King of Ireland, and those that should not call him such should lose their heads.

"Being thus invested in this power, you proceeded to act in treachery, tyranny, blood, and execrable cruelty.

"Omit here to speak of Charlemount and the murder of the Lord Caulfield, because it is a serious charge.

"22 October, 1641, at six o'clock at night, you surprise by treachery the Castle of Dungannon, and Captain John Perkins : desire a warrant to search for a sheep pretended to be stolen from Patrick Modder O'Donnely.

"Whilst Captain Perkins was about to write the warrant, one of the conspirators opens the gate and lets in eighteen more of their fellows, rush in upon them, set skeanis to his breast, arrest them in the name of the Parliament, make a high fence, possess themselves of his arms and of all the swords in the house ; and tell him that Sir Phelim O'Neill would be there before midnight.

"About midnight, Sir Phelim [came,] and, rejoicing at the success of the villany, smiling said to Captain Perkins : 'Ha, you old foxe, have I caught you ? I am gladder to have you than my Lord Caulfield, whom I have left safe enough at Charlemount. This night, all Ireland is our own, and all the towns and forts are ours.'—Captain Perkins [said] : 'We shall have a second O'Dogherty' of you, who lost his head a year after the burning of the Derry and killing of the Governour.' At which speech your Excellency was angry.

"Then you commanded your men to go to Captain Perkins' stable, and to saddle his horses, and you and your company rode and went that night and surprised the Castle of Mountjoy."

John Ker, Dean of Ardagh, mentions that the trial of Sir Phelim O'Neill occupied three days, and that, while in the hands of the Parliamentarians, he was urged by promises of life and estate to produce material proof of a commission from Charles I. for the proceedings in 1641, and that these offers were renewed immediately before Sir Phelim's execution. Ker, whose declaration will be found in our Appendix,² was present at the trial, and also at the execution, which took place at Dublin on the 10th of March, 1652-3. Ker deposed that he could not hear all the last statements made by Sir Phelim O'Neill, "the guards beating off those that stood near the place of execution."

On these subjects a contemporary British officer wrote as follows : After Sir Phelim was sentenced to be quartered, "he was demanded if King Charles I. gave them commission to raise that war ; which, if he

¹ Sir Cahir O'Doherty took the fort of Derry by surprise in 1608, and was killed in the following year. His sister, Rose, was the wife of General Owen O'Neill. See vol. i. xi., 6.

² lxxxi., p. 368.

would avouch, he should have his life. To which he made manly answer, that the King was so far from giving them that commission that he did not know of their rising. On which he was forthwith executed half alive, and quartered ; one of which [quarters] was sent to be put up in Lisnegarvy [Lisburn] as a memorial of his burning that town at the beginning of the war, in November, [16]41 ; another quarter set up in Dundalk, for taking that town then ; another quarter in Drogheda, for besieging the same with forces the same winter ; and the other quarter, and his head in Dublin, as being the chief man [who] contrived and plotted to take it on Friday night, the 23rd of October, [16]41, who was not there the same night, but at Charlemount.

“ He [Sir Phelim] was a well bred gentleman, three years at Court, as free and generous as could be desired, and very complaisant ; stout in his person ; but, not being bred anything of a soldier, wanted the main art, that is, policy in war, and good conduct.”¹

By his wife, Jane Gordon, Baroness of Strabane, Sir Phelim left a son, named Gordon from his grandfather, the Marquis of Huntly in Scotland. Under James II., Gordon O'Neill was Lord Lieutenant of, and Member of Parliament for, the county of Tyrone, and Captain of Grenadiers. At the Revolution, he raised a regiment of foot, mostly in Tyrone, for the cause of James II., and served against the Williamites in Ulster and at the Boyne. At Aughrim, Gordon O'Neill signalised himself at the head of his regiment, captured some artillery, and, having been severely wounded, was left upon the field as dead. He was, however, recognized and removed by Scotch Williamite officers connected with him through his mother's family. Gordon O'Neill followed the fortunes of King James in France,² with his regiment, designated the “ Régiment de Charlemont,” its Colonel having been Governor of Charlemont Fort at the commencement of the Revolution of 1688.

¹ “History of War of Ireland, from 1641 to 1653.” By a British Officer. Dublin : 1873.

² “History of the Irish Brigades in the service of France.” By J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq. 1870.

The memory and name of Sir Phelim O'Neill do not appear to have been in general disfavour with his countrymen. A gentleman of Tyrone, who changed his name from Phelim O'Neill to Felix Neele, formed the subject of the following epigram by a member of one of the old Ulster families :

“ Omnia mutavit Felix, mutavit ipsum ;
 Ipsius inque ipso, non manet esse sui.
 Monticulos inter puduit torpere colonos.
 Erubuitque *braccas*, erubuitque *brogas* ;
 Signa suæ gentis, nomenque rejecit *O'Nelli* :
 Nec ratis, aut salmo, aut rubra retenta manus.
 Pœniteat liquisse tuas nunc, transfuga, partes ;
 Infelix Felix, ad tua castra redi ! ”

“ All things has Felix changed : he changed his name ;
 Yea, in himself, he is no more the same ;
 Scorning to spend his days where he was reared,
 To drag out life among the vulgar herd,
 Or trudge his way through bogs in bracks and brogues,
 He changed his creed, and joined the Saxon rogues
 By whom his sires were robbed. He laid aside
 The arms they bore for centuries with pride—
 The ship, the salmon, and the famed Red Hand,¹
 And blushed when called O'Neill in his own land !
 Poor paltry skulker from thy noble race,
 Infelix Felix, weep for thy disgrace ! ”

We have hitherto had no biographical particulars relative to Major-General Hugh O'Neill, the commander in Limerick, whose successful defence of Clonmel against Cromwell has been already noticed in our

¹ The heraldic insignia of the O'Neills. The English version of the epigram is by the late James Clarence Mangan.

second volume, and some of whose correspondence, still extant, is printed for the first time in the present work. He was born in the Spanish Netherlands, and was son of Art O'Neill, surnamed Oge, or the younger, brother of Owen Roe O'Neill, whence he was known as Hugh Mac Art Oge. He is occasionally referred to as Hugh Boy [*Buidhe*], or Duff [*Dubh*], epithets used by the Irish to designate persons of sallow or swarthy complexion.

Hugh O'Neill is mentioned as one of the "brave warriors and prime captains" who, "out of the martial theatre, Flanders," enlisted themselves under the banner of Owen Roe O'Neill, and came with him to Ireland, in 1642. He was taken prisoner in an engagement at Clones, in Monaghan, in 1643, did not recover his liberty till released by exchange, after the battle of Benburb, in 1646, and in that year he received the appointment of Major-General in the Ulster army. The "Aphorismical" writer always refers to him with praise, as a tried, wise, and successful officer, unsurpassed in courage, humanity, vigilance, and industry—zealous for religion, loyal to the King, faithful to his country, and constant in his principles.

The Ulster army was partly under the command of Hugh O'Neill, during the illness of his uncle, Owen, who, in October, 1649, despatched him in advance to the Marquis of Ormonde, with a body of two thousand foot.

Hugh O'Neill, after the death of Owen O'Neill, was desirous to succeed him as commander-in-chief of the Ulster army, his qualifications for which post were, as already mentioned, strongly advocated by his cousin, Daniel O'Neill. The author of the "Irish Vision at Rome" refers to Hugh O'Neill, about that time, as a warrior of the old Irish stock, whom the seers had foretold would scatter the strangers far and wide. He was subsequently entrusted with the command of the town of Clonmel, on behalf of the King, against Cromwell. In connection with that siege the following letter, now printed for the first time, was

addressed by Cromwell to Hugh O'Neill, and in a tone, it will be seen, different from that of his communications to the Governors of Drogheda, Wexford; and Ross :

“ Sir,

I shall discharge Lieut : Colonel White for Captain Caulfeild, and Major Philim O'Neale for Capt. Caulfeild's Lieutenant his Quartermaster and the troopers taken with them. I shall discharge Capt. Baggott, late Governor of Iniscorbie, for the Lieutenant of Dragoones and the three souldiers of the same troope, belonging to Carricke. For the souldiers belonging to Dungarvan, I shall retourne to you soe many of the same condition. If you shall accept hereof, I doe hereby ingage my honour to performe with you accordingly. In case you insist upon Colonel Woogan, I expect Capt. Caulfeild and his officers and souldiers for him ; And then the other exchanges to stand as is above expressed.

I rest,

Your servant,

O. Cromwell.”¹

Youghall, Jan[uary] the 16th, 1649[-50].

After O'Neill's withdrawal from Clonmel, he was appointed by Ormonde to act as military commander in Limerick, to defend that city against the Parliamentarians, by whom it was besieged. He appears, however, to have privately entertained apprehensions, that personal interests, and the inexhaustible supplies furnished by the English Parliament to the besiegers, would eventually frustrate his efforts.

Sir Hardress Waller, the Parliamentarian commander, addressed two letters to O'Neill in Limerick, in September, 1650, in reply to which the latter wrote :²

“ As for your kind expressions therein contained, I shall endeavour to

¹ Addressed : “ For the Governor of Clonmell or the cheife officer commanding there.”
Endorsed : “ Cromwell to Maior Gen. Hugh O'Neill, 1649, 16 Jan’y.” Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 510.

² Appendix xvii., p. 180.

answer them, with as much civility on my part as you can expect for a man of my quality, standing at the distance with you, as I am for the time. As for your other letter, which I conceive to be in the nature of a summons, containing the great preparations you have in readiness to besiege this place on both sides, I thought fit to let you know that no such threats are able to daunt my resolutions, seeing I am no stranger to the like.

“Sir, I am entrusted with this place from my Lord Lieutenant to maintain it for the use of his Majesty, King Charles, which I resolve, by God’s assistance, to perform, notwithstanding any power shall offer against me, even to the effusion of the last drop of my blood. I thank you for the care you have to shun effusion of blood ; I am as loath to it as you ; but I conceive my honor no less concerned in my hazard for the defence of my lawful King than yours is for the State of England, and I am hopeful God Almighty will give success accordingly.”

On the 18th of the same month, O’Neill addressed Ormonde as follows, in reference to the publication in Limerick of the clergy’s Declaration against the continuance of the government of Ireland in his Excellency’s person, and their excommunication of those who would adhere to or countenance him :

“I could wish myself rather out of the world than to be witness to the calamities and afflictions which will undoubtedly issue upon this revolution, if not speedily prevented by your Excellency’s wisdom in endeavouring a right understanding betwixt you and the clergy. Your Excellency knoweth what religion I profess, and that I cannot in conscience but make a scruple of being any way subject to so heavy a sentence as that of excommunication, so that I resolve to sequester myself from any public engagement either to the one side or the other, until it shall please God to settle a right understanding amongst us, which I am hopeful your Excellency will not take in evil part on my behalf.”

The “Aphorismical” author mentions that Ireton made several over-

tures to Major-General O'Neill, with promises of great preferments, to induce him to surrender; but that O'Neill was so honorable that "for a world" he would not betray the trust reposed in him. In his reply to Ireton, he is stated to have written that he had promised to keep Limerick for a year, and, that period having expired, he intended to hold it, even without assistance, for another year.

In a subsequent letter, O'Neill expressed to Ormonde his regret that he could not have the honor of waiting on him before his Excellency's departure from Ireland. "I glory," he wrote, "in nothing more than to be esteemed a faithful observer of monarchical government, which I am hopeful that I have given some proof of my constant endeavours to satisfy the expectations I conceived your Excellency did entertain of me."¹

The Parliamentary Diarist refers to the high spirit exhibited by Major-General O'Neill, after the surrender of Limerick, and has preserved what purports to be a copy of a letter² which he addressed to some of the chief English officers, by a court of whom he and others had been sentenced to death. In this letter O'Neill stated that he had been guilty of no base or dishonorable act, having only discharged the duty of a soldier, as became a man subject to a superior power, to which he must have been accountable. "Neither," he continues, "in relation of this was I transported either with passion of my own, or the violent strain of others, who would not be directed with reason." The letter concludes as follows: "And, in the whole course of my proceedings since I came into this garrison, I appeal to the judgment and censure of the most [impartial] and men of best understanding within this city what my behaviour hath been, and with what difficulty and patience I endeavoured the surrender of this place, being satisfied, in all human reason and policy (even from the beginning) that it could not withstand your power. I shall therefore humbly entreat your honour to take my condition into

¹ Appendix xx., p. 183.

² Appendix xxx., p. 258.

your serious consideration, that I be not otherwise dealt with than the justice or injustice of my case requireth, which I shall undoubtedly expect from a person of my Lord Deputy's honor, and through the intercession of your Lordship, which shall remain an undoubted obligation, never to be unacknowledged."

The "Aphorismical" author appears to have been under the impression that Ireton, on the surrender of Limerick, displayed much consideration for Hugh O'Neill. We are told, however, by Ludlow, who was engaged in these proceedings, that the judgment of Ireton, which was of great weight with the officers, moved them, on a second trial, to vote for O'Neill's death, though some earnestly opposed it. The court, says Ludlow, having passed sentence of death a second time against O'Neill, the Deputy Ireton, "observing some of the officers to be unsatisfied with this judgment, referred it again to the consideration of the court, who, by their third vote, consented to save his life." An important consideration which may have influenced the fate of O'Neill was his assertion of his right to be dealt with as a subject of the King of Spain, within whose territories he had been born.

The statement in the "Aphorismical Discovery," that Major-General Hugh O'Neill and Colonel Alexander Mac Donnell, afterwards Marquis of Antrim, were sent to England, is corroborated by contemporary documents of the Council of State in London.¹ From these it appears that in January, 1652, O'Neill was committed to the Tower, and Colonel Mac Donnell to Newgate. The hire of O'Neill's chamber was paid by the State, which also ordered him an allowance of twenty shillings per week, and "the liberty of the Tower." In July of the same year, the Spanish Ambassador at London applied officially for the discharge of O'Neill from the Tower, on the grounds that he was a subject of the King of Spain; that he had not been guilty of excesses in Ireland; and that his liberation would tend much to promote the bringing together of the Irish

¹ Appendix, p. 387.

soldiers, then about to be levied for service in Spain. It would appear that these representations were eventually complied with, and that Hugh O'Neill passed the remainder of his days in Spanish territories.

The latest documents we have at present in connexion with Major General Hugh O'Neill are the following, two of which are preserved amongst the correspondence of the Duke of Ormonde, to whom they were addressed. The third, from O'Neill to Charles II., is extant amongst the papers of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, which have been recently acquired by the British Museum :

“ My Lord,

“The enclosed are my Lord of Tyrone's letters to your Excellency, which he hath desired me to transmit to you, and to be witness for him that I have seen many papers of Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, and King James, confirming the title to his family, and their heirs, of whom the General, Hugh O'Neill, is now truly so. He desires me more particularly to witness to your Excellency that I have seen the will of the late Earl of Tyrone, John O'Neill, and father of the younger man that is lately dead here, after whom, and another, Constantine O'Neill, who is also dead, I can assure your Excellency this Hugh O'Neill, that now calls himself Earl of Tyrone, is the third, and consequently the head of the house. Your Excellency being acquainted with the said Earl of Tyrone's merit and good parts, it would be very impertinent in me to move anything in his behalf to you, who am glad of this as of all occasions else whereby I may express with how much respect and truth I am,

“ My Lord, your Excellency's

Most humble and most obedient servant,

“ Madrid, October 27, 1660.

Henry Bennet.”¹

¹ English Envoy to the Court of Spain, and subsequently created Earl of Arlington.

“ My Lord,

“ Believing your Excellency’s goodness towards me is still the same, according to the degree you have been ever pleased to honor me, I have presumed to beseech your Excellence to be pleased to put in to his Majesty’s Royal hands the enclosed letter, with those advantageous and good offices towards my person that the occasion requires, and to obtain for me such a gracious acceptance from his Majesty as your Excellence shall think the loyal and sincere intentions of my heart towards his Royal service may deserve, especially in a time wherein his Majesty is graciously pleased to offer pardon of worse crimes in his subjects than I or my family have been guilty of, which I say not to diminish the estimation I shall make of his Royal grace therein or the favour your Excellency shall please to do me in the obtaining it.

“ God knows how little ground I have in my health to promise myself the long enjoyment of this grace, but His holy will being done concerning me, it would be a great satisfaction to me in the mean time to see my unfortunate family restored by it to a possibility of deserving well of the Crown, which a long and sad experience will have taught them to value as they ought to do. In payment of this high favour from your Excellence, I assure myself they will live ever as obliged servants to you and yours, and I myself (all other means failing me to requite it) shall pray to God incessantly to bless and prosper you in all your undertakings as, my Lord,

“ Your Excellency’s most humble and most obedient servant,

“ Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone.”

“ Madrid, 27th of October, 1660.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ The title of Earl of Tyrone being lawfully fallen to me, by the death of my cousin that was lately possessed of it, I thought it my duty to give your Majesty with all humility account thereof, beseeching your Majesty to accept of me in that quality as your most obedient

subject, that the world may see your Majesty's grace towards me is not less then was that of all your Royal progenitors towards my predecessors, wherof I have in my hands authentic papers, further imploring, with all due respect and humiliation, your Majesty's grace and pardon for all faults my predecessors or I may have comitted against your Royal crown and dignity, upon the assurance that there is nothing more in the hearts of all of us that remain of that family than to sacrifice our lives and all that is dear to us for the future in your Royal service as your Majesty's most obedient and most faithful subjects.

“And this I do not only beseech your Majesty in my own behalf, but in theirs also that shall succeed me (my long continued indisposition of health making me justly fear my life will not last long enough to put me in those occasions I desire of sacrificing it according to my duty in your Majesty's Royal service). Who knows but God may so bless some of them, if He pleases to dispose otherwise of me, as to make them worthy of that place in your Majesty's esteem and favour with which your Majesty's Royal progenitors of blessed memory have been pleased to honor us ; it being the maxim of all great princes and monarchs (such as your Majesty is) to presume that where there is good and anciently noble blood that the deeds and actions should correspond with it.

“Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to believe, whatever your Majesty's Royal will and intention is towards the family, that in my own person nothing shall ever be wanting of the duty and allegiance of a loyal subject towards your Majesty's Royal person, crown, and dignity, and that (other means failing me to shew it) I shall never cease to pray to God to bless your Majesty with all happiness, both temporal and eternal, as, may it please your Majesty,

“Your Majesty's most obedient and most humble subject and servant,

“Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone.”

“Madrid, 27th of October, 1660.

A facsimile of this hitherto unprinted letter is given in the present volume. The Earldom of Tyrone was in 1673 conferred by Charles II. on Richard Power, Lord Le Poer and Curraghmore, from whom it has descended to the present Marquis of Waterford.

General Owen O'Neill's widow, Rose O'Docharty, noticed in our first volume,¹ would appear to have remained in Ireland till 1651. In a letter of the 9th of September, in that year, from Limerick during the siege, Major-General Hugh O'Neill intimated to Ormonde that he had endeavoured to procure from Ireton a pass for his "aunt, General O'Neill's lady." She died at Brussels, on the 1st of November, 1660, aged above seventy years, and was interred in the Irish College of St. Antony of Padua, at Louvain, now occupied by the Frères de la Charité, Place St. Antoine.² A Latin inscription on her gravestone, still extant there, records that Lady Rose O'Docharty was daughter and sister of Lords of Inishowen; that the honor of her ancient race was augmented by her virtues, and by her illustrious marriages, first with Cathbar O'Donel, brother of the Prince of Tirconnell, and, secondly, with his Excellency, Don Eugenio O'Neill, Commander-in-Chief of the Catholic Army in Ulster; that, after having experienced vicissitudes of fortune, and suffered afflictions, she sought by good deeds to merit Heaven; and that, with her first-born son Hugh O'Donel, she awaits the final Resurrection. The terms in parts of the epitaph resemble those in a document written in commendation of Rose O'Docharty by John Colgan, the hagiographer, and of which a fragment has been preserved among the archives of the Franciscans of the Irish Province. From this we learn that her mother was daughter of Shane O'Neill, Prince of Tirone; and that her father was John O'Docharty, chief of Inishowen, a distinguished leader of the Irish in the war against Queen Elizabeth. As the death of Colgan preceded that of

¹ Vol. i. p. xi.

² For information in connection with the present state of this monument, the inscription on which has been recently renewed, the Editor is indebted to the Rev. James J. Ryan, B.L., St. Patrick's College, Thurles.

Rose O'Docharty, it is not improbable that the inscription may have been written by her kinsman, Bonaventura O'Docharty, who had aided at the Louvain College in the preparation of the works on the Acts of the Saints of Ireland. The epitaph in the original is as follows:—

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO.
 EXCELLENTISSIMA DOMINA ROSA DOCHARTY
 DYNASTARUM INISONIÆ FILIA ET SOROR
 ALTI SANGUINIS DECUS
 MORUM TEMPERANTIA ET SPLENDIDIS CONJUGIJS AUXIT
 PRIMUM NUPTA INCLYTO HEROI
 DOMINO CAFFARO O DONNELLO
 TIRCONALLIÆ PRINCIPIS GERMANO.
 DEIN EXCELLENTISSIMO DOMINO EUGENIO O NEILLO
 CATHOLICI IN ULTONIA EXERCITUS
 ARCHISTRATEGO.
 UTRAMQUE FORTUNAM EXPERTA ET MISERIAM RATA
 CÆLUM STUDUIT BENEFACTIS MERERI.
 SEPTUAGINTA MAJOR DENATA
 BRUXELLIS .I. NOVEMBRIS ANNO MDCLX.
 SUO CUM PRIMOGENITO HUGONE O DONNELLO
 PRÆSTOLATUR HIC CARNIS RESURRECTIONEM.

General Owen O'Neill's nephew, Colonel Daniel O'Neill, who, as we have seen,¹ left Ireland in 1650, devoted himself energetically to the interests of Charles II. on the Continent. After the Restoration, Daniel O'Neill's services were rewarded by Royal grants, and he was appointed Captain of the first troop of guards, Privy Councillor and Postmaster-General of England. He was reputed to be very wealthy, and married Lady Catherine Stanhope, Dowager Countess of Chesterfield, daughter and co-heir of Thomas, Lord Wotton. Daniel O'Neill died in 1664, and was interred at Bocton-Malherbe, in Kent, the seat of the father of his wife. Her son, Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, married the

¹ Vol. i. p. lv.

first Duke of Ormonde's eldest daughter Elizabeth—the Lady Chesterfield, whom Gramont declared to be “one of the most agreeable women in the world.”

Early in the eighteenth century, Thomas Carte was engaged by Charles Butler, Earl of Arran, in Ireland, to compile a biography of that nobleman's grandfather, James, first Duke of Ormonde. When in search of materials for the work, Carte inspected, in 1733, the manuscript of the “Aphorismical Discovery,” then in the collection of John Stearne, Protestant Bishop of Clogher. Carte must have seen, at once, that the views of the “Aphorismical” writer were entirely in opposition to those which he had undertaken to promulgate, and as such would be unsuitable to a work of the panegyrical character of that on which he was employed. Instead of attempting to analyse and refute statements in the “Aphorismical Discovery,” distasteful to him or his patrons, Carte contented himself with censuring it as follows in the preface to his *Life of Ormonde* :

“There are some other accounts of the affairs of Ireland during the Rebellion, which I have had opportunities of consulting, and which therefore it may be proper to mention. One is entitled *An Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction*, being an account of the affairs of Ireland from 1641 to 1652, by N. S. [or P. S.] who stiles himself Secretary to Owen Roe O’Neile. It is among the Bishop of Clogher's manuscripts in folio, and is marked No. viii. but is wrote with so much partiality, fury, and virulence, and contains throughout it such notorious falsehoods, even in the relation of the same facts which are mentioned and related otherwise in the Nuncio's *Memoirs*, that I could make no use of it, because it deserved no credit.”¹

It is to be observed that, in the same preface, Carte highly commended for “modesty and candour,” the author of another work relating to the same period. In it, however, on examination, we find violent invectives against those whose acts were not in accordance with Carte's own views and predilections.²

¹ “History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde.” By Thomas Carte. London : 1736, i. iv.

² “Carte's tendencies, no doubt, caused him to regard it [the Plunket MS.] to be, as he described it, ‘wrote with great temper, modesty, candour, and regard to truth.’ This character appears, however, scarcely reconcileable with the violent and opprobrious language applied throughout the pages at present before us to the Nuncio Rinuccini, the native Irish, their bishops, clergy, and others who acted in opposition to the Marquis of Ormonde and his party.” Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. London : 1871.

Carte did not specify the discrepancies which he alleged to exist between statements in the "Aphorismical Discovery" and the book he styled "the Nuncio's Memoirs." The latter title he applied to a transcript of an extensive work compiled in Latin from Rinuccini's papers after his death. Such a compilation, unless where supported by authentic writings, could be scarcely considered to have a higher claim to authority on non-ecclesiastical matters than the "Aphorismical" writer, who was himself an eye-witness of many of the transactions of the time in Ireland, and conversant both with individuals and documents.

It may also be mentioned that Rinuccini's sojourn in Ireland was about four years and four months—from 1645 to 1649—while the "Aphorismical" narrative extends over eleven years—from 1641 to 1652.

Carte's allegation as to the discrepancies between the Nuncio's Memoirs and the "Aphorismical Discovery" is not sustained by the authentic correspondence and despatches of Rinuccini, published for the first time, in 1844, from the originals in Florence. The latter were never seen by Carte, whose superficial acquaintance with the "Aphorismical Discovery" may be judged from his statement that the author "styles himself Secretary to Owen Roe O'Neill." For this assertion no authority is to be found in the manuscript. Carte appears to have taken it from the following inaccurate entry of the book in a printed catalogue :

"An Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction, by N. S. who styles himself Secretary to Owen Roe O'Neale, General of the Irish Rebellious Army, being an account of most passages of the Roman Catholick Army and Clergy in Ireland from 1644 to 1653 ; with Bulls and Letters, etc. from the Pope and Clergy of Rome, etc."¹

It is also observable that although Carte had access to letters and papers of General Owen O'Neill, and his adherents, as well as of Roman

¹ This title is also written on the inside of the front cover of the manuscript, which was originally marked viii in Bishop Stearne's collection. In reference to it, the following memorandum is extant in Carte's writing : "January 7, 1733 : Borrowed of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Clogher two manuscripts in folio" (marked viii and ix) . . by me Thomas Carte. Restored [on] the 14th [of the same month].

Catholic ecclesiastics, elucidatory of many statements in the “Aphorismical Discovery,” he did not publish them in his volumes.

The course taken by Carte, in relation to the “Aphorismical Discovery,” resembles that which he pursued in reference to the volume in which Dr. Thomas Birch, in 1747, impugned the accuracy of statements in his “Life of Ormonde,” on the conduct in Ireland of the Earl of Glamorgan. Carte, by public advertisement, denounced Birch’s treatise as a libel upon “the Royal martyr,” Charles I., and announced that he would show that the “chief positions and insinuations” of Birch, in that work were “weak, groundless, and utterly inconsistent with the character of a critic and a scholar.” In reference to Carte’s proceedings, in this affair Birch wrote as follows :

“What candour might have been expected from that writer [Carte], may be judged of, both from his other performances, and from his giving the name of *libel* to a discourse drawn up with the utmost moderation of style, as well as fidelity in the representation of facts. And how little additional evidence would have been produced by him upon this subject, is evident from his pretending only to shew, that my chief positions and insinuations, as he is pleased to describe a detail of facts supported by the best authorities, and a few clear observations deduced from them, are ‘weak, groundless, and utterly inconsistent with the character of a critic or a scholar;’ as if the question was not a point of history, but of mere criticism or literature. But the book thus advertised was never published, either before or since Mr. Carte’s death on the 2d of April, 1754, near two months after the first advertisement ; nor can I find, upon the strictest examination, that any such piece was in the press, nor even prepared for it.”¹

It may be noticed that the “Aphorismical” writer does not apply the language which he styled “corrosive” to the English generally, but to those of them and of the native and Anglo-Irish whom he considered to be unfaithful to their trusts. On this point he declared that his pen should not be deemed either bitter, sharp, or invective, when writing of “factionists and traitors against religion, King and kingdom,” whose acts furthered the designs of those who had determined on the extirpation of the Irish and of their religion with “all that was royal in the kingdom.” Of the terms accepted by the Leinster Commissioners from the represent-

¹ “An Inquiry into the share which King Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan.” London : 1756.

atives of the Parliament of England, in 1652, our author observes : " If nothing were surrendered unto the enemy by those agents other than the liberty, not of all the nation, but of one sole man, it is more precious, in the estimation of all well understanding wits, than all they could otherwise give." " Liberty," he writes, " is a far fairer jewel than honor and fortune. It is a thing so sweet and precious that it deserves the selling of all we have and running into any hazard to hold it. Those Agents pass over unto the enemy this precious jewel, not of one man, but of a whole nation, and render them slaves for ever, if God, of His bounty, will not work otherwise. No man," he adds, " can excuse the actors from perjury, treason, perfidy, and mistrust."

The " Aphorismical " author refers with feeling to the " tragical scenes " in 1652—" executions, contributions, transportation, and persecution of clergy ; " the conduct of partial judges, and the " cruel and bloody tragedies acted on the sanguinean theatre of this languishing kingdom."

That the statements on these matters in the " Aphorismical Discovery " are not exaggerated, appears from a letter of Sir Edward Hyde,¹ in which he refers to the " foolish cruelty " which the Parliamentarians exercised in Ireland, " in putting so many persons of quality to death." The Marquis of Ormonde² characterised these Parliamentarians as " the usurpers of the rights of Kings, the professed persecutors of Roman Catholics, and the destroyers of the Irish nation, whose nobility and gentry," he added, " they massacred at home or drove into beggary abroad."

The " dishonesty, unworthiness, and baseness " of those who brought their country to that lamentable state wherein it then stood, shall, says the " Aphorismical " author, " survive to future ages as a monument and memorial testimony of treasonable faction." " Their bones and their posterity (if the Divine clemency will permit them to have any) shall," he declares, " be subject to all deep censure of infamy and reproach, and to God's severe and just indignation, stamped with the indelible character

¹ Clarendon Papers, 1653, No. 985.

² Letter to Bishop of Dromore, September, 1656.

of deformed and ugly stain of both murder, treason, and perjury ; their further trial," he adds, " we remit unto the All-Seeing Power, to be dealt with according to their deserts."

The "Aphorismical" writer maintains that the grounds of the Irish war, as well in the first year as in the last, were warrantable by all law,—for religion, King, and nation, against tyranny, intending the extirpation of the one, disenthroning the other, and annihilating the third.

The prostrate condition of the Irish at home, the difficulties of those in exile, the influence of many who rose on their suppression, and the restrictions on printing, prevented true statements of the case of Ireland from obtaining notice in the publications of the time, which formed the basis of subsequent historical compilations. Adequate, although scattered materials, however, have fortuitously survived to sustain the authority of the "Aphorismical Discovery" and to demonstrate that the opinions of its author in reference to the men and transactions of his time in Ireland were largely shared by his countrymen both at home and on the Continent.

Some of the views of the "Aphorismical" writer on the merits of the representatives of the old Irish race, especially of Ulster¹ as contrasted with those of the Anglo-Irish, found expression in a memorial ascribed to Richard Ferrall, a Capuchin, and presented to the Congregation of

¹ On this subject an Irish author in Bohemia wrote as follows in 1669 : "Ex omnibus, extraneis, qui de rebus scripserunt Hibernicis, vix est unus, qui Ultoniam præ reliquis insulæ provincijs (nunc illam barbaram, nunc omni civili disciplina carentem, nunc incultam compellantes) carbone non notarent ; sed in plerisque, quæ dicunt errant : nam quantumvis Ultonienses, præ reliquis regionis incolis, tam in vestibus, quàm in victu, et sermone, maximi sunt, et semper fuerunt observatores antiquarum consuetudinum patriæ (sicut sunt Hungari vel Poloni, respectivè ad Germanos, vel Boëmos) et, consequenter, minus se hactenus accommodarunt moderno agendi modo Anglorum, Gallorum, vel Germanorum ; per hoc tamen barbari dici non deberent, magis quàm Hungari, vel Poloni dicuntur ; inter quos, pro barbarismo habetur modernus incedendi modus, et conversandi methodus, tam Gallorum, quàm Anglorum. Verum est inter Ultonienses, et alias regni provincias, tantam esse differentiam in sermone, vestibus, et vivendi modo, sicut est inter Siculos et Romanos, vel Quados quasi et Bohemos ; tamen per hoc non debent dici barbari ; nam in toto regni nulli sunt, aut unquam fuerunt, constantiores in fide Catholica, ejusque defensione promptiores, quàm fuerunt semper Ultonienses, ut regni testantur historiæ. Barbari autem ab Anglis dicuntur, quia injustis eorum persecutionibus fortiter et animosè frequenter se opposuerunt."

Cardinals de Propaganda Fide, at Rome, in 1658. This author suggested that none but those of the more ancient Irish extraction should be trusted with prelacies or chief offices over the Irish secular or regular clergy ; and that neither Bishops nor others, who had at any time opposed Rinuccini, General Owen O'Neill, or the Ulster party, should have permission from Rome to return to Ireland, lest they should again attempt to mislead the people.

More than a century later—in 1763—the Abbé Mac Geoghegan observed in reference to the Ulstermen: “ Les Ultoniens, sans faire injure aux autres provinces, furent toujours les plus zélés défenseurs de la religion et de la liberté. Si leur exemple avoit été suivi par les autres provinces, la domination Angloise eut été ruinée sans ressource en Irlande ; mais ils sont aujourd’hui les victimes de leur zèle, par la lacheté de ceux qui avoient des sentimens moins généreux qu’eux.”

While, however, the “ Aphorismical ” author judged the acts of individuals and bodies from the points of view taken by himself and his party, it is to be borne in mind that those whom he censured had, no doubt, grounds on which they could have justified their own political courses in the complicated and difficult circumstances in which they were frequently placed in those times.

The “ Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction ” is in itself an interesting and curious chronicle of the acts of some of the chief old Celtic families of Ireland during eleven years of great historical importance. With the addition of the numerous letters and papers, published in our appendixes for the first time, the work furnishes a larger body of original contemporary material than has hitherto been accessible for the history of the Irish in the period over which it extends.

JOHN T. GILBERT.

*Villa Nova, Blackrock,
Dublin,
16th August, 1880.*

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APHORISMICAL DISCOVERY
OF
TREASONABLE FACTION.

FIFTH BOOKE OF APHORISMICALL DISCOVERY OF TREASONABLE FACTION (CONTINUED).

1651.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TRAGEDIES and comedies are noe where soe rife as upon the bloudie stage of warr. Hope and feare are incompetent judges in these lists, and cannott determine which side hath the better, because the euent proves for the most parte contrarie to the begininge; wherefore lett not him triumphe that putteth on his armour, but him that putteth it off.

794.

Tasso Ca. 10.
Terent. An.
Salust. Jug.
Veget. 1. 3.
Alciat. Embl.

Insuperata accidunt magis sæpe quàm quæ speres.

Plaut. Most.

Two tragedies or comedies are to be represented at present; the one, that in the conventicle meetinge and cabinet councell of comannders in Jamestowne aforesaide, Clanricarde did apointe for comissioners of the province of Linster, with full power and authoritie in both civill and martiall affaires. Sir Richard Barnewall, Sir Robert Thalbott, Thomas Tyrrell, Gerald Fitz-Geralde, Roger Moore, and Walter Bagnall, all which (except Moore——) were both factioniers and traytors against God, kinge, and nation (as heretofore seuerally mentioned), and for soe, were by deputy Clanricard authorized; whoe erre longe wilbe a meane, not onely of the distruction of that prouince, but of all the kingdome.

Comissioners
for Linster
affaires.

The other comedie, that in the province of Linster, was one Iohn Fitz-Patricke, son and heire to Florence Fitz-Patricke and Bridgid Darcie; this Iohn, a yonge youth before the separation of the Confederats, upon the Cessation of the Baron of Insichuyne, with Owen Oneylle, was captain of horse. But at the occasion of the saide Cessation revolted from his colours, and became a member of the foresaide treague or Cessation; amonge the rest his chiefe motiue was, that he and Insichuyne were cossen germans, their grandmother on both sides beinge the Baron of Delvins daughter. This Barons descent wee now call Earle of Westmeath, and in the very same degree of kindred this Fitz-Patricke is into the now Earle of Westmeathe. When all the Linster forces went unto Conaght (as no. [blank] mentioned), this Iohn stayed in the countrye; and from a captain, by privat authoritie, was nominated colonell, and certaine dispersed parties adhered unto him, and Maior Richard Grace, governor of Birr, for the Catholicks, was become his Lieutenant-Colonell, Colonell Edmond Duyre, and severall other captains of both horse and foote, that rann a particular score, had their dependance now of him, soe that his partie did increase to two thousande foote, and the relation of 400 horse, goinge in the nature of a runinge armie to and fro, that he was feared, and did much mischiefe, and brought 4 or 5 countiees under contribution duely to be payed unto him,

795.

Iohn Fitz-
Patrickes rais-
inge and
seruice.

His alliance to
Insichuyne and
Westmeath.

Lieutenant-
Colonell Rich-
ard Grace.

1651.

What Coote
lost in Mil-
licke.

and this by the consent of the enemie, whoe tooke severall hoults and garrisons from the enemie, and demolished them, but takinge Millicke in the Shanon, kept a garrison of his owne there, but after loste by Sir Charles Coote, which cost him the hearts bloude of 500 roundheades; he won Castle Jordan and burnte it Richard Grace, his now Leutenant-Colonell, goinge with a partie to Raghra, a garrison of the enemie, on the Shanon, did easily win the same and demolished it.

Why John
Fitz-Patrick
stayed in
Linster.

Fitz-Patrick, in this condition, with a considerable partie, his goinge to Conaght was seuerally moved by the Linster forces in Conaght unto Deputy Clanricarde, but in vaine, though gaue sometimes a publicke consent therto, by his privat instructions, was contermanned, whoe acted some service that did in the conceite of many men excuse his non-compliance of former requests, but all tended to proper intreste. And as was truly bruted, receaued his influence from his cossen Insichuynne, and consequentlie of the factioniers as hereafter will clearly apeare.

796.

What did
hinder his
goinge to Bal-
limore?
His assevera-
tions for re-
ligion.

In confirmation wherof, is to be obsearued, that after the takinge of Castle Jordan, this Fitz-Patrick was to marche to Ballimore and Mollingare, and was confident to thrive, as mightie feared by the enemie, the Linster forces of Conaght then in the countie of Longforde, the Vlster armie stronge in the fiede, and himself a stronge partie (as aforesaide), to give a rubb unto this seeminge loyall and avaylable service, his cossen Westmeathe dispatched his addresses unto him from Jamestowne, inhibittinge the same (as wee haue had by good and reall authors), receavinge which he encamped in Ballicowin in Ferkall, where he fell sicke, expectinge some daies there to receave a further resulte, was sued unto by both laytie and ecclesiastickes, to goe forwarde in his wonted service, whoe assured them by many asseverations to continue still his obedience unto his religion and its ministers, but when least any rapture or change was thought in him, went awaye to his natieue countrie, Ossorie, in the countie of Kilkeny, and comanded his partie to disperse, whoe neuer after apered in field—for——

797.

Westmeath
and his Comis-
sioners.

The Earle of Westmeath arriuinge to Linster (as aforementioned) under the name of generall therof, with noe considerable partie, though publickly boastinge to acte braue service, where meetinge with the foresaide Comissioners, intrusted by Deputie Clanricarde, alone gaue seuerall patents of Colonells to such as he well knewe to be of the same sense with him and his adherents, to Maior Fitz-Zymons, havinge that encumbencie under Sir James Dillon, and this disbanded by a councill of warr in Conaght, for the surrender of Athlone (though after promoted by the institution of Clanricarde), and that the saide regiment should not disperse. Fitz-Zymons was, by Westmeathes apointment, honored with the name of a Colonell, and soe was My Lord of Clannaliry, Westmeathes cossen, etc. This Generall, and the foresaide Comissioners, sittinge every daie in consultation how to manage both civill and martiall affaires of Linster, what followed those privat intentions, was to employe all the dispersed armies and regiments of Linster to force and bringe in what contribution those supercilious ministers of iniquitie did thinke fitt to impose upon eache countie, threatninge fire and sworde to the faylers, which was promised by both enemie and native, rather then loose the principall; upon this score a heape of moneye, corne, and beeces came to the comon purse of

Fitz-Zymons
and Clanma-
lirie apointed
Colonells by
Westmeath.
The gouern-
ment of both
Generall and
Comissioners
in leauyinge of
moneye and
corne.

Generall and Comissioners, £10,000 in moneye, 10,000 barrells of corne, and 4000 1651.
 beefes, or a consideration for them, from the poore Catholicks resident in the
 Englishe quarters. This was thought in the begininge to presage a good use and
 better seruice, and that all would be employed towards the meanes of the militia to
 invite them to the field, the English armie of Monster and Linster engaged in the
 siedge of Limbricke, which if he had don, would either recall these armies to the
 saide provinces, or goe through with a faire peece of service without any consider-
 able opposition, the foresaide sume might keepe a good armie for a long time in
 the field. But all these favorable constructions, and offered occasions of service was
 frustrated, for all those levies cominge unto this peere-generalls purse, was devided
 betweene him, Drumore, that had beene now his fidus-Achates, and the Comissioners,
 the militia had not as much as a fardinge of it, neither did he call them to the field,
 rather pleadinge povertie and disabilitie, if any of the well affected did move the
 same unto him. All the while that this tragedie was acted did reside in his
 cossen Clanmalirys and Maior Barnaby Dempsies houses, pamperinge himself with
 Drumore and the rest of the Comissioners, all the Catholicks of that poore province
 (of whom exacted the foresaide sum) bleedinge under the insuportable yoke of
 both supposed friende and foe. He left noe stone unmoved nor pulse unhandled to
 drawe men to his faction; amonge the rest, dayly addresses were dispatched to his
 cossen Fitz-Patricke (as a man of a considerable partie), whoe for a while publicly
 dissembled, but privatly became a prime member of the faction, did nothinge but
 accordinge his orders, though seuerally made the clergie beleeeve the contrarie,
 those be the two tragedies and comedies that I offer to your viewe upon the
 theater of the present chapter, represented by onely 9 persons, Clanricard, West-
 meath, Iohn Fitz-Patricke, and six comissioners. Audite cœli quæ loquor. Lett
 us now turne to Clanricarde himself.

Theire dis-
 service against
 God, nation,
 and kinge.

His endea-
 vours to work
 rent and
 devision.

John Fitz-
 Patricke did
 now discover
 himself for the
 faction.

1651

CHAPTER XXV.

798.

Tacit. An. 4.
Plut. ad im-
perit. ducem.
Salust. Cat.
Claudian ad
Theodos.

THE monarche first propoundeth honor, then the publicke good: and, lastly, proprietary intrest and profit. But the popular state euermore inverteth this order, for it hath privat gaine in the first intention, the comon good in the seconde, and honor in the last; which diversitie of proceedinge ariseth not out of the different formes of their gouernment, but out of their different natures that gouerne soe greate odds there is betweene a prince and a cittizen.

Nec tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit
Occurrat, mentemque domet respectus honesti.

Sumons for a
generall as-
sembly in
Jamestowne.

About the begininge of now October Deputy Clanricarde did issue his sumons to all concerned, both spirituall and temporall, lords and comons, to apeere in Jamestowne about the first of November followinge in an assemblie of the whole kingdome. My Lord Primat did advice both clergie and laitie in his province, and other his associats in the kingdome, to be there then without faile, and to sticke to the above article of Generall Owen Oneylls capitulation, and to the articles of transactions, and promised by Gods grace to be there himself in person. Depty Clanricarde allsoe is mightie busie, rendringe all the members of the faction sensible of his owne departure from the kingdome, in case albe not left in the foresaide assemblie unto his owne brest, as in that of Loghreagh was foolishly don, all which you maye be acertaind off by the proper insuinge letter, which is as followeth:

799.

Clanricards
factionall
letter to Dru-
more.

My Lord,

In pursuance of former discourses briefly touched upon in my dispatche of the 8 of this present, I helde it necessarie to send your Lordship herin inclosed a copie of a letter of the Bishope of Fearnese to the Lord Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Geffry Browne, as Comissioners employed and authorised by me, together with a copie of another paper by them intituled an agreement with the Duke of Lorraine, that by these your Lordship may obsearve the efficacie of the prelate, his powerfull spirit in perswadinge and prevaylinge with the Comissioners to breake and betraye the trust I reposed in them in his Majesties behalfe, and as farr as my judgment and observation can reache, sellinge or rather confiscatinge the kinge his royall intereste and rights in this kingdome, and the nations loyaltie, freedome, and birth-rights, without any authoritie or certaine provision made in any proposition to suporte them, either in obedience or rebellion, and yett by an evident consequence engaginge themselues in a perpetuities of warr, and questionlesse unto a present fate, rent, division, if upon the meetinge of the Assembly it shalbe founde that I cannot be any further usfull to the preservation of the king-

dome, and shall resolute to retire meself, which is not yett any settled resolution in 1651.
me, but rather the contrarie, if men shalbe drawn unanimously to understande
theire condition, and act theire parts soe as may giue most probabilitie of saftie
and successe, which I shall both by reason and preparation endeavour to perswade
them to; I doe, howeuer, expecte in which of those courses I shall styre. Your
Lordship and other prelates and churchmen doe me that right as to giue testimonie
what authoritie I had for these proceedings I am soe highly traduced for, and
what rules and principles of religion hath tempered and guided the disposition of
your Lordship affectionate, humble servant,

Aghinniur, 16 October, 1651.

Signed, Clanricarde.

Subscribed: For the Bishop of Drumore.

Copia vera: Ita testor Edmondus Laghlinensis Episcopus.

Post Scripta.

Post Scripta. I doe with some confidence expecte an agent with some supplies
from the Court of France before Christmas, and sure I am theire owne intreste
ought to quicken them unto it. Signed ut supra. Clanricards
Post Scripta.

The prime seducer of mankind did scarce penn soe malitiously and false a letter
as the present, the parte of Fearnensis his letter, wherof he makes mention, you
maye finde n°. 726, wherin is nothinge why he should be soe traduced by this
peere, other then that the good prelate (as in duetie obliged) did censerly offer the
agents his owne opinion, what in conscience were bounde to doe, to submitt them-
selves unto his Holinesse, not onely in theire owne, but in the whole kingdome
name, in the behalfe of an absolution from My Lord Nuncios censures; all this was
sutable to reason, conscience, and his function. What other things the prelate
writes of Clanricarde in the saide letter of his seuerall excommunications a jure et
ab homine, both citty and worlde are eye wittnesses; why, then, should he be
offended, havinge Drumore and other factionists to certify the contrary, as in the
later end of this letter is desired? What he speaketh one time of the agents, sent
imediately by himself to his Highnesse, denies presently in the same instant letter,
he doth acknowledge to be authorized by him, to treat and conclude with his
Highnesse, and presently saith, they have don soe without any authoritie; to
haue authoritie and not to haue authoritie, in the sense of any reasonable creature,
are repugnant and contradictories, onely in Deputy Clanricards sophisticall in-
ductions are compatible in one and the same subiecte, simul et semel. He sayeth,
those agents did both sell and betraye the Kings intreste in the kingdome, and the
nations birth right; for the truth herof I remitt you to the articles of transaction,
n°. 727, and doe earnestly desirous, if your leasure may searve to peruse seriously
the same, wherin you shall finde all the conditions the nation could desire in both
spirituall and temporall affaires. Sure his Majestie him self haue seene the
transactions before he did write unto his Highnesse, desiringe him to continue his
covenant with his subjects of Ireland, as is observable in Doctor Tyrrells letter,
Soe.
The malice
and falsitie of
the former
letter dis-
couered.
His contra-
dictions in his
letter.
Impossible.
By the perusal
of the trans-
actions may
finde this false.

1651.
The Kings
therupon.

Luc. 18.
801.

What the
Duke of
Lorraine doe
undertake.

Is this soe
prejudicious as
Clanricarde
made it ?

His intentions
in the generall
assembly, how
godly you may
judge.

The fate of
Loghreagh.

Pharacie-like
contumacie.

To force faith-
full soules.

Drumores
character.

802.
He means
Ormond.

n^o. 788. Did any man conceave his Majestie soe farr foolish as to write such a letter into soe eminent a prince, the matter touchinge him soe neere, to soe high a preiudice as the irrevocable losse of a kingdome (as Clanricarde makes it), in which case either Clanricard doe judge his Majestie a foole, or at leaste not sensible, and himself the onely Phariseus, wise, and vertuous, but——

There is noe indifferent judge that will conceave by the saide articles of transaction what Clanricarde doe finde in them (it might be that his gramarian construction of Latin phrase are like his philosophicall inductions, if soe, canot but halte), his Highnesse doe therby engage himself to plant Catholicke religion in all the kingdome, to restore the nation their proper patrimonie, to asiste his Majestie against his enemies in other his kingdomes, and all charges in the behalfe of this service undergoen payed, will quitt and relinquishe the kingdome, both cuntorie townes and other. Is this, I praye, so preiudiciouse to both kinge and nation that it will cause rent and division, as Clanricard sayeth ? But verily he sayeth truth, for he and his faction cannot brooke to heare of any thinge that did importe the restauration of religion, and the nation libertie. If the generall assemblie of the kingdome will not joine with him against publicke oathe and couenant giuen to soe eminent a person, yeldinge us therby all wee could rationally desire, and soe render ourselves obnoxious of periurie, fraude and deceite, treacherie and disloyaltie (which is his scope for the present), to place all the nation in the same predicament that is in himself, to brande such as have beene hitherunto both loyall and faithfull with this publicke character, as he had don in the assembly of Loghreagh (where his divine clemencie gaue a taste of future disaster to that house with a shott of a thunder-bolt, to testifie to posteritie how many ungodly, impious, and treasonable faction was hammered, amused, and putt in execution in that fecunde and sterill mansion of Clanricarde, whoe, seeinge the sworde of Gods juste indignation drawn in his house (et pugnabit pro eo orbis terrarum contra insensatos), is nothinge sensible, rather to further crowne his malice, doe intende Jamestowne to be the theater of such another tragicall scene, promisinge in this letter to prove by reason his owne assertion currant. But what he meanes by preparation (therin mentioned) I doe not well knowe, unlesse it be to bringe an armie in the assemblie sight, therby to force such as have beene ever yett faithfull to his proper sense ; this surmishe will be soone discovered by other his letters. He is assured of his owne prelates (cognosco oues meas, et cognoscunt me meæ), that they will give him as false a testimonie as he will desire. I pittie your case, Drumore, as confidente to signe to the calefication of this seeming Catholicke peere, though antagonist of religion, and a Henritian dogmatiste. I hould better to continue in your Protestante colledge, then to weare the holy weede of glorious S. Dominicke, and after to hoode yourself with S. James his meeter, under these vizards to deceaue inocent soules, and become a prostitute of all religion, qui mittit manum suam ad aratrum et respiciens retro, etc.

Obsearue now his post scripta, to confirme his other fopperies and leasings, he expects an agent with supplies from the Courte of France, and this before Christinas. O deceite and malice, he meanes here, Ormond, that his owne intreste may quicken him. I haue euer yett obsearved by those factionists, that as often

as they treat with the rest of the Confederats in publicke assemblies or comissions, 1651. either of cessation or peace, whither side soeuer inclined themselues to drawe the well affected to that straine, did write many false relations of foraigne and domesticke matters, suitinge to their malaparte intentions, if to force (as it were) conditions on the kings behalfe, did publish to have receaued letters of late from his Majestie, importinge the same and threateninge the opposers; and other times to haue receaued true intelligence (though in noe posture of defence), that his Majestie gaue the parliament amightie foyle, all which were both forged and foperie, intended onely to deceaue people and discourage silly soules (though well affected) that did oppose any the pretences of such as carried the regall authoritie, as here obseyable by Clanricard, menacinge the cominge of Ormond with Frenche supplies, herby dissuadinge and couertly inhibitinge the people the compliance of oathe and covenante with his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine. My Lord of Drumore (to whom the present addresse) haue euer bene a greate professor of this trade, for when Kilkeny flourished with the resorte of the kingdome, this prelate was sure to write propria manu many packetts from Rome, Spaine, France, Holland, and Englande, bearinge their date, and to him directed from eminent persons, with all the relations in them parts hapninge, with the intimation of matters of state in the saide respective kingdomes, this did privatly infuse into euerie mans cares, and soone after were published as truth and braue intelligence in the counsell table of Kilkeny, but all forged by the author as this peere his discipline in the present letter.

The genius of
factionists.

Drumores
trade in
Kilkeny.

But if any be soe curious as to putt the question, why is Clanricarde, and the rest of his faction (for the most parte), soe stiffe against the articles of transaction, if they imply, as formerly mentioned? For reason, I saye, to oppose those articles that warranteth, in the firste place, restauration of religion and restitution of birth right to the natives, is conformable to the principles of factionists. What did they euer goe about to undoe, diminish, and destroye, other then those two points, luster of religion and the juste title of the natiue? for you shall finde non of the faction but haue either Church livinge, or the natiues right, or both, as Ormond, Clanricarde, Westmeathe, Costllagh, Insichuyne, Taaffe, etc. Now that the Church did turne to its ancient splendor, and the natiue to his predecessors right, those greate ones did become beggers by the bargaine, therefore to be reputed constant in their principles (all oathes and covenants to the contrary notwithstandinge), will and doe oppose calamo et armis, as here in Clanricards letter obseyable. Sure if this deputy peere did sitt at the stearne of this kingdome in the behalfe of his Majestie, he would embrace the transactions in better esteeme, as sutable to his Majesties intent and honor, and not sticke to privat gaine. But to other his letter of the same date with the former, and noelesse colloquinge to Westmeath as followeth:

803.

Why Clanri-
card and his
faction doe
oppose the
transactions
and all con-
federacie.

My Lord,

I haue for seuerall daies bene in a longinge expectation to receaue some confirmation of a greate victorie; it was confidently reported your Lordship had gained lately in Linster, as alsoe a confutation of the greate disasters, it is saide,

804.

Clanricards
letter to
Westmeath.

1651.

his Majestie hath receaued in England, which by seuerall circumstances I am invited to beleue it was not soe fatall as reports did make it, and that he is againe recouered to a hopfull condition. I haue now sent, in pursuance of former dispatche, some papers of concearnment to My Lord of Drumore, as conceaivinge him to be the better scholler, and able to giue your Lordship a cleere account therof, then by an immediat addresse to your selfe. I haue now almost finished my foraigne dispatches, and hope the midle of the nexte weeke to be in the heade of an armie that will overnumber Sir Charles Coote, and maye possibly haue as much courage as himself, and when I haue putt them in the best order I can, I shall prepare myself to encounter the Assembly with learned orations, where wilbe produced matters of very greate importance to the publicke, and of very neere concearnment to your particular person, and intreste of

Your Lordships very affectionat and humble servant,

Achaniur, 16 October, 1651.

Signed, Clanricarde.

Subscribed: For the Earle of Westmeath, Generall of Linster, etc.

Copia vera: Ita testatur Fr. Bonauentura OMellaghlin, Guardian of Killihy, etc.

CHAPTER XXVI.

805.

Tacit. Hist. l. 1.

Lip. an. l. 3.

Plin. Nat.

Hist. lib. 8.

c. 33.

AMONGE states that haue intercourse of trafficke or dispute of right together, euery alteration in the one begettis newe deliberation in all the rest, especially upon the death of any prince, in whose state apeeres a newe face of all things. Wherefore in these deliberations the neighbour states must imitat the camælion, whoe often changeth his colour, and is alwaies with his eyes open. Soe must they change theire former resolution, and looke as well with the left eye upon what may be hurtfull, as with the right upon what maye be advantagious unto them.

Nunquam eos [oculos] aperit, nec pupillæ motu, sed totius oculi versione circumspicit. Ipse celsus hianti semper ore. . . Et coloris natura mirabilior. Mutat namque eam subinde.

What veritie
maye be con-
tained in those
you see.

If a man of a meane rank did penn such stuffe in his letter to his equall, I would be of that iury that did giue theire verditt against him of false, impious, and deceauer; but to speake of this deputy peere, acertaininge himself and others of such chymericall assertions, is transcendent to the beinge of a ciuilinge penn, other then examen his saide letters veritie, and leaue him to the doome of the Psalmiste, omnis homo mendax. He is in travaylle to heare of a greate victorie Westmeath had gained in Linster, meere foperie, a man that neuer gathered an armie unto the fiede since he was apointed generall, nor any partie did sticke unto himself, that did acte worthe 6*d.*, rather worked all the meanes possible for faction, dispersion, rent, and division (which, for ought I conceaue, is the victorie Clanricarde speakes of in his addresse), as all that distracted prouince by wofull experience did too well knowe, nay, all kingdome, onely Clanricarde was ignorant of it.

Rent and
division is
the victorie
gained by
those.

The other parte of his letter, wheare he speakes of his Majesties distresse, is noe lesse grounded upon sandie fundation and false surmishes, and invented by his proper braine, for there is not an ould woman in all Ireland but hearde of the kings overthrow in Englande, and to quitt the whole kingdome was forced to disguise himself, otherwise was impossible to departe with saftie; such a narrowe search was made for him, if this be to be in a hopefull condition (as Clanricarde saith in this his letter), any man maye judge, wherin he rather expresseth his gyrynge and joyltie then any tendernesse or compassion for his Majesties disastrous fate, which is that wee alwaies obiecte against him. All his foraigne dispatches are destructive to both kinge and kingdome, tendinge still to faction against both, henderinge the covenant agreede upon with his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, conducinge to the unspeakable avayle of kinge, nation, and religion.

It is strange what armie he speakes of here, that he will be in the heade of in the middle of the next weeke, for wee see noe liklihood of any such matter, Conaghtmen doe not apeere, the Vlster forces are warie, and determined not to joine with him, untill it be seene in the assembly of Jamestowne what wilbe con- ceaued in the behalfe of Generall Owen Oneylles application and agreement with Ormond, pursuant to My Lord Primats addresse to the gentrie of Vlster (n^o. 791). As for Monster and Linster armies, there is noe possibilitie of their goinge thither, all passadges taken by the enemye. And in case those were free, and they willinge to joine with this deputie-peere (as they are not), they could neuer compasse that speede pretended by him. As for his courage, wee never hearde untill now it comended by any, nor that euer he drewe a sworde, either in publicke or privat quarrell; the number, orderinge of thea rmie, and his preparation to encounter the assemblye, the kinge to be in a hopfull conditione, and the suposed victorie of Westmeath in Linster, are onely specified in his letter as motives to force obedience from such as euer yett proued faithfull and loyall to both kinge and nation (which is the faction custome, as already mentioned). He braggs of his abilitie in learninge to induce people into his owne sense, where he smells of a rounde heade, esteeminge himself a fitt instrument of preachinge, as indued with that Puritanicall spirit, assuminge unto himself what God did ordaine to belonge onely unto the ministers of spirituall function. Any indifferent judge wilbe of opinion, the former letter to tende to faction, rent, and division. And to drawe the other peere ad quem, tells him that what he will move in the assembly will be of neere concernment to his particular person and his owne proper intrest. This last I doe well beleue, in his idea, now to the third of the same date.

Sir, to perfect former dispatche to My Lord of Drumore, I haue now sent him some papers of greate concernment, which I desire should be speedily imparted unto you, and I am sure wilbe readily performed by him, by which you will finde with what martiall men of honor and intrest are persecuted that labour most to preserue this nation. All that is deere unto us and our posteritie is now at the last fatall stacke, I hardly knowe how to perswade you to come of the felde, and yett it is of greate necessitie it should be soe conthriued, as that you may not faile to be at Jamestowne the first daie of the Assembly, where I shall offer to your consideration

1651.

806.

Gyrynge his
Majestie in
his now
distresse.What his
foraigne dis-
patches be.

807.

The impossi-
bilitie of his
assertion here,Is to force
obedienc.Smells a Round
heade.Proper intrest
his obiecte.

808.

Clanricards
letter for
Sir Walter
Dungan.

1651.

whether I am to endeavour to searve you longer, or to present you with the last
farewell of

Your affectionate freinde,

Achannuire, 16 October, 1651.

Signed, Clanricarde.

Subscribed : For Walter Dungan, Comissarie-generall of horse.

Copia vera : Ita testatur Fr. Bonaventura OMellaghlin, Guardian of Killihy, etc.

CHAPTER XXVII.

809.

Arist.

Horat. Ep. 2.

Tacit. Hist. 3.

Senec.

Lamp. de

Seuero.

EUERY man must have credit in the art he professeth, but noe power to perswade to a businesse which wee call into deliberation, and maye concerne his advantage in particular, for the architecte and master of the workes will alwaies advico us to builde, though wee neither haue matter enough prepared, nor purse sufficiently lined for such a purpose : because it is for his proper imployment and benefitt. Soe states must be adviced and overruled by the souldier in the manage of a warr ; but he seldome admitted to the deliberation of undertakinge it :

Fuit illi consuetudo, ut si de jure, aut de negotijs tractaret, solos doctos et disertos adhiberet ; si vero de re militari, milites veteres et senes ac bene meritos, et locorum peritos, ac bellorum et castrorum.

Clanricards
ciphers and
whoe haue the
keye ?

His continuall
complainte of
Fernensis.

That the
faction peeres
did forfeite
both creation
and estates by
the lawe.

Clanricards
malitious
intention.

All and singular his letters, this peere doe write and begin with a greate imphasis, comencinge, in pursuance of former dispatche, or to perfecte former dispatche, which I beleeve is the cipher betweene him and the rest of the faction, wherof Drumore is the keye, referringe unto him the exposition of those misteries, and the impartinge of these secret ridles in whom he reposeth greate confidence, still he complains of Fernensis (as he conceaues) abusinge his Excellencie, tearminge himself, in this letter, a martiall man of honor and intrest, before those times those two later epythomes are true and did him compite, but now the case is altered, for in justice and equitie, may be exempted from eache these denominations by the lawes of both kingdome, nation and armes, first by the lawe of the kingdome, Ormond, Clanricarde and others their adherents did forfeite their creation and estates, for their seuerall treasons committed against his Majestie since those comotions, and consequently their honor, which cannot be recalled other then by both kinge and parliament, which I suppose to be allsoe the lawe of nations. As for the lawe of armes, there is noe question but they lost both honor and intreste, as havinge acted nothinge praise worthy, wherby to gaine or continue honor, as for intrest lost it by the sworde : Wherefore in vaine doe this quondam peere challenge any the former denominations. He invites this prime (though a slippe of a boye) factionier to comply with his desire, to be at Jamestowne the first day of the assemblie, though loathe to call him from the fiede, whearas since this mans arrivall unto Linster, neither himself or his partie, naye, nor such as hitherunto were mightie earnest in the cause in hande, did stirr hande or foote in any service,

by his and Westmeathes infusion, other then gather contribution from the enemie quarters, many other stronge parties (alias against theire stamocke) were scattered here and there, inhibited by these recent comannders, suborned ministers, and factionall members, to acte any service against the enemie, wherby you may conceaue the temper of this deputy-peere, makinge, as it had beene, a scruple to call this man from the fiede, wheares was none at all, which he very well knew, and makes noe scruple to speake here against his minde. The cause why he is soc earnest for this mans aparance at Jamestowne, to offer unto his consideration what he will there propose, and to present him with his last farewell, an use too often put in vre by this peere, to edge the faction for his detainment, and to force continuance of obedience in the rest, in case the most parte of the nation there assembled will not joine in faction, treason, and periurie with him, shake hands with disloyaltie, abjure oathe and covenant, publicly and solemnly agreeede upon with his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, but to departe from the kingdome is the leaste of his thoughts, as by Westmeathes letter formerly of one date with the presente may apeere. It seemes he was not of counsaile with the Emperor Seuerus (as our Aphorisme did sett out) that in matters of goverment and consultations of comonwealth business, did invite learned and discreete men, and in the consultations or decisions of martiall affaires, did onely admitt of ancient and experthe comannders. But our peere admitts of non such, rather of ignorant and beardlesse boyes, like Roboam, Solomons degenerat childe, what then shall any true hearted man giue credence to those foperies and its author, wherein he writes neuer a worde worthy beleefe, as altogether tendinge to particular intrest and profitt (as he alleadgeth in this his addresse), wherin he, or those by him invited, should haue noe vote, these his three former letters doe giue a large testimonie of his intentions suitable to our present discovery, in ore duorum vel trium testium stat omne verbum.

1651.

Vae vobis qui dicitis bonum malum et malum bonum.

His pharisaicall scruple, Math. 23.

This is the 4th time he dissembleth his departure.

Seuerus Emperours wisdom.

3 Reg. 12.

Math. 18.

CHAPTER XXVII. [A].*

THE freindship of princes is often personall, of free states neuer: for they either upon some freindly enterviewe, or entercourse of kinde letters, or interchange of good turnes, or affinitie of bloude, doe condole the losse, congratulat the successe, supply the wants, relive the distresses, and redresse the wrongs one of another, through some bonde of bloude or affection, whearas free states performe none of those good offices, but for theire owne ends: and they that receive them are thankfull noe longer then while they are in receavinge, for nothinge is shorter liued amonge them then the memorie of benefitts. One ounce of suposed unkindnesse overweigheth a pounce of former freindship, and not to continue to doe them good is to begin to doe them wronge.

810.

Erasm.

Petrarch.

Plut. fol. 511.

Calphur.

Vilia quoque prioribus annis, et sordet quicquid spectavimus olim.

In the n°. 780 wee spoke of Anthony Geoghegan, Vicar-generall of Meath, sent by the congregation of Ardmagh agent to the congregation of the province of

Anthony Geoghegan, Vicar of Meath, appointed agent.

* The preceding chapter, commencing at page 10, is also numbered 27 in the MS

1651.

Linster; amonge other acts there conceaved was, that the respectiue provinces should choose, nominat, and authorize dellegats to meete and sitt in Galwaye, to treat of all affaires tendinge to the avayle of the kingdome, as to receaue intelligence from Rome, and to be conuersant with the Duke of Loraigues agent for the time beinge, as allsoe to endeavour to keepe both militia and inhabitants of Galwaye in due and constante obedience in the kingdome service, as condoling the providinge losse that did hange over theire heades, like true and reall Confederats, furnishinge them with this spirituall supplye, as a preservative antydott againste the mortall poysons of venemous faction. The congregation of Linster did apointe the foresaide Vicar-generall of Meath, Fr. Bonaventura OMellaghlin, and Father Francis Fox (the one of Killihy, and the other of New Rosse guardian) to be dellegats, as above mentioned, whose instrument for that purpose is as followeth:

811.

By the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of both Clergie of the Province of Dublin:

The congregation of the province of Linster for agents for a newe Confederacie.

Bryan
Mc Phelim,
Daniell Keuanagh,
Iohn Fitz-Patrick,
Roger Moore,
with theire adherents,
made the application to the clergie.

Whearas seuerall of the gentrie and inhabitants of the province of Linster, takinge notice of the heaue hand of God, streatched fourth against this nation, occasioned (as they conceave) by the violation of the vowes this nation made to God for the mantaininge of his religion and cause, in a Catholicke confederacie and union, haue made some application to us the clergie of theire grivances, desiringe us to take some course, for the asswadginge Gods wrathe, and the preservation of the relicks of this distressed nation, with a promise and protestation to seconde our juste endeaours in that behalfe. Wee therefore, the saide clergie, havinge maturely considered and thought of all the waies and devices that maye be had for the preservation of the intrest of God, kinge and countrie, and takinge seriously to our consideration that the enfrenchinge and violatinge the Catholicke and holy confederacie, the vowes and oathes made for the mantaininge therof, and the introducinge of a schismaticall, if not hereticall and arbitrarie, gouernment upon this Catholicke nation, destructive to the libertie therof, haue beene and are still aparant motiues of Gods just indignation towards us: thought it our duetie not to dissemble any further with God, or our flocke, in soe neere and soe bitinge a scourse, but rather to take a present effectuall course, wherby the saide just cause of Gods indignation maye be withdrawen from us, and the intrest of God taken in hande, by joininge in a league with him our Creator and Conserver, and joininge ourselves in a Catholicke Confederacie for the preservation of our religion, liues and liberties, hopinge that on our humiliation and returne to him he wilbe graciously pleased to cease from condignly punishinge us, and that he will spare us for the honor of his owne glorious name. And for as much as such a weightie busines as this cannot be handsomely manadged and mantained under God, without civill government, wherby justice maye be administered to all such Catholicks as doe joine actually, or hereafter will joine to this holy covenant and confederacie.

812.

Wee the clergie of the province of Linster, in the behalfe of ourselves, nobilitie and gentry adheringe unto us, or that hereafter will adhere, thinke fitt to constitute and apointe certaine trustie, able and qualified men to joine with such men, as in other provinces wilbe choosen for that purpose, for reiectinge and breakinge the late intruded and schismaticke government, and the renewinge of a Catholicke

Confederacie, accordinge the sense of us, and our associats in other provinces. Wee therefore havinge reposed greate trust and confidence in the integritie, zeale, worth, and capacitie and dilligence of you, Father A. G., Fr. F. F., and Fr. B. M., doe by these presents in the behalfe of us the clergie of the province of Linster and our adherents choose, constitute and authorize you the saide fryers, or any two of you, wherof the saide Father A. G. to be one, to sitt in counsell with some of the other provinces, as they shall meete to that purpose, and therin heare, determine and conclude a modle of government, and the renovation and framinge of a Catholicke Confederacie, in vestinge them, the saide fathers, with as ample power and authoritie in civill and martiall affaires, as for composinge the saide ends, may be necessarie, conducinge with which allsoe God and nature, have given on our hands in soe desperat a condition of lusinge the intreste of God and this Catholicke nation. Provided allwaies the saide councellors shall not take upon them, or keepe this authoritie farther then untill settlement of the Catholicke Confederacie, shalbe thought fitt and expedient by the free assent and consent of the maior parte of the Catholicks of this nation.

Given in the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of Belladrohide, the 24 of September, 1651.

Signed, Edmondus Laghlensis, Congregationis Præses,
de mandato Congregationis.

Antonius Geogheganus, P. C. Cancellarius.

This is the power the congregation giues the saide dellegats, in imitation of other provinces whoe doe the like, which is pursuant to the sense and desire of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide; I have reseraved this (though of sooner date then Clanricards former letters) to this place, not for any oblivion, but suposinge it to be more proper for the prosecution of our intende.

The instructions of the Linster congregation to the former agents as followeth: 813.

First, that they signifie unto the dellegats of the respectiue provinces, upon 1.
theire meetinge, whoe are faithfull and censere to the Sea Apostolicke, that the clergie of the province of Linster haue choosen comissioners to disanull the late government, and erecte a newe one, pursuant to what is acted in the province of Ardmagh.

Lett them with the rest of counsellours or comissioners of other provinces 2.
call to one place, where they may frame publicke instruments for a newe Confederacie, to witt, an instrument importinge an oathe of association, and an instrument or declaration for the vendication of Catholicke religion; those instruments beinge signed and perfected, are to be sent into the Bishope of Loughlin, or into such as are apointed by him and the congregation of Linster, to be published unto the Catholicke armie of the saide province.

Thirdly, the oathe of association and declaration for religion (noe mention to be 3.
made of any other motiue) for the matter is come to such a desperat condition, that all the remedie of both religion and nation saftie should be onely expected of God, and therefore to him onely wee should addresse ourselves, whoe onely can helpe and succour us. And allsoe that religion beinge the onely motiue of our warefare, will cause the Catholicks of foraigne nations to be more forward in sendinge

1651.

Anthony
Geoghegan,
Francis Fox,
and Bonaven-
tura O'Mel-
laghlin agents.

Clergie
instructions.

1651. succours, then if for other motives declared. And lett none conceaue that beinge onelyc declared for religion, doe derogate any thinge from his Majesties juste prerogatiues, or nation libertie, for whoesoever is faithfull and true to God should be deemed faithfull to kinge and cuntrye.
4. The comissioners or dellegats of the respectiue provinces, meetinge in one place and beinge together, are to frame a mode of gouernment in the behalfe of a newe Confederacie, to call the armie to service and composure, for the raisinge of the sieges of Limbricke and Galwaye, and for the disposinge of other matters civill and martiall.
5. Lett them finde a waye to keepe correspondencie with this and other provinces for the furtherance of theire government.
6. Lett them charitably reccaue the greevances of all the Catholicke comannders, and chiefly of Fitz-Patricke and his adherents, lett them allure all to come to them.
7. Lett them be not averse or contrarie to any thinge that Father Anthony Geoghagan hath in charge from the Secretarie of Propaganda Fide, but rather obsearue and promove the same, and that this the better maye be don, lett them comunicat unto the saide Father what they doe from time to time.
8. If necessarie you maye call an assemblie of both clergie and laitie to further and renewe the Confederacie, and none shalbe called thither, but such as haue beene constante and faithfull hitherto, or such, whose reconcilment is publicke and knowne really to be such, leaste those that favour hereticks should creepe in, and breake out vnto factions, and soe this later error to be worste then the former.
9. Lett none be either receaved or admitted to any office or dignitie in ciuill or martiall government that incurred My Lord Nuncios censures, unlesse they recant and subscribe unto the publicke instrument of submission unto the saide censure to his Holinesse and the Apostolicall Sea, promisinge hereafter to be obedient and faithfull to the saide Sea, which instrument the comissioners or delligats are to sende unto the seuerall provinces in English and Latine, signed by the hands of some industrious clergiemmen. And lett them be carefull to haue the comannders and gentrie, of whom they haue a probable opinion of reconcilment to signe unto the saide instrument.
10. The instrument of the oathe of association or confederacie, onely for Catholicke religion in English and Latin, signed by all the prelats and gentrie of the Confederacie to be sent, as soone as possiblye maye be, beyonde seas, that there printed and published, maye allure and edge all the pious Catholicks to succour and asiste this afflicted cuntrye. And allsoe lett the same instrument be sent to the Prior of Conallmore, that he may procure the printinge and publication therof in Rome and Paris.
11. Lett it be inserted in the modle of government that all ordinaries (though noe bishops), abbotts and priors, whoe before suppression of religion were wont to asiste in Catholicke parliaments, shalbe called and admitted unto the Confederat Assemblies, and there sitt with both consultive and decisiue vote, that all omission herin should not cause a palpable detriment and preiudice to the clergie. Signed and dated ut supra.

All freindly interviewe, the entercourse of kinde correspondencie (hertofore), the enterchange of good turnes, the obligation of pastors to their flocke, and the affinitie of Christian bloude doe worke in the charitable brestes of the members of this congregation to condole the losse of this poore Catholicke nation, and to undergoe all hazarde and difficultie for the applyinge those wholsome salves and remedies, as an antidott to relive the distresses, and repaire what is don amisse by both faction and self-intrest. There is nothinge in the five first instructions but what was continually acted by the clergie in any their sittinge, since those comotions in the first congregation of the province of Ardmagh, in the first generall or nationall of Kilkenye, etc, soe that what here is suggested is noe newe matter, but pursuant to their former principles of confederacie and association. As for the seuenth and 8, any man may obsearue their conformitie to both reason and oathe of association. The 9th, 10th, and 11th are noe lesse warrantable, and allsoe suitable to the first article of transaction, wherof the nation should be sensible, as a publicke covenante, observable by all conscionable men.

As for the 6th instruction, where mention is made of Colonell Iohn Fitz-Patrice, whoe made the clergie of that congregation beleue he was for them, and did publickly sweare there this newe Confederacie, wherof in regarde of his partie was very glad of his conformitie to their intentions; but noe sooner sworne then periured, for thenceforwarde did privatly adhere unto his cossen Westmeath, and did nothinge but accordinge his orders. Bryan Mc Phelime Byrne, whoe ever yett proued faithfull and constant, did in this congregation renewe his oath of association, soe did the Keuanaghs, and Roger Moore, though comissioner apointed by Clanricarde in the province of Linster (as alias noted), whoe acted nothinge publicke or private, that I knowe, in the behalfe of the newe Confederacie, whether proceeded of embecillitie, weaknesse, or otherwise, I leaue to better judgment. Howeuer the clergie was farr mistaken in the comencement of soe heroycke an acte to place such members in the frontespice of their intentions, except Bryan Mc Phelim and Keuanaghs, whoe to their power and abilitie proved reall and Catholicke sticklers to the losse of all that was deere unto them and their adherents, as hereafter more at large. The saide agents thus authorised to be further certified of the proceedings in Linster, did not comence their journey untill the midle of October, when takinge their course for Vlster to be accompanied alonge with the comissioners of that province, and in their waye to passe to the assembly of Iamestowne. But O treason!

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A MAN of noted credit may passe with a lie, and sett a currant stampe upon such false coine. But he that is notorious for his perfidious and double dealings, is allwaies obnoxious to this one inevitable plague, neuer to be beleaved, though he tell the truth.

Nulla damnis fides, verisque doloribus adsit.

Where can wee take hould of this braue warrior and deputy-peere Clanricarde? that cannot existe in one center of constant resolution one monthe, that about the

1651.

814.

The clergie intentions herin.

It is noe newe matter.

815.

Iohn Fitz-Patrice, periured.

Keuanaghs and Byrnes, constant.

Roger Moore, weake.

The clergie deceaved in this acte.

816.

Laert. l. 5.
Cic. pro C.
Rab[irio].
Horat. Ep.
fol. 268.

The instabilitie of Clanricarde.

1651.

The summons
for the
Assembly of
Jamestowne.
A privat con-
termande
therof.

The plague
incident to
perfidie.

The Assembly
ajorned.

begininge of October, issued his summons for a nationall assemblie in Jamestowne to comence about the begininge of the next ensuinge (as n^o. 798 touched); but scarce was the same October finished, or rather his sumons did in publicke viewe apeere, when privatly he did authorise the forementioned comissioners for the affaires of Linster to sitt in a provinciall assembly, and summon the rest of that province therin concearned to apeere accordinge the saide comissioners apointment, which they kepte dormant all the while, expectinge the dissolution of the nationall assemblie, all which was concealed from the well affected both clergie and laity, and accertained only to the faction in the respective provinces, retired himself to the countie and towne of Galwaie, sumoninge the clergie of Conaght there to apeere, sendinge also his missive letters unto Westmeath, Muskrye, Costllagh, Athunrey, and the rest of the faction nobilitie to be in Galwaye upon a peremptorie daye, and not trouble themselues with the generall assemblie of Jamestowne (notwithstandinge his former authentick instruments to the contrarye), all which was privatlie hatched betweene them, the rest that were well affected never dreaminge such a perfidious strategeme; if, therefore, a man conscious of these leasinge proceedings did character the author with double dealinge and notoriously perfidious, and to be obnoxious of an enevitable plague incident to perfidie and distruste, neuer to beleve a worde from him, though he tell the truth, what faithe, then, is due to our present deputie actinge those tragedies? I refer to the readers judgment. The time of the nationall assemblie of Jamestowne aproachinge, both clergie and laitie of the province of Vlster concearned, did with their borderinge adherents apeere, and sittinge there, the deputie, or his nobilitie, or Conatian-refractorie clergie, did not observe their attendants, spendinge some daies there, receaued comannes from Clanricarde to ajorne the Assemblie unto the second of February followinge, which by the ensuinge addresse you may conceave.

817.

The Assembly of Jamestownes letter to Clanricarde:

November the 11th, 1651.

The Assembly-
letter to
Clanricarde.

May it please your Excellencie,

In pursuance of your Excellencies comannes, the Assemblie haue ajorned it self untill the second of February next, and findinge by many reports that your Excellencie and others will not give way that the agreement made with the Duke of Lorraine in the behalfe of this nation by your comissioners or agents entrusted by your Excellencie, and that they shall not take effecte, which stricks a terror into the hearts of many whoe are most willinge to sacrifice their liues and best fortunes in his Majesties service, and in the preservation of their religion and nation, untill your Lordship be pleased to signifye unto them your resolution touchinge the same, which wee presume will remove many misconstructions, and will make the people unanimously to stande to their former engagment to his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, for their owne future good; if by your Excellencies intimation, they will finde that you embrace the saide agreement, humbly conceavinge it the onely preservation of Catholick religion and his Majesties intreste in this kingdome, otherwise wee feare that the losse of Limbricke and other ports of the kingdome,

now in the possession of his Majestic, be imputed to your Lordship, which wee 1651.
humble submitt to your Excellencies judgment, and take leaue, etc.

If any be desirous to knowe the groundes of Clanricarde for the aiorninge 818.
this assemblie, you may conceaue that My Lord Primat and the clergie of both
Linster and Vlster congregation were of one and the same sense, and allsoe the
nobilitie and gentry of Vlster were unanimously to proceede there, accordinge My
Lord Primats desire and their engagment (n^o. 791 and 792 mentioned), with as
many of other provinces as did adhere unto them, wherby Clanricarde did conceaue
and feare his faction to be ouerquoted, for those of his faction in Linster could not
attende there at the present without mightie preiudice, as having then their
harveste in hande, gatheringe money and corne (as above mentioned), workinge
faction, rent, and division in the militia, wherfore thought it more behoofull to
prorogue the assemblie (though neuer intendinge to call it againe) then that the
well affected should obtaine any thinge that was of profitt or honor to either
religion, kinge, or nation, and was neuer soe forward in givinge a rubb unto that
publicke covenant agreed upon with his Highness the Duke of Lorraine, as now,
seeinge the comon sense of that assembly discyphered in the former addresse, quid
vobis videtur? The agents therefore of the congregation of Linster, cominge
towards the countie of Longforde (as n^o. 815 touched), enformed of the dissolution
of the saide nationall assembly, tooke their course towards the countie of Cavan,
to desire My Lord Primate and his clergie the compliace of the acte conceaued by
them in the behalfe of dellegats to be sent unto Galwaye, in vertue wherof did
shewe their authoritie from the Linster congregation, which was fourthwith
grannted, which in Latin is the ensuinge :

The cause why
Clanricarde
did aiorne
the Assemblie.

Consideratis religionis et reipublicæ presenti statu et euidenti periculo, nisi 819.
Divina adsit clementia, eique nostra et aliorum quorum interest subsit industria et
ob alias nobis cognitæ rationes, visum nobis sufficientes et qualificados viros, quibus
vices nostras et utriusque cleri huius provinciae, in hac parte comittamus, nominare,
eligere et constituere, qui unioni et regimini Catholicorum huius regni, et maxime
huius nostræ provinciae, simul cum alijs aliarum provinciarum agentibus vel quot
ex ijs invenerint, incumbant, operando, et constituendo, et tractent, consulant et
determinent, ad Catholicæ religionis et gentis nostræ reliquias conservandas, de
regimine instruendo et formando. Quare nominamus, statuimus et dellegamus
Dominos Doctores Thad : E. D., T. O B. et P. Thō. Mak., de quorum integritate,
fide, et sufficientia confidimus ad finem præfatum cum prædictis agentibus sedeant
et agant sicut per præsentis nominatos et electos constitutos esse volumus, dantes
illis ad hoc auctoritatem nostram et utriusque cleri nostræ provinciae, qua in his
fungimur, quantum ad finis præfati assequutionem attinet, ratum et gratum
habentes et habituri, quidquid pro nobis et vice nostra prædicti domini egerint, in
quorum fidem subscripsimus et sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus.

The Province
of Vlsters
power for
their agents.

Datum Cloghwater, 15 Novembris, 1651.

Hugo Ardmachanus Archiepiscopus et totius Hyberniae Primas.

De Mandato suæ Illustrissimæ Dominationis

Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis.

1651.
Agents for
Galway.

Both Linster and Vlster dellegats thus authorized, wee leave in their jorney towards Galwaye and treat of other matters hapninge in this interim and speacially of the betrayinge of Limbricke.

CHAPTER XXIX.

820.

Cic. Ep. l. 10.
Aristoph.
Phocylid.
Seneca.

CREDULITIE is rather a faulte than an offence, for it hurteth noe man but it self. But in deceite is both the offence in promisinge the credulous more then he meanes to performe, for soe he doth what he should not, and the faulte in faylinge of what he promised, for soe he doth not what he should. The master-peece of this arte is to drawe on the credulous by performance of small things, that he maye the more finely fetche him over in the greater. The onely remedie against such crafte-masters is this, not to trust; for he that trusteth not, can hardly be deceaued.

Magis amicorum inuidiam quam inimicorum insidias cauere debemus.

Doctor Fen-
nells character.

To comence this present tragicall scene, I must of necessitie refreshe your memorie with former passadges, the disserruice of Castlhauen against Limbricke, n°. 734, Patricke Bryans letter of intelligence to Ormond for the obstinacie of Limbricke (as he therin calls the faithfull resistance of the deffendants), n°. 742, and the blockinge up of Limbricke aforesaide by the enemie, n°. 750, in these numbers you maye finde truly and really sett downe the faction of those members, their endeavours for rent and division in that cittie, the number of their abettors, the prime pillars of their combination, and their hopes of good issue, now this potestas tenebrarum is drawn to its period, sutable to their intentions, and leaste any thinge did want in the compliace of their blacke designe, Doctor Gerrott Fennell, Ormonds servant and phisitian and late supream counsellour, and one of the comissioners intrusted upon the late application of Ormond with the Confederats (as n°. 488), prime motor and infuser of all mischiefe, was comannnded to liue in Limbricke to worke rent and division therin, which he did to the uttermost of his abilitie and thriued.

821.

The sidge of
Limbricke.

500 of the
enemie killed.

8000 lost by
him in the
sidge.

After the sidge of a twellmonthe and upwards on one side and a half a yeare on both, Limbricke was taken by Deputy Earthon, whoe builde a towne upon the verie greene of the cittie, wherby did starue the defendants on the side of Monster, at the Shanon side planted his ordinance to giue a rubb unto both trafficke and fishinge, intended to builde a forte at Earle Iland, whether he comannnded 500 men to make workes for the saide purpose, whoe were all killed and drowned by Major-Generall Huigh Oneylle, gouernor for the cittie. Many bickerings hapned in this interim betweene the deffendants and assayllants to the mightie preiudice and discouradgment of these. Soe that duringe this, in all occasions offered, lost the matter of 8000 of his men and upwards, wherof mightie sensible, intended severall

times to raise the sledge, rendring for reason, that it was meere fopperie to loose 1651.

and hazarde soe many men, and undergoe soe greate charges, as the mantaininge of thirteen thowsande men in campania in the fiede, soe longe a time about one towne, and all the kingdome beside theire owne, which beinge left to himself, onely to stopp the sea, did easily and soone yelde it selfe, the pointe of honor did giue a rubb unto those resolutions, that in raisinge the sledge of soe longe continuance, of soe mightie expences, labour, and losse, did proue most advantagious unto the Parliament forces in Irelande, and encourage both the deffendants and other theire adherents in the respective Provinces, did minister fewell to the distraction of the one, and union of the other. By this later discusion of affaires, the warie Generall doe comence to attempte the victorie, by siluer-plate bulletts (as failinge in the ordinarie of other mettle), dispatched seuerall addresses unto Maior-generall Neylle, importinge high protestations of greate preferments if he yelded both citty and person. But this gentlman was soe honorable, that for a world did not betraye the trust reposed on him by the kingdome, alleadinge in his resulte that he was intrusted therin by the consent of both government, citty, and newe elected protector of the kingdome, his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, and upon the undertakinge therof, did promise to keepe it for a twellmonth, and that much (prayse to God) now finisht, did intende to keepe it (though not reliued) for a twelmonth more, which expired, if his Lordship had the patience to waite upon it till then, as he did see reason, was willinge to complye with his Lordships desire in any lawfull and honorable attonment. Interim humbly desired his Lordship, as well to pardon him, as not to trouble himself in any such matter, as too foraigne to his beinge; which is, Sir, to be, Your humble servant, Huigh Oneyll.

The disputes of Earthon about the raisinge of the sledge.

His resolution. His inticinge baits to Huigh Oneyll.

Huigh Oneylls resulte to Earthon.

Earthon therefore, by this and other intimations, findinge his labour lost both in this man and his militaric forces, requiringe all his faculties unto one center of resolution, where the rememorative did represente unto him Maior Fennell, a fitt instrument of refraction, periurie, and treason, whose callinge to minde what this Maior (now resident in Limbricke) haue attempted to betraye Clonmell to My Lord Cromwell (though then preuented by the vigilant care of Huigh Oneyll (as n°. 612 mentioned), addressed himself unto him, whom he well knewe to be capable of such applications, whose notwithstandinge his oathe of fealtie to Huigh Oneyll, n°. 613 touched, willingly embraced this motion, and by the asistants of his uncle, Doctor Fennell, above mentioned, drewe to his partie My Lord of Castl Connell, one of the Bourkes, Colonell Gradye, Colonell Mc Namara and seuerall other officers and comannders of note, with such of the inhabitants of both clergie and laytie, as he was assured off, to be this waye inclined, to all which was Huigh Oneyll a stranger, the peremptorie daye of this blacke scene aproachinge, all conditions for the traytors, onely perfected, theire turne beinge that daye to garde the cittie gates. Major Neylle, standinge in the streete, neuer suspectinge any such treacherie, obsearuinge a greate tumulte at the iner gate and more narrowly espyinge, did obsearue Earthon with his armie, horse and foote, with the sounde of both drumm and trumpett alreadie within the gates, made some motion of opposition. But Fennell there expectinge the issue of his tragedie, ran towards this noble betrayed gouernor, and takinge him by the shoulder, with his pisole spanned.

§22.

Earthons desperation.

His application to Maior Fennell.

Fennell, Castl Connell, Colonell Gradye and Colonell Macnamara combined to betraye Limbricke.

Fennell's treachery.

1651.

Huigh
ONeylle
to Fennell as
our Savior to
Iudas.
Math. 26.
Fennells
answere like
Pilatt.
Ioan. 19.

pointinge at his brest, did swere to bestowe him all therin contained if forwarde he gaue but one steppe, whoe admiringe his bouldnesse, and havinge noe leasure to expostulate, onely saide—I beleeeve it is too late now to offer any defence; but is it possible, friende Fennell, that you did betraye me soe whoe euer yett proved your fast friende? in regarde wherof, I hope you made conditions for me, as for your owne self; whoe answered like Pilate, in the behalfe of the inscripted title of our Savior, quod scripsi, scripsi. What I haue don is don, saide Fennell, never talke of it. Seeinge, saide the Major, I am not (as it seems) included in your conditions, I praye giue me admittance to ride alone towards the enemye comannder, that I may be soe hapie as to surrender unto him freely my owne person. That you maye doe, saide Fennell.

823.

Huigh
Oneyll de-
hueringe his
sworde to
Earthon.

Whearupon the Major roade on to encounter Deputie Earthon, before whom apeeringe, offered his Lordship the pumell of his sword; receavinge the same asked him what he was, whoe answered that he was Huigh ONeylle, and desired his honor the benefitt of the lawe of armes in the behalfe of a souldier of fortune, voluntarily yeldinge himself and the lives of othersuch souldiers as searued under his comande to his Lordship mercy and favour. The deputy gently embraced him, and bad him be of good cheere, and that he would receave noe prejudice. Comanninge his men to ride forwarde, was alone in privat and serious discourse with the Major, which one of his chiefe comannders perceavinge, turninge his horse in a furie, spoke somewhat sensible unto his Lordship, tellinge it was noe time now for such business, that did smell of any lenitie; and that the service did marr for his Lordships non attendants, notwithstandinge all which (Gods providence soe disposinge), Earthon was soe tender of Major Neylls saftie, that before he parted him, did comande his proper garde upon paine of death to attende onely that gentlman, and retire him to a place of saftie, where at their saide perrill he did not receave the leaste prejudice, which was exactly performed, the enemye runinge here and there, massacringe and killinge euery mothers childe they mett, other then the exempted traytors, three daies and soe many nights were they in this bloudie execution, noe growte, seller, prison, church, or tombe was unsearched, all therin founde made peece-mealls, and hanged and quartered; the Bishop of Imly, one of the Bryans, a Dominican fryer, a true and constant childe of holy church was hanged, Major-generall Purcell, seuerally spoken of hertofore, a prime member of faction (now in good time became the good theefe at the right hand of our Savior) was hanged. Master Ba[r]ron of Clonmell, a very understandinge gentlman, adiudged to the gallows, desired respite of execution, till his returne from his lodginge, which beinge admitted with a garde, where he broke open his trunks, and findinge there a newe suite of white taffitie, with all the addresses sutable, as if to be presently married, adorninge himself therewith, roade gallantly (as accustomed) with the garde towards the place of execution, behaued himself ioconde in his behaviur, and soe carelesse of both execution and behoulders that it was strange, beinge questioned for the change of cloathes, answered that if to marye a creature he did noelesse, and now that he was of belife that his soule, departinge at this instant from this bodie, did straight enjoye the pleasures of heaven, in the consumation of that eternall nuptiall felicitie, and to bestowe this laste liverie upon the relict

Earthons civil
behaviour to-
wards him.
His tender
care of Major
Neylle.

To Titus and
Vespasianus
in Jerusalem
compared.
Joseph. de
bello Jud.
Luc. 22.

The Bishop
of Emly,
Major-Gen-
erall Purcell,
Mr Barons
pious be-
haviour.
All hanged.



from an Original Painting.

M.V. de Guehl fecit.

*HENRY IRETON Comissary Gen.
and Lord Deputy of Ireland.*

J. A. Burt, Lith.

companion of his saide soule, was the leaste of his duetie to see tender a servante, in finishinge this pious and deuoute speeche, was hanged. Brave Fanninge, that constante and euer yett faithfull Dominicke Fanninge, quondam Mayor of Limbricke, untired stickler of loyaltie (n^o. 734 mentioned), sheltringe himselfe duringe the time of that tri[umphant] furie, in his paternall and proper sepulchre, in S. Francis monesterie, ouercome with cold and hunger, came out to the bodie of the churche, where was a garde with a greate fire; he, a proper braue man of sanguine complexion, all disfigured, sate beggerly downe to warme himselfe. The Captain of that partie cominge to the place, espyinge that poore man in that dejected posture, by his ephisonomie, markeinge to be some person of qualitie, and moued with some godly comiseration, gaue him a kinde-kicke, askinge what did the rogue there, and comannded him awaye, threatninge if euer he founde him there to hange him. All this (as was truly thought) to save his life, in giuinge him waye to secure himself by flight, it beinge a seasonable time for that purpose, all the gates open, the guardes wearie and sluggish, and the execution now growinge some what remisse. But, o poore condition of humane frailtie! a servant of this gentlman, hapninge to be in the saide Captains company then, by the first glance knewe his master, and tould the Captain he was such a man, whoe takinge noe notice of his enformation, which the roguish fellowe obsearvinge, tould the Captain openly that the man was a prime encendarie of this cittie against your forces; and euer since those warrs did begin, see behaued himself, and if he did see freely quitt him, that he would enforme against him to My Lord Deputie, or some other of the chiefe comannders. The Captain takinge this bloudie fellowes threats to consideration, and weaing his proper danger, if not plyable, comannded the gentleman to be aprehended, and left him in custodie of the garde; but the fellowe went and enformed against him. The Captain was brought in question for his saide disservice, but acquitted himself by the tender of the prisoner, whoe was fourthwith hanged, to the greate joye of the enformer, whoe not longe did survive his saide master, for by the saide Captains comannde was knocked to death, incidit in foucam quam fecit.

These, with seuerall others of both clergie and laitie, were pittifully mangled, massacred, hanged, and dragged, man, woman, and childe, excepte the betrayinge traytors. A greate multitude of those same in that furie perished, Earthon himself, within fewe daies after the takinge of the cittie, was infected and died, to the mightie preiudice and exceedinge grieffe of Huigh Oneylle, whoe in life used him, not like an enemy or prisoner, rather like an honorable and brave warrior, and at the pointe of his death was see nobly minded that he comannded his Lieutenant-generall, Edmonde Ludloe, and the rest of the officers and comannders to use all good behauiour towards the saide gentlman, and sende him with his owne corps into Englande, and bestowe him 3 horses, one for himself, and the other two for two servants to waite on him with a lackie (all at his proper choice), and meanes to defraye theire charges. He wrote alsoe a letter to the Parliament, humbly desiringe to use that braue warrior with all civilitie and humanitie, all which was actually performed for Huigh and Alexander Mc Daniell, taken at the skirmishe of Fyena (as 701 mentioned), and ever since in durance in Waterforde, did accom-

1651.

And Dominick
Fanninge like
another S.
Athanasius in
Sepulchro
paterno
delituit.

The humanity
of this Cap-
tain.

The acte of a
deuillish
seruant to his
master.

Dominick
Fanninge ex-
ecuted.
The wicked
seruant is
killed.

824.

Earthon died.
His noble care
of Huigh
Oneylle.

Huigh and
Alexander
McDaniell
remitted to
England.

1651.

pany Earthon embalshomed corps, and convoyed to London, whenc both were enlarged after longe and honorable imprisonment.

825.

The humanitie
of Earthon and
the enimitie
of Fennell.

Is not a strange thinge, soe much humanitie in an enemie towards him whoe spilte much of his bloude, and haue put both Cromwell and him to such dumbs, as were never in, and soe devillishe enimnitie in Fennell towards the Major-generall, his faste friende, and one that gaue him his seconde beinge, accompanied him in Clonmell, Waterforde, and Limbricke, continually asistinge him these two years and upwarde, in the interim neuer offeringe the leaste occasion of distaste, dayly obliginge him by the acumulation of benefitts to the perpetuities of dutyfull obligations, but how came it to passe that soe good seedes, shoen in solide a grounde (as was thought), did yelde naught else then bryers and cockle? inimicus homo hoc fecit, beside the genious of this partie to corruption, Doctor Fennell his cossen, as aforesaide, infused this treacherie, pursuant to his former practices and treasonable faction, seconded by the Bishope of Limbricke and the Archbishope of Cashell, whoe upon the generall destruction of the cittie were protected, and afterwarde permitted quietly to liue in the countrie, whoe did not apeere either in provinciall or nationall congregations, other then in that indicted by the Conatian clergie, as beinge euer yett for Ormond and Clanricarde. If Major-generall Neylle did not truste this Fennell as he did, hardly could he be circumvented as he was, the end of whose treacherie you shall hereafter by accertained, the takinge of Limbricke was about the twentieth of November this yeare.

CHAPTER XXX.

826.

Tacit. 1. 1.

Ouid.

Cicero.

Senec.

THERE are degrees of vices, and how soever ethicks out of their philosophie determine those of excesse to be lesse odious and hurtfull: yett politicks finde out of their experience that they are rather to be judged by the effecte then the defecte, by which rule iust and ambition are two vices of all other the most hatefull, because they are most powerfull ministers to all nefarious actions.

Ambitio res ventosa, nullum habens exitum aut terminum.

Clanricards
grand councill
in Galwaye.

Noc sooner was the assembly of Iamestowne aiorned by Clanricarde, then did sende his dispatches into the respectiue provinces, desiringe such as he well knewe to be of his faction to repaire unto Galwaye for busines, saide he, of greate concernment, baptizinge his saide meetinge with the name of Grand-Councell. Prime members of this clandestine assemblye were Westmeath, Muskrie, Costllagh, Athunreyc, Sir Luke Dillon, Sir Richarde Blake and others of the same graine. His Excellencie did write unto the Comissioners of Linster to comannde such men unto Galway for to asiste in the saide Grand-Councell, as never yett shewed the leaste censeritie in the comon cause, rather were meere antagonists unto. Westmeathe is alreadie knowne; Sir Thomas Nugent, his father-in-lawe, will acte nothinge but what his Lordship will have him doe; Sir Luke Fitz-Gerald will

agree to both ; Patricke Bryan, Ormonds creature, author of all treacherie and of the letter of intelligence aboue mentioned ; Bedford [Bellings] may justly be placed in the same predicament. What hopes could any indifferent man expecte at the hands of those sittinge in Galwaye with Clanricarde, havinge their instructions from the comissioners of Linster, and their influence from the deputie with their proper cooperation ? None other then faction, and treason against God, kinge, and nation, by disloyaltie, periurie, and desolation, workinge to their uttermost endeavours the surrender of Galwaye, rent and division in all the kingdome, and extirpation of Gods religion ; whoe caused the towne to be distracted, euery particular man to sue for conditions, to mutter amonge themselues the eminent hazard of their liues, the impossibilitie of houldinge out any longer (though the enimie never came to their doors, nor gaue as much annoyance unto their wallis as to hitt it with one shott) ; ould and yonge cittizens did not agree ; civill and martiall were at odds ; men and women in contestation, naye, one familie could not conforme themselves to one and the same sense, soe stronge were the ingredience ministred by the zeudo-councell of Clanricarde to the townsmen and militia as hearafter will apeere.

His Excellencie did authorize the Comissioners of Linster to send summons unto all concerned in that province to apeere upon a peremptorie daye in Garvencie in assemblie, but none was called, other then such as best suted to their purpose ; those onely did regulate the house as absolute in power, all tendinge as well to diuerte the generall assemblie of Jamestowne (if euer intended to convene againe) as to shewe themselues chiefe leaders of that province, to be considerable alone in the enimie opinion, to be capable of joininge and disjoyninge the comonwealth members and militia as they thought conducent unto rent and division, as obseyable in the institution of newe comannders, and disablinge others alreadye instituted, as My Lord of Clanmaliric, Colonell of foote (havinge neuer a man or armes to muster excepte his brother James Dempsies company, late Lieutenant-colonell of Colonell Molloye, to whom of right his company belonged), William Tyrrell, McThomas, his Lieutenant-colonell, and Bryan Dempsie, his Major. This Colonell and his now officers searved for noe other purpose then to putt them themselues and Colonell Molloye at variance for winter quarter and to breake Molloyes regiment, surmished a discontent unto his Major, Teige Conor (of whom depended the two better companies of the saide regiment), and gaue him a passe onely to disable the other ; soe that those ministers of injustice did minister fewell unto the licentious souldier to pilladge and plunder the poore, honeste inhabitants upon pretence of proper quarter ; the verie souldiers and their abettors by those meanes did starue, unable to acte any service, and the comannders at variance. This conuenticle assemblie did dispatche their seuerall addresses unto the respectiue provinces, rather for curiositie, desiringe to knowe how inclined then any waye to embrace union and association (though publickly expressed), or seconde them in any good designe, rather to giue a rubb into any loyall or godly proceedings. The provinciall councell of Vlster did prevente those surmishes, and write unto Linster assemblie as followeth :—

1651.

827.

The power and
intente of the
comissioners
of Linster.

Clanmaliric
Colonell ; Wm.
Tyrrell, Leu-
tenant-
colonell, and
Bryan Demp-
sie, major.

Teige Conor,
Major, had a
passe from
those comis-
sioners, and
why ?

1651.

My Lords and Sirs,

828.

The Provinciall Councils of Vlsters letter to the Assembly of Linster.

Wee beinge verie sensible of the present miserie of the kingdome, cannot but putt you in minde therof, although wee are certaine you haue as much feelinge of the danger as wee, and how to prevente the same wee knowe noe other waye then that wee maye haue due correspondencie betweene us, wherby on all occasions wee maye drawe to one anothers asistance for advancinge the holy Catholicke religion, and preserveringe his Majesties intreste in the kingdome. And wee desire that a course be taken for a foote poaste to stande in a convenient place, that our correspondencie may take the better effecte. Wee haue a partie readie to marche to Conaght to the asistance and countenancie of our freinds there, and doe desire your honors and the gentrie to sende asistance the same waye, which is the best worke wee haue at present, leaste the enemy advance to that province maye drawe an inconvenience. To all which your answeares and advice is expected by My Lords and Sirs,

Bellterbert, the second of December, 1651. Your most humble servants,

Terlagh OBoyle.

Iniskillin.

Colla Mc Mahon.

Richard Ferrall.

Phillipe OReyllye.

Terlagh Oneylle.

Meylds Reyllye.

Phillipe OReyllye.

Hugh Mc Mahon.

Copia vera : Ita testor Antonius Gauan, etc.

829.

To this well intended resulte, and the loyall intentions of the Vlstermen, pursuant to thaire firste oathe of association, and the clergie of Ardmagh decree for vendication of holy religion, his Majesties just prerogatives, and the nation libertie, is answered by the factionall and suborned Assemblie of Linster illusorily in hæc verba :—

Our very good Lords and Gentlmen,

Linster Assemblies answered to the province of Vlster.

Yours of the seconde of December last cominge to our hands here, sittinge in a provincially assemblie, importinge the present miserie of the kingdome and the danger hanginge over the same, and for prevention desiringe correspondencie. Wee doe in answeare therunto concurr with you in sense and desire, and will therefore endeavour to the uttmost of our power, joine with to expell the malicious execution of our comon enemy, assuringe you that as nothinge else but desolation can waite upon a rent and division, as by wofull experience in all ages hath beene to the ruine of the parties given therto founde. Wee will, to eschewe that inconvenience, use our uttmost endeavours to renewe and continue your union, and afforde you that correspondencie by you desired, nothinge seeminge unto us more destructive then to rune unto a divided score. Wee haue, upon consideration of the state of affaires at present, employed agents to his Excellencie, the Lord Deputy-Generall of Ireland, to knowe what aides or assistants is come, or expected to come, for our relife, and to implore his Excellencie for a present course to be prescribed for the saftie and preservation of the kingdome, and therin wee praye your concurrence, and desire you to do the like with expedition, to the end that your agents

and ours maye goe in hande. Upon returne of our agents, if his Excellencie see order, 1651.
wee will send forces to Conaght; in the meane time wee praye you to excuse us
concerninge the same in that behalfe, Sirs,

Your most humble servant,

Thomas Tyrrell, chairman.

Copia vera : Ita testor Edmondus Laghlinensis.

How farr from the intentions of the Vlster gentrie is this answeare? any man of judgment may conceave, for the onely obiecte of these is to disclaime in Clanricards authoritie, as most pernicious and destructive to all contained in the oathe of association and Catholicke Confederacie. But the members of this zeudo-Linster-assembly are totis viribus for him, though well knowinge him to be (as really he is) a traitor, they wilbe suitors unto him to prescribe a course for the kingdome preservation, beinge alreadie lost by his negligence and self-treacherie, averse unto all mediums tendinge to its saftie, crossinge the union of the nation, workinge division and rent, obviatinge by all maner of waies the compliance of the couenant, publickly and authentickly concluded with his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, by such as were immediatly employed by him in that behalfe, and this onely because conducinge to the publicke auayle of the whole nation. All which was too well knowen unto those fewe abortive Linster ministers of iniquitie, notwithstandinge will doe nothinge other then what Clanricarde will comannde. They will not keepe correspondence with those associats, nor a poaste, as is desired, nor sende succours seuerally implored hertofore by the well affected, unlesse Clanricarde, the master-peece of their treasonable-faction, will comannde it, which was farr from his thoughts. They nominat for agent to his Excellencie one George Barnewall, a lumpe of the worste baristers, a toade in humane shape, a Jewe in phisognomy, an athieste in religion, a broode of a relapsed spirit in behaviour, and a brother to Sir Richard Barnewall, that inticinge, attractive and allureinge-nequam spirit; they doe not see much honor their resulte as to carie either in fronte or calce a date, which seemes rather colloguinge with those ad quem, then any settled busines, what instructions they sende by this agent I will truely and really offer to your viewe hereafter; but first of Monster declaration.

A coment
upon the
former
answere.

CHAPTER XXXI.

NATURE yeldeth for mans use the bud, the flower, and the fruite. But if he will haue the flower for his pleasure, he may not nipp off the bud; and if he will enjoye the fruite for his use, he may not rash off the flower; soe in a mans actions, he must suffer euery precedent cause to ripen and haue his season, if he will reape the fruite of a wished effecte. It is therefore a well-grounded deliberation in states not to snatche greedily at the flower of a faire offer, excepte it certainly bringe with it the sweete fruite of profit: nor to enter into a warr, though for a iuste revenge and lawfull recouery of their owne, except there appeare pregnant and

831.

Euripid.

Diog. Laert.

Arist.

Tib. l. 1. c. 10.

Cassi. Ep. l. 1.

1651.

demonstratiue assurances of the good successe. Amo caute descendentes in pericula.

The Assembly
of Monster
declaration.

A declaration issued by the assembly of Monster, or the Confederat Catholicks of his Majesties subiects of the Counties of Corke and Kyery.

For as much as it is and wilbe the chiefe studie and practice of the Parliament of England at present to plott, and endeavour, as well by large proferres of peace, assurance of estates, liues, and liberties, and preferments, as by all other waies and meanes possible to breake, deceaue, seduce, and withdrawe such and soe many of his Majesties faithfull subiects, the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland, as they may corrupte and perswade from their ancient faith, religion, and loyaltie, from their naturall love and faithfullnesse to their nation, and from the sacred union and association of the Confederat Catholicks. Wee knowinge that if with such plausible and deceitfull ouertures of peace and preferment the chiefe heades and leadinge men may be corrupted, deceaued, and seduced from the Catholick union, it wilbe the best and securest waye, without further expence of time, treasure, and effusion bloude, for the enimie to worke their owne ends, the total extirpation and destruction of Catholicke religion, monarchy, and the Irish nation, whearat the Parliament of England doth undoubtedly aime, as by their seuerall printed declarations, and the engenuous and often auknowledgment of their chiefe comannders may apeere, for prevention of which ungodly and unhumaine resolution, to undeceave the people in generall, whose religion, liues, estates, and utter extirpation is soe certainly aimed at, and knowe noe other waye under God for preservation of our religion and nation against the power and policie of the enimie, then by a further firme and faithfull union, understandinge, and amitie, to be settled and established betweene his Majesties most faithfull and loyall subiects, the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland, wherunto they are alreadie firmly engaged by the most sacred and indissoluble obligation of the oathe of association. Wee doe in discharge of our ductie to God and the world manifeste and declare, that if any nobleman, gentleman, comannder, officer, souldier, yeoman, labourer, or any other person or persons, of what state, callinge, function, degree, or qualitic soeuer, of his Majesties subiects, the Confederat Catholicks of the province of Monster, shall or doe at any time hereafter directly or indirectly agree with, submit into, make or take conditions for his or their liues, estates or goods, or for his or their wives, children, or seruants, from the Parliament of England, or from all or any the governor or governors, officer or officers, martiall or civill, of the Parliament in Ireland or England, or from other person or persons derivinge any authoritie, power, or gouernment from the saide Parliament in England or Ireland, not subordinat and obedient to the crowne of England, or shall or doe take armes with or searue the saide Parliament, without the consent, licence, and aprobaton of a generall assemblie of the prelates, nobilitie, and gentrie of the province of Monster, by and with the consent and licence of his Majesties chiefe governor or governors of this kingdome for the time beinge, or in the absence, or for wante of accesse unto such chiefe governor or governors by and with the consent and licence of his Majesties chiefe governor or governors of the province of Monster for the time beinge. Wee

doe manifeste and declare before God and the world, that all and every such nobleman, gentelman, comannder, officer, souldier, yeoman, labourer, and all and euery other person or persons, of what state, callinge, function, degree, or qualitic soeuer, soe agreeing with, submitinge unto, makinge or takinge conditions for his or their liues, estates, or goods, or for his or their wives, children, or seruants, from the Parliament of England, or from any person or persons deriving his power from or subordinat to the saide Parliament, or from other Parliament power, or gouernment in Ireland or England not subordinat, and in full obedience and subiection to the crowne of Englande, or shall or doe take armes with or searve the saide Parliament without the consent, licence, and aprobaton of a generall assemblye of the Confederat Catholicks of the province of Monster, by and with the consent of his Majesties authoritie, as aforesaide, shall actually be, and for euer after be esteemed, reputed, and taken a periured and infamous person, a traytor against God and the crowne of England, and shall forfeite his life, estate, and goods, and neuer after be taken or esteemed an honest man, or be capable of havinge or bearinge any office or imployment, civill or martiall, in Ireland; but as a most odious and infamous traytor and transgressor of the bands of God and his anointed soveraigne shalbe dealt with and prosecuted accordingly. Yett, it is not intended by this to putt any marks of incapacitie upon any such of the natives as heartofore haue beene, or now are in armes and actuall imployment with the enemie and of their partie, but that they may be receaued and owned for subiects and Confederats notwithstanding this declaration, or any clause or branche of it, when time and occasion is offered. Dated at Rosse the 12th of December, 1651.

Copia vera : Ita testatur, Signed, Robt. Coreagiensis et Clunensis.

Subscribed : For the Assembly of Linster.

You see how thunderinge is this proclamation and declaration, signed by all the Catholicke nobilitie of Monster, and the prelates of the best note, except the factionists. Muskry himself did signe unto this declaration, and wished the assemblye of Linster to issue and publishe such another, and keepe correspondencie with them, as Vlster haue desired, whose letter inclosed in this declaration doe importe noe lesse, which is an answere unto a letter sent them by the Linster assemblye, whose tenor is as followeth:

Wee have receaued yours of the 28 of the last, and reioyce much that out of the reliques of our almost reiected and overruyned nation soe gallant and constant resolution, as wee finde in you, is yett remaininge, for whose encrease and continuation wee praye the Giuer of all goodnesse. The want of correspondencie you justly complaine off, to be hitherto twixt us and our armie, and yours of that province, shalbe on our parts with greate alacritie and censeritie supplied, and much desire the like on your parte; for the meetinge you desire with My Lord of Muskry, his Lordship may perchance sooner accomplishe your desire in that particular in person there with you then wee are certaine of his cominge hither, but if his Lordship doe come hither first, your desire shalbe accomplished. Wee doe approve and allowe of your well-grounded resolution concerninge the takinge of

The assembly
of Monsters
letter to the
assemblye of
Linster.

1651.

Limbricke ; as you saye, it doth not lessen your expectation of reassuminge the freedome and libertie of our nation, and of our ancient Catholicke religion, in which wee concurr with you, and think it rather conduceth to the furtherance and advancinge both of the one and the other, for wee finde the finger of the greate God to be in that worke, for that he fighteth now for us more, both within and without Limbricke, as well against the comon enimie as against those perfidious and disloyall traitors, the inhabitants, whose disloyallie betraied the cittie and libertie, whose haue noe other remuneration then a generall odium putt upon them through the whole world, and most by the enimie, for whom they became traytors. But wee presuppose this will not descende to their posteritie, noe such beinge to be through the just judgment of God, but their portions of inheritants to be of perpetuall reproache and euerlastinge enfamie, the meede of treason and irreligion. And, Sirs, wee receaue greate comforte, and praye God yours be possessed with the like spirit, not onely of our nobilitie and gentrie, but of our very comons, their reall and readie willingnesse to contribute to the worke in hande, not onely in their substance and goods, but in their liues and persones, by which wee were animated to publishe a declaration, which wee conceaued to be pertinent and needfull, wherof wee send you the enclosed copie, and could wishe you had published it there, in manifestation of our integritie, and like from your owne assemblye, as it shall seeme good unto you, to worke within your severall quarters. The condition of our armie wee made knowne unto you in our former letters, and in this can add noe more but that, praise be to God for it, wee want not men, if God shall please to sende wherby to maintaine them, and, if noe other then what our poore countries can yelde, they whose are soe willinge to searue their cuntry in her exigence and extenuitie shall neuer want as longe as wee haue it. From you, Sirs, that is in the hearte of the cuntry, and next to the easterne coastes, wee expecte to receaue all occurringe intelligence, and if any should occur hear wee will with all readinesse imparte unto you, and with the continuation of this correspondencie from time to time from you unto, Sirs,

Rosse, the 15th of December, 1651.

Your honnours well-wishers,

Mo. Mcellegett.

Donagh Mc Carty.

Maur. Delarupe et Farmoye.

Don. OKellaghan.

Dan. OSullivan.

Killmalloge.

Maur. Ba[rr]et.

Dermott Mc Carty.

Rich. Ardfertensis Episcopus.

Don. Mc Finin.

David Roche.

Rob. Corcagensis et Clonensis

Edm. Husse.

Dan. OSullivan.

Episcopus.

Nic. Hali.

Pierce Fearter.

OSullivan More.

Copia vera : Ita testatur Edmondus Laghensis Episcopus.

833.

Muskries
colution.

This brave letter, with the former declaration, is sent and signed by the nobilitie, prelates, and gentrie of Monster, as observable by their severall characters. But the primum mobile of all mischief and treason, Muskry, was not then in place, but in Galwaye, assistinge with My Lord of Clanricarde (as it seemes by this same letter) ; not that he would not signe to it as well as the rest (though neuer intended to complye with) haue don, absented himself rather to giue those of Linster a touche

of his owne intentions, that his hande was not to any those desires in the former letter contained, wherby they conceaued how inclined, and that he was too farr from the man the Monstermen thought him to be: and thus this peere deluded the one and confirmed the other in their faction, for those did neither publishe this declaration nor issue any such from them selves, or kept correspondencie with them, as was herin suggested, notwithstandinge their manly and couragious resolution, mentioned in their proper addresse to the Monstermen, as heare spoken off. All which doe demonstratively auerr and beare testimonie that the comissioners of Linster did onely intende to pry into their quondam associates intentions, not to seconde advance or forward any honorable or zealous proceeding, rather to give a rubb and hinderance therto. A strange passadge.

1651.

Linster assemblys objecte.

Scarce were seven daies expired, after the takinge of Limbricke, when the zeudo-assembly of Linster did dispatche letters unto the assembly of Monster, amonge other thinges settinge fourth that the takinge of Limbricke (as above mentioned) did nothinge lessen their hopes of thrivinge, which seemes unto me verie strange (though approved by misunderstandinge of the Monster assemblye) that the prime magazine city of all the kingdome, soe basely betrayed unto the comon enemy, the verie best comannder now of the whole nation there taken, chiefe pillars of both clergie and laitie executed, both foraigne and domesticke goodes in a transcendent degree confiscated, innocent and loyall multitudes of man, woman, and child, by the bloudie and cruell sworde of a mercesse enemy perished; and that all this did noe whitte lessen their hopes of victorie. O deceite and malice and foolerie of such as did aproue it, the takinge onely of soe considerable a porte towne (though all the forementioned evils were wantinge) in the best flourishinge kingdome, by soe stronge an enemy, would cause an itche in its eare, and render occasion to dimurr upon the issue of succeedinge affaires, noe other losse hapninge but the onely towne, what then? a handfull of already vanquished Irish loosinge in Limbricke the prime champion of the nation, with many other of honorable note, their onely storehouse, the supporter of the onely, yett in their hands, Galwaye, the miscariadge of braue prelats, sacred, religious persons, gentlemen and comannders. All this, they saye, doe conduce to their victorie. O strange, but true, if you consider whoe are authors of this riddle or emblema, you will judge it true, factionists are the Alciathus of this emblema, whose aime is the miscarriage of all well affected Catholicks, clergie, and laitie, the butt and obiecte of all their thrivinge is the yeldinge of both Limbricke and Galwaye, as in the letter of intelligence sent unto Ormond may appeere. Here therefore they speake accordinge their principles and analogie, etc. Lett us now turne to Clanricard and his grand counsell.

834.

A strange passadge.

But true accordinge their principles.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AUTHORITIE is the life and soule of a monarchie, and contempte of the prince in a subjecte is more dangerous then hate; for it is better to liue in a state where nothinge is lawfull, then there where a man may doe what he liste. That prince,

835.

Plato.

Tacit.

1651. therefore, who suffers the vassall to turne his awefull obedience into willfull contumacie without condigne punishment, hindreth his present affaires and dishonoreth his present goverment.

Nemo potentes aggredi tutus potest.

Clanricarde
and his grand-
councells
endeavours.
Shea, agent to
Lorraine,

2 Reg. 18.
Francesse
Gruairke
agent from
Vlster.

Wee left Clanricarde with his grand-councell (and what it be) sittinge in Galwaye, as no. 826 touched, actinge all things contrarie to the oathe of association, to their endeavours workinge the nullitee of the agreement made with his Highnesse, the Duke of Lorraine, prescribinge other articles of farr lesser validitie and benefitt to either kinge, nation, or religion, then those alreadie agreeed upon, and did apointe a proper agent with those to be transmitted unto his Highnesse, one Shea, from Kilkeny, impoweringe the saide agent to recall what authoritie the former agents were by him invested, and this onely to treate and conclude with a restrained and limitted power. This newe assumed agents jorneye was prevented by the province of Vlster, whoe, enformed of those proceedinges, did straight comannde one Fr. Francesse Gruairke, agent to his Highnesse, whose zeale and fortune was such that this Achimaas per viam compendij transiuit Clanricarde Chusai, whoe enformed both the Duke and the former agents of Clanricards proceedings, and thus was disapointed of this treacherous dealinge, but not of workinge rent and division in the towne (as aforesaide); and eache member of his grand-councell did totally applye themselues seuerally to the actinge that scene, and specially the Earle of Westmeathe was prime encendarie of that much, as by the Bishope of Clonferts letter to the assembly of Linster may apeere, which is as followeth:

836.

The Bishope of Clonferts letter to the assembly of Linster.

Clonferts letter
to the assem-
bly of Linster
gainst West-
meath.

My very good lords and gentlemen,

I mett with My Lord of Westmeath at Rosse in the weste, within 8 miles to this towne, of whose speeches there delivered before meself and others I thought fitt to giue you a true relation. Hee saide in the first place that himselfe and his armie were verie willinge to fight with the enemie and relive this place. Secondly, he saide that it was impossible for the armie of Linster alone to effecte those goode intentions because he could not bringe his souldiers together without moneye. Thirdly, that he dispaired of any asistance from the province of Vlster, nor yett from the province of Conaght, though they would sweare upon their kneese to come. Fourthly, as for any supplies from Lorraine, there is noe more hopes of any such then of the grand Turkes aide or succours, and therefore concluded that he was sent purposely by the armie of Linster to persuaide Galwaye men to joine with them in capitulation, and makeinge quarters with the enemie, and promised they might haue good ones, with a cessation of armes till their agent returned from London. These speeches beinge bruted here before his Lordship, and my cominge hither, which was yett the next day after, came to the Lord-deputies eares; whoe, questioninge the saide Westmeath about them, his answeare was, that he spoke those things onely in ieste to me, knowinge what maner of a man I was. Yett since, meself and others are credibly enformed that he auerred and spoke the very same

speeches to others, and toulde his chiefest busines to come hither was to induce 1651.
Galwaye men to ioine with him to call for a quarter, hee added further, and spoke
to the Lord-deputie and others that the Vlstermen would neuer fight with them,
because they accounted his Excellencie and them excomunicated persons, as may
apeere by an instrument he saide to haue seene and perused himself to that effecte.
This much I thought fitt to write for the better instructions and inducements to
make the best dispatche hither, leaste these proceedings may give bad infusions to
ill-affected persons, and fearinge allsoe that by reason of your delaye those reso-
lutions may be taken which would blaste in the verie boode, and breake your
better adviced and more wholesome purposes. Remaininge as euer more,

Your Lordships, etc., most affectionat servant,

Signed, Walter Clonfertensis Episcopus.

Galwaye, the 20th January, 1651.

Copia vera : Ita testor Edmondus Laghlensis Episcopus.

You will conceave by our former discourses of faction, and by the proceedings of 837.
the comissioners apointed by Clanricarde for the affaires of Linster, how farr from
truth is the first assertion of this noblman ; for, as wee seuerally touched before, Disprovmēt of
all the Linster forces are devided into seuerall heades and dispersed. Unable by Westmeath,
this managment to acte any service worthy relation, the prime comannnders nowe his assertion,
in request, as Westmeath himself (duringe his aboade in the province), Sir Walter
Dungan, Scurlog, Iohn Fitz-Patrick, Lewes Moore and Viscount Clanmaliry are
every daie in Garvense, actinge nothinge other then under pretence to asiste the
foresaide comissioners, or conventicle-assembly, gatheringe moneye, corne and
beefes (as above mentioned). If this be to be very willinge to fight with the
enemie, any man may judge ; as for my parte, I doe not conceave any such will-
ingnesse in them, rather the contrary, if this peere doe not intende by the name
of enemie his owne suposed friends and associats, whose destruction is by him and
his faction daylye acted, by rent, division, and disunion. He complaines of money,
where is all the summe gathered in Linster (as no. 797 mentioned), which may
bringe and keepe a considerable armie into the felde, and now pleadinge povertie,
what is become of that ? He dispaire of any aide from Vlster, you remember what
letter they wr[it]te in that behalfe to the assembly of Linster to relive Galwaye, as
no. 828 touched, which cannot be more pressinge ; neither did this noblman or his
suborned comissioners yeld the leaste compliaunce to those gentlmen in the behalf
of soe honorable and godly requeste, and giues out now that he dispaire in any
relife that waye, though, saide he, they sweare the same on their kneese. By
your favour, Sir, wheare, when, whoe, and how have they, or any of them, perjured
themselves, that you would not giue credence unto their oath ? they are eye-
witnesses, to their grieffe, of seuerall perjuries comitted by the factionists ; none
in Vlster can be tainted with that ugly staine, other then such as adhered unto
you and yours against Generall Owen Oneyll, of hapie memory, whoe after wisly
recanted, and became sensible of your unchristian proceedings. If the names of
the Vlster gentrie were fixed unto your Henrician-hæreticall oath (as is observable

His intention
explained.

Plaine co-
lution.

*Sile bradaichán
re can slua go
bradach eadh.*

1651.

Westmeathes
name is the
first in the
saide signation.

What con-
duceth to the
surrender of
Galwaye ?

His illusive
opinion of
both Vlster
and Clanri-
carde.

They continue
still excommuni-
cated.

Theire dis-
courtesie.

no. 392), you may lawfully doubt in any their censeritie towards the promotinge or advancinge any loyall or religious acte ; soe likewise noe credence should be giuen him that holds the first place in that impious signation, and saye you, My Lord, Amén ; whom you knowe is noe Vlsterman, but though yonge, you doe wisly to crie hovver first. He taints his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine of inconstancie, breache of faith and covenante, which is not soe civill or handsome in a peere to use an absolute prince soe disrespective ; his unreepen yeares doe giue fomento to those abortiue broodes. The rest of his assertions I doe beleve, that he was sent by his comissioners and comannders to joine with Galwaye for surrender, for all their fetches still have bene that Limbricke and Galway did yelde ; this last onely is now wantinge for the compliance of their saide desire, against which now they worke all devices and practice, and seeinge nothinge more conduceth to their saide end, then to infuse unto the eares of the well affected people the distraction of confederats, division of associats, dispaire of any relife, and a good quarter from the enemye. Of all this is Westmeath the onely cryer, whoe thinks mightie strange that the nobilitie, clergie, and gentrie of Vlster did offer to alledge that Clanricarde and his adherents were excommunicated. But how farr deceaued is this peere in this his conceite, for any man of judgment would censure the saide province gentrie not to be pursuant to their oathe of association, if otherwise they did thinke of Clanricard and his adherents, as beinge more then publicke unto the Christian world, that those were soe denounced by a lawfull judge upon soe solide and lawfull grounde, whoe was freely and solemnelie receaved unto the kingdome, and authentickly authorized by him that had power, and neuer yett absolved therof, nay, nor once desired to be, why then should not such as were not therof obnoxious judge them to be still chained with the same ecclesiasticall fetters ? This pettie assemblie of Linster had noe more minde to send any succors unto Galwaye for its defence then the man of the moone, or did offer as much respecte unto the prelate, that did sende them the former intimation, in requitall of his tender care and courtesie to answer him with one sillable in writinge. Though other letters I haue of this former date, I will forbear to treat of them till first (accordinge promise) I offer unto your viewe the Linster assemblie instructions to Clanricarde by their recent-agent Barnewall, and their letters of credence, which are as followeth :

838.

A letter of
credence to
Clanricard
from the
zeudo-assem-
bly of Linster.

May it please your Excellencie,

The necessitie and miserable condition of this province urgeth us to make this addresse unto your Excellencie for relife, humbly imploringe your Excellencie seriously to consider our present state and festered maladie, and to apply therunto a fitt salve and soveraigne remedie ; and in the settinge fourth of the particulars of that our disease, wee humbly praye your Lordship to giue credence unto Mr. George Barnewall, a lawyer employed by us to supplicat your Excellencie for remedie in the behalf of your Excellencies faithfull and distressed servants.

Signed,

Thomas Tyrrell, Chairman.

Instructions

1651.

For representinge unto his Excellencie the state and condition of the province of Linster, and to negotiat the affaires of the province by their addresses to his Excellencie the Lord-Deputie generall of Ireland.

1. First, you are to sett fourth the power of the enemy in the province, and their activities hitherto in persecuting his Majesties faithful subjects within the same, and the present designe with them in hande to devide and seduce them from their loyalty, and that by proclamation importing conditions to be putt in execution; and not to forgett the present preparation made to that purpose.

2. You are to sett fourth in what condition and posture his Majesties forces of the province are at presente, and the impossibilitie in respecte therof, and of the want of amunition and meanes to bringe them to the fildes in bodie or in a partie to annoy the enemy.

3. You are upon consideration of the premisses, by you to be particularly expressed, to knowe what assurance there is of aides, either from his Majestie or any foraigne prince, and howe soone any such thinge is expected; and, upon the whole matter, to implore his Excellencie for a remedie and relife, answerable to the present neede of the province, and to prescribe a course for the future saftie and tranquillitie by enablinge them to preserve their liues by warr or takinge conditions.

4. You are to sett fourth the meetinge of the province, and all the prime officers of the armie, and their proceedings concerninge the regulation of the armie and other affaires of the province, and to supplicat his Excellencie for an approbation therof, and authoritie to such persons as by you shalbe nominated to goe through therewith. And not to forgett the destructive goverment of the souldiers, and unlimited power assumed unto themselves to plunder the subjecte, desire for remedie a douzen comissions of martiall lawe with blanks, to be filled by the commissioners to be intrusted for the affaires of Linster.

5. You are to sollicite his Excellencie that the commissioners to be intrusted may haue power to grannte custodiams of enemy estate to the respectiue officers of this province, as well for the arears due to them respectiue as allsoe in consideration of their deserts and service.

6. You are to sollicite his Excellencie for to grannte a comission to sett enemy estates within the province.

7. You are to sollicite his Excellencie for armes, amunition, bulletts, and matche, and to procure a proportion of any supplye that comes in money or otherwise, answerable to the necessitie of the province, and not with relation to its proportion.

8. That an instrument be drawn that noe man upon a particular score make conditions.

9. That noe exemption be, in case the maior parte be provided for.

10. That the armies of Vlster and Conaght attende the relife by movinge; and Linster will move at the same instante devided on in a bodie.

11. That the armie of Linster stave in Linster.

12. That a frigatt come to Linster.

839.

Instructions
from the saide
Assembly to be
moved by
George
Barnewall unto
Clanricard.

1651.

13. That the armie is to be in the field by the first of Marche, to stave the heate of summer.

14. That the Vicar-generall of the diocesse of Kildare haue the asistance of the martialists to correcte such within his diocesse as offende spirituallie.

15. That the amunition be sent hither.

16. Letters to Westmeath. Lude; age.

17. 250 cases of pistells, 150 barrells of powder the proportion.

18. To consider of arrears, to discharge the engagment of Galwaye for the powder, as allsoe to provide means for the messenger, £7, that goeth by him to Conaght, the comissioners of Linster are to consider him for.

19. That Sir Walter Dungan be enabled to capitulate with the Governor of Dublin, or whom else he shall think fitt, touchinge the exchange of prisoners in the behalfe of Lieutenant-colonell Scurloge and Major Byrne, and such others, etc.

20. That noe prisoner be enlarged or upon parole but by a field officer.

21. That you may, for the enlarginge of marke, insiste on Alexander Mc Daniell that he will yett be included in the capitulation.

22. That a letter be writen, that Sir Walter be employed to conferr that both provinces be united.

23. That in case Captain Stephen Molloye come not in, that the officers engage themselues to prosecute him, and that the companie be disposed to his leutenant.

24. Colonell Fitz Patricks brigatt be in a readinesse to goe in order to his Excellencies comanndes.

25. That the Lord of Westmeath, Sir Luke Fitz-Gerald, Sir Thomas Nugent, Mr. Nicholas Berford, Mr. Patricke Bryan, the messenger to be sent with their advice, concluded in the behalfe of the province of Linster.

26. That a letter be sent from the province to the saide persons to sitt and conclude in that councill.

A letter in the behalfe of this agent unto the saide persons.

840.

Sirs, wee haue employed the bearer to his Excellencie the Lord-deputie about matters of greate importance, and praye and desire your furtheringe his jorneye by proceedinge, etc. 28 of January, 1651.

Signed, Thomas Tyrrell, chaireman.

Copia vera : Ita testatur Edmondus, Laghlinensis Episcopus.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

841.

Plin. Nat.
Hist. l. 8,
c. 16.
Cicer.
Seneca.

THE Getulian captiue escaped the danger of devouringe by many lions through her humble gesture and faire language, as sayinge to them that shee was a silly woman, a banished fugitive, a sickly, feeble, and weake creature, an humble sutor, and lowly suppliant for mercie. As, therefore, the lion is the noblest of all the beastes in the forest, whoe neuer shewes his force but where he findes resistance, soe is the

true souldier the most honorable of all other professions, whose should it as greater a
glorie to relieue the oppressed as to conquer the enemy.

1651.

Tacit. Ann. 12.

Regia, crede mihi, res est succurrere lesis.

Ovid.

If those men had the least touch of noble minde, they would not soe ravenously behave themselves towards the devouring of soe feeble and weak people as the poore and forlorne well affected Irish, lowe and humble suppliants unto them, to be mindfull of both union, oathe, and confederacie, in relation to the saftie of their religion, kinge, and nation, not in imitation of this royall beaste, rather of the cruell and bloudie tyger, doe froathe and foame at the finall and totall destruction of these sillie creatures; and to that effecte doe sende the former instructions, fraught with nothinge else then poyson, leasinge, impietie, and tiranie, comendinge which unto the custodie and fatheringe of George Barnewalle, a worst member then whom they could neuer hit upon, a peece of a lawyer, a more passionat, lesse indifferent, a more envious to the ancient Irish, a toade in poyson, a snake in demeanour; sure if he were not soe those men would not choose him for this errant. A learned father of the Order of Minors did offer to be their Agent for £7 coaste, in all qualities and degrees a fitter instrument for any civill and religious imployment then the other, notwithstandinge was rejected; and this assumed, gave him three score pounds for workinge division and rent, and to the father that would more seriously and godly behaue himself in the compliance of his agencie, did denie £7 for unittie almost the whole kingdome to their former confederacie, strange proceedings, though blamelesse; for they haue don all this pursuant to their principles. Omne agens operatur in ordine ad finem. All their faction hitherunto did tend to rent and division; and what would they but worke all the meanes conducent to this end.

Aristoteles

Their instructions would seeme strange unto any indifferent judge; they desire a remedie by Clauricarde, in the poore and fading present state and condition they are in. I mervayle how can he helpe them? for when in better posture, as when havinge the Linster forces and other additionall from Ulster in Conaght, none of the very Conaghtmen did adhere unto him, much lesse nowe the former wantinge. If they desire reliefe of men (which is impossible), themselves bleedinge under the heauie yoke of the dayly incursions of a stronge enemy, it seemes irrationall, therefore must haue some hidden mistery, and not be understoode accordinge the exterior barke of a littell sense. Why doe those comissioners comande their present agent to sett fourth the power and activitie of the enemy, his proclamation importinge conditions for the nation, thereby seducinge his Majesties faithfull subjects? To what purpose all those thundering menaces, of the strenght, force, and posture of the enemy, other then inducements to intice the deputie to make conditions, or grante them the power to doe it? Sure and certaine noe such proclamation did issue, importinge conditions either in the behalf of nation or province, nor any preparation did appeere to come to the fildes at that time; rather was subjecte to all fate when euer any the well affected parties did meete with them (as hereafter will appeere), all which is both forged and fopperie.

842.

Expounds this
ridle.

As false as
Judas.

Cujus con-
trarium est
verum.

Which may be further proved by their seconde instruction, wherein they

843.

1651.

Peruse the
n^o. 797 for
your satis-
faction.

Richard Grace
tooke two
barrells of
powder.
The com-
posure of the
Linster Irish
armie.
7500 foote
and 2200
horse in winter
quarter.

comannde theire agent to sett fourth the conditions and posture of the Linster armie, which in theire idea is both beggerly and poore, but all false, for disprovement herof you are to minde what wee truely and really enformed you of the leavies of money, corne, and beefes in all Linster, and judge accordingly whether soe poore and beggerly as is suggested? or whether soe impossible to bringe them unto a bodie, if either comissioners or comannnders were any thinge that waye inclined, or had any remorse of a Catholicke-conscience in them remaininge to edge theire dull and retrograde behaviour to a religious restitution to the souldier of his proper due. As for amunition, the Linter forces did carie alonge from Conaght 50 barrells of powder, with its apurtenances of shott and matche, which is the engagment of Galwaye (wherof he makes mention here), all which amunition is in Westmeathes custodie yett, and neuer spent a shott of it, or did giue either unto any officer or souldier (at leaste unto any that did smell afarr off the leaste censeritie) as much as one graine; he denied Colonell Richard Grace, beinge euery daie upon service against the enemye, wherof sensible caried away per force from its keepers, from the castle of Pallice, in Ferkall, two barrells. Is this to be mightie scant of moneye, men, and amunition? As for the composure of the Irish-Linster armie, they were numerous enough, well armed and cladde. 7500 foote and 2200 horse were in winter quarter of the Irish in Linster, devided into two brigads. Westmeath for his brigad had foure counties, Easte and Westmeathe, Longford and Lowthe; Sir Walter Dungan for his brigad had the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Katarlagh, Wickloe, and Wexforde; Iohn Fitz-Patricke had Kilkeny, Kinge and Queenes counties, and had contribution out of the countie of Typrarie, and from parte of the countie of Waterforde in Monster, which winter quarter was at present duely payed, without any opposition of the enemye (if per accidens they did not meete). Is this to be in a poore and beggerly posture? and not considerable? Certes, if those comissioners did embrace the union and association of both Monster and Vlster, vehemently desired (as alreadie touched), havinge soe considerable a partie of theire owne, would be at leaste 20,000 foote and 4000 horse, which was a braue armie, and might easily force braue condition for both Linster and its associats, but will not joine with either, and complaines here as you obsearue.

844.

A frivolous
request
literaly.

In theire third instruction, they desire assurance of relife, how soone? (which are things transcendent to all humaine reache) and in the interim to haue Clanricarde (on whom they attribute some Dietie) to prescribe a course for the saftie of theire liues by warr or peace; what securitie may those men expecte in time of warr? when none will undertake the saftie of a man in time of greatest tranquillitie and peace? much lesse should it be desired by martiall men. This prescribinge course is not intended to haue his Excellencie comannde them to wage warr, beinge (as they giue out) in such a poore condition and posture in all the abiliments thereunto conducinge, and not admittinge the union and association of the other respectiue provinces to enable them therunto, the legittimat consequence deducted of the premisses is that the course herin desired is his authoritie to make conditions, else it is transcendent to my capacitie. How can the Deputie enable them to warr, other then by the association and drawinge all the forces of the Catholicks of Irelande unto an unanimous understandinge? whoe without interposition of his desire offered

Consequentia
premissarum.

themselves alreadie to joine with Linster, but were rejected (which evidently doe prove the course therein desired of Clanricarde), is onelie licence to make conditions for settlment, though they would faine hooide it under the vizarde of honeste necessitie. I urge this thus farr (though in itself plaine enough), for those comissioners did call in question any that did either publicly or privatly give out that they were to make conditions with the enemy; they tearmed such men encendaries and traytors against God and kingdome, ex ore proprio se judicant. I remember they brought upon this score a religious man of the Order of Minors upon the stage in their assemblye, onelye alleadginge that he hearde, by heare saye, that one Dowdall, a chiefe member of their faction, did come from Clanricarde with comission to treat with the enemy for conditions, which was true; in pursuance therof, went to Dublin, notwithstanding which, and all you heare obsearve, they did most peremptorily disclayme publicly by huge obsecrations and attestations in it, not omittinge in both publicke and privat conference their wonted perjured asseverations, in confirmation of this falshooide; but whose should beleieve them? none—not the D——.

In the 4th instruction, they desire his Excellencie to sende them a douzen comissions of martiall lawe in blanke, to be filled by them, as a remedie against the misbehavinge souldiers; what neede all this? If the prime officers of the province was together, and did sett downe a course to regulate the abuses of the souldier (as you there saye), could not they nominat a provost-martiall to putt martiall lawe in execution? Their Provinciall-generall was invested with power to putt all thinges conducent unto his office and charge in execution; and likly if any thinge herin did come shorte of his power, a councill of warr then sittinge, and a provincially assembly actually there extant with omnimodo potestas, undertaking the management of affaires of higher concernment then the execution of a comon-guiltie souldier, may add to his power? But to desire those blankes cannot be without some corrosiue misterie; sure they desired those blankes to multiplie the number of provoste-martialls, and bestowe this office and its execution one some bloudie, buttcherly tyrants of their proper faction, to execute without mercie, or remorse of conscience, such of the well affected as hapned to come under their luche, and specially the remaine of Colonell Molloyes regiment, of whom onely they complaine here, not that they were worste then others, but that he was of the ancient Irish, and promoted to that incumbencie by the clergie, because loyall, these comissioners of distrust did privatly reforme him, drawinge his captains by degrees from him, menacinge withall every daye his proper destruction. And now in those instructions desires Clanricarde to bestowe Captain Stephen Molloyes company (the verie best now remaininge in that regiment) on his owne lieutenant, onely because Stephen was an ancient Irish, and the other a recent, and more inclined to faction and rent then the captain. I am confident, if those blankes were grannted, never an ancient Irish would haue none of them, nor any else, but such as are corrupte, an enemy to both God, kinge, and nation. Judicet Deus inter illos.

In the 5th instruction they desire to grannte custodiams and sett enemy lands, what jugglinge is this, upon the laste tripp of makinge conditions with the enemy, beinge unable for warr (as you alleadge), will sett enemy lands and grannt custo-

1651.

Their intente
discouered.The cause of
my urginge
this pointe.Their habitt
in periurie.

845.

What foolery
is this?The power of
a Generall.Malice dis-
covered.Cankered in-
tentions.

846.

1651.

Simple people
are deceived
by such.

The best
servitors in
Linster for the
Irish.

847.

All colloqu-
inge and jugs-
ginge.

848.

What will any
indifferent
man make of
this other
then publicke
deceite?

diums, beinge not sure of your owne in your conditions of settlment, to what purpose is all this? sure, to hooe poore simple men, that they see not those tragedies, rather judginge them honest men, and noe waye inclined to make peace other then upon sure grounde, as some inocent soules, not pryinge unto their actions, would sweare. Verily if those custodiums were to be giuen into the officers and comannders in relation to their deserts and service, never a foole would they giue to Bryan Mc Phelim, Daniell Kevanagh, Charles Kevanagh, Art Kevanagh, Richard Grace, Captain Naisse, Colonell Molloy, Captain Brenan, Teige Connor, Captain Wailsh, whoe were absolutly the very best servitors in all the province, more constant, faithfull, dilligent, lesse partiall and better hands (as hereafter in due place), but be at the refuse of the prime factioniers.

They desire that the Vlster and Conaght armies be apointed for the relife of Galwaye, whearas they are perswaded there is noe bodie of an armie in Conaght, other then some loose companyes, not adheringe unto Clanricarde. They promise to move the Linster armie at the same instant with the former, but whether will they move? neuer a man in a bodie yett, all their faction-comannders are against their callinge unto the fiede. The comissioners in these their instructions doe pleade povertie and disabilitie, naye, impossibilitie to bringe them unto a bodie, now they promise to cause their motion together with the others, and presently they desire they may continue in Linster, and though their suposed freinds in Galwaye in greate extremitie, and dayly callinge for relife, those comissioners doe differr their callinge of their armie unto the fiede untill the heate of summer, when all occasion is paste, and noe armie to be had, but will runn a particular score for conditions, though the instructions doe desire an instrument publicly inhibittinge this. Yett I beleve their intention herin is cleane contrary (as obseyable hereafter). Armes, pistolls and shott they desire, beinge upon the laste disposition of surrender to the enemie.

To authorise Sir Walter Dungan to capitulate with the governor of Dublin, or with whom he pleaseth of the enemie, a mightie matter to intrust such a man of soe yonge yeares, beinge neither a statsman, or in any facultie learned, in troubled times, and severally charactered of treasonable refraction, encendarie and faction against God, kinge, and nation, under the pretence to worke the enlargement of Lieutenant-colonell Scurloge and Major Byrne, neither of both in restraunte at presente, and fewe prisoners to be enlarged in either side, except Marks (of whom he makes mention here), whoe was comissioners for the parliament affaires, and taken by Bryan Mc Phelim and kepte in Glanmalury, but now by faction must surrender him over unto this slippe of a boye Sir Walter Dungan, as fiede officer, without any regarde to the Colonell that tooke him a quarter of a yeare, euer since mantaininge him with greate danger and charges at his proper coste. They giue out in this their instruction (onely to give publicke satisfaction unto Colonell Byrne) that this Markes was not to be enlarged upon any other score then in exchange of Colonell Alexander Mc Daniell, which had beene the leaste of their thoughts (as the euent proved), for he was enlarged for 3 captains and a lieutenant of Sir Walter Dungan's troupe, neither herin expected the sense of Clanricarde, as desired. Under colour of this exchaunce of prisoners (as aforesaide) Sir

Walter is verie busie in all the enemie quarters and garrisons of Linster, as well 1651.
 Dublin as others, mightie merry and freindly intertained, banquettinge and ear-
 rousinge in euery place, seconded with dayly invitations by the respective enemie
 governors, soe that it was knowne wheare he had continued the space of three or
 foure weekes. In this interim the enemie gave many sharpe and dangerous
 attempts upon the Byrnes and Kevanaghs, to their places of greatest saftie, which
 (as was credibly conceaved) could not be don otherwise then by the intimation
 and privat surmishes of Sir Walter Dungan. But to weepe off this manching
 staine, the comissioners of colution and faction did brute that those frequente
 enemie incursions were onely acted in order of Sir Walters surprisall, other times
 did publishe that he narrowlie escaped the enemie stratageme for his insnaringe,
 but was deadly wounded, and retired himself unto a freindly house in the countie
 of Dublin to be cured, all which was meere fopperie and invention, servinge onely
 to beguile inocent and simple soules.

By Sir Walters
spyinge.

The comis-
sioners to
hoode this
bruted
blemishe.

In this his merry jorneye, the Governor of Dublin and he beinge in privat and
 seriouse discourse, the Governor complaininge unto him amonge the rest that
 Scurloggs horse did mightie endamage his quarters, the borders of Dublin, for
 redresse wherof, and to please the Governor, gaue his orders and consent under his
 hande to the Governor (notwithstandinge any connivance betweene them to the
 contrarye), to hange all and euery such troupers that he could hitt upon in his
 quarters, not regardinge the benefitt of the lawe of armes, of ransome or exchance,
 onely to use martiall lawe, beinge not full 12 in number, together with an officer
 to comannde them in that, or the like expedition. All which was pretended in
 prejudice of the Byrnes and Kevanaghs, as beinge sure none of Scurloggs men
 (since he became his Lieutenant-colonell, for before then was a good and reall
 servitor) did acte any thinge to any purpose, though whateuer was don in all lowe-
 Linster was named their acte. But Charles and Art Kevanaghs horse was neuer
 idle, but too and fro the countie of Dublin in smale parties, sometimes 8, some-
 times 10, and sometimes 12 horse without any officer or comannde, highly en-
 damaginge the saide countie and specially one Francis Fitz-Gerald, a fryer of
 the Order of Minors, as too well acquainted in that countie, very often resorted
 thither with some fewe light horse, many times with onely foure, comitted many
 outrages and pestered the petty garrisons there, by continuall ambushes and wittie
 stratagems, whome adhered to Major Charles Kevanagh. This saide instrument
 was chiefly intended to the prejudice of this fryer, for Sir Walter did well knowe
 of his longe experience the animositie and courage of this man, and that noe
 officer did accompany him in any his former services; in vertue of this treacherous
 instrument poore Francis accordinge custome went thither with a douzen horse,
 but noe officer, was spied to the Governor of Dublin, himself and the rest were
 taken, but he and 4 more that depended on him and his saide mayor were in
 relation to the former instrument executed, and the remaininge eight, as depend-
 inge on Sir Walter and Scurlogg, were enlarged by exchaunce. Will any man
 abone this, or the actor? or once alleadge, that it be not a devillishe acte of a
 supposed Catholicke and sworne comannde to betraye his owne partie unto an
 enemie, and specially to acte such a diabolicall scene in prejudice onely of such a

849.

The Governor
of Dublin and
Sir Walter
Dungans con-
ference, and
what issued
therof.

The death of a
fryer and the
betrayinge of
his suposed
friends.

O braue
Dungan.

1651. man ; loe the fruite of Sir Walter Dungans treatie with the enemie for exchaunce of prisoners, soe much desired by these Linster comissioners in their instructions, what censeritie may any censure Catholicke expecte at the hands of this Dunacan whoe is instrumentall cause of the sheding of that religious bloude ?
850. In the 19th instruction they desire an instrument signed by Clanricarde empowering Sir Walter Dungan, alias Dunacan, to treat with the province of Monster for its union with Linster ; this is a strange passadge, either these men doe houlde all the worlde beside themselves fooles, or God deprived them of intellectuall power, did them infatuat, that they doe not obsearve their proper error, like those carved Gods of the Gentiles, of whom the royall prophet speaketh, manus habent et non palpabunt, pedes habent et non ambulabunt, oculos habent et non vident ; what neede this power, or his imployment in that busines ? Whearas the chiefe members both spirituall and temporall of that province doe unanimously offer themselves associats and confederats into the Irish-Linster Catholickes, and the rest of the kingdome confederats, alleadinge all and singulare to be alreadie firmly engaged by the most sacred and indissoluble obligation of the oathe of association, as in their declaration is observable, n^o. 831, more pressinge they could not in that behalfe explaine themselves. But all will not doe, it will prove more satisfactorie to those factious broode to have an howers conference with Muskrye, ever yett tainted with disloyaltie, disobedience and faction, then the authenticke vote of all the nobilitie, prelats, and gentrie of Monster beside. They write therefore a letter to Muskry, as they haue don formerly, that his Lordship may be pleased either by himself, or his trustie agent, to vouchafe a meetinge in the borders of the countie of Tiprarie to Sir Walter Dungan. Upon receipte wherof, Muskry did apointe and authorize one Colonell Poure, a creature of his owne broode, to meete and conferr with Sir Walter, as aforesaide, and there, in pursuance herof apeeringe, came alonge with his credenciall letters from onely Muskry, to the Linster assembly to Garuinse, wheare he was highlie made of, wheare wee leaue them plottinge all mischiefe, and speake a little of other matters hapninge at this time.
- Psal. 14.
Those cannot
agree in one
center.
- Obscure what
choyce they
make.
- Colonell
Poore, agent
from Muskrye
to Linster.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

851. Much hurte hath beene don by smale, contemptible creatures, a greate towne in
Plinius. 1. 8. Spaine undermined by conies, another in Thessally by moules ; in Affricke the
c. 29. people were forced to quitt their countrie by locusts ; out of Giaras they were
driven by ratts. Like hurte doe the contemptible multitude in a state meerly
popular, upon any case that comes into deliberation, because there a disparity of
Virg. En. 1. 2. prudence in their understandinge, and yett a paritie of power in their voices, by
which all greate affaires are caried and resolved.

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

One Captain Kelly (if I be not deceaued), by name Donogh, did pretty good service now and then about Athlone and Bellanasloe ; amonge the rest, laye in

waite of one Major Owens, a daring companion, haveinge the matter of foure score horse and a riche sumpter (as was bruted) in his company, whoe refreshinge both themselues and theire horse without any scruple or feare, this Captain Kelly, with one 100 light foote, came unawares upon them, tooke some prisoners, others did kill and did putt the rest to route, both major, sumpter, and horses were his prey, whoe thought his labour well bestowed and his danger recompenced, as haveinge suche a bootie, the major in his custodie, whoe not longe before, to his owne hearinge, spoke verie high and abusive against those poore men, whoe was in the predicament of a cruell warriour, pursuant to this relation, was of intention to hange him, if not ransomed in £400 within a peremptorie time, but his good fortune and the captain's poore destinie did dispose that aboute the same time the garrison of Athlone issued in boatts to Loghry, wheare My Lady of Costllagh and Sir James Dillons lady in an ilande there did reside, were taken prisoners and caried in that nature to Athlone. Captain Kellye, beinge in some degree a kinsman unto those Dillons, was sued unto by the saide ladies to grannte the saide major in exchaunce for them twaine (all which was moved by the advice and suggestion of the enemye comannders, for assuredly there was noe danger that the ladies should be detained prisoners, theire husbands and themselues provinge soe prime benefactors unto the state; how euer the captain condescended to theire motion, and gaue the major his libertie upon that score, whoe arrivinge to Athlone most joyfull for his enlargment, the ladies weare dismissed.

This major was a member of the Parliament forces in Linster, and though without any provisoe, was sett at full libertie for his future further securitie, passinge to his owne quarters in Linster, gaue out that he was onely upon his parole, that he maye with leasure passe through the countrie, and diuerte wheare he pleased, as well to lodge as to learne how the Irish parties in his waye behaued themselues, in regarde of his saide parole, gaue many whiles aboute, and conferred with seuerall of the Irish comannders, and promised to doe all good offices unto them in relation of conditions for settlment, hee tooke the paines to see Iohn Fitz Patricke, and was freindly intertained by him, desiringe him at his partinge to be pleased to come towards him within a sett number of daies, with a resulte from Lieutenant-generall Ludloe, and the rest of the Comissioners of Parliament, whoe promised faithfully to comply with all his desires herin. Fitz Patricke havinge such comenement of his treachery, beinge the postilian betweene the Comissioners of Linster and Muskrye, acquainted both with all the passadges betweene him and Major Owens, pursuant therunto, they write, as aforesaide, unto Muskrye, and Muskrye did sende Colonell Pouer, as above mentioned, to meete to Sir Walter Dungan; the place apointed was with Iohn Fitz Patricke, and that the same daye that Mayor Owens was to returne with his resulte from the Comissioners of Parliament, all 4 conveninge together were there three daies and soe many nights, as merry as any foure in Irelande, wheare they concluded theire union which had beene that Muskrye, the Comissioners of Linster, and Iohn Fitz Patricke did make theire conditions with the parliament, the former two did dessemble for a time, onely to worke more mischief, but Fitz Patricke went in hande with Mayor Owens; obsearve the comenement and grounde of soe unparallelled evill, the fained imprisonment of

1651.

Captain Kellye
tooke Major
Owens
prisoner.

Both the ladie
Dillons taken
prisoners and
enlarged in
exchange of
Owens.

852.

Major Owens
policie and the
Irish foolery.

Iohn Fitz
Patricke,
his treachery.

Colonell
Power, agent
from Muskrye.
Sir Walter
Dungan,
Owens and
Fitz Patricke
doe meete and
agreede.

1651.

two treacherous women, and though contemptible creatures, specially in the schoole of Mars, and their disparitie in understandinge, yett our misfortune is such, that they and such others haue parilitie of voice with the soundest witte, and this mushrome Dungan, Fitz Patricke, a slippe of a boye, without either experience or litterature, and the fewe comissioners of Linster voide of both loyaltie and conscience, justly charactered with perjurye, treason, and faction (though all contemptible creatures in this unhapie kingdome), haue don this unreparable hurte to both nation, kinge, and religion (as here to our greefe observable), this is the exchance of prisoners, and the union of the province of Monster, wherin Sir Walter Dungan is employed, insinuated in their intrusion to Clanricarde. Now to the rest.

853.

The contradiction of these assertions.

You may call to minde the eight instruction, where they desire that the armies of Vlster and Conaght attende the reliefe of Galwaye, and in the 9th doe desire that the armie of Linster may continue in Linster, but in the 21, they promise 1500 foote and 200 horse, viz. a 1000 foote by Iohn Fitz-Patricke, and by Sir Walter Dungan 200 horse and 500 foote, and that Iohn Fitz-Patricke would be in a readinesse. How doe these things quote together? *ex diametro opposita*, the world cannot reconcile those places, the man that made his conditions with the enemie, and Sir Walter himself haue don the like, not once dreaminge to goe to Galwaye for such a purpose, are now apointed by those comissioners of mistruste, *durus est hic sermo*, whoe can understande it? That will Clanricarde the inventor of this tragedie, the prime author of this treasonable scene and the expositor of evill-spirited riddles.

854.

Patrick Bryan, agent for Muskry to Linster. His character.

Seuerall letters were to and fro dispatched betweene the comissioners of Linster and My Lord of Muskry, whoe send neuer a worde unto the assembly of Monster in returne of their declaration and desire of union and confederacie, as above mentioned, which is a demonstration of their reciprocal twarte dealinge and self faction. The employinge those members by the assembly of Linster and Muskry doe euidently auerr and confirme this to be true, Colonell Power actinge his parte of this scene. Patricke Bryan was now apointed by Muskry to be his proper agent to the Linster assemblye, euer yett knowen to be averse to all that is religious and loyall, a creature of Ormonde, hatched in his barne, borne under the roofof My Lady of Muskry, Ormonds sister, instructed to advance division, rent, and faction (as by his lettre of intelligence n^o. [*blank*] touched), and euer chiefe instrument betweene both partie to worke this treasonable scene. Noe better subjecte for soe blacke a designe could not be hitted upon. But he, like a double-tongued-barister as he was, beinge employed in both Vlster and Conaght provinces, for the distractinge the well affected there, havinge don there suitable to his desire, did absent himself from this newe taske of Linster, and did subdellegate one Colonell Edmond Duyre, another Missenas of Muskryes bridinge, and one that did now in January submitte unto the parliament upon the same score that Iohn Fitz Patricke had don; this Edmond Duyre, by the subdellagation of that knavvish Bryan and consent of Muskry, is (notwithstandinge his former refraction) agent betweene the Comissioners of Linster and Muskrye, to unite them and their respectiue provinces, as by his proper letter here-followinge may apeere.

Edmond Duyre, subdellegat unto Patricke Bryan. Whoe made his conditions alreadie.

To the Provinciaall Assembly of Linster.

1651

My very good Lords, etc.,

855.

Yours I haue from Sir Walter Dungan and Colonell Fitz Patricke receaued, my comannds beinge to receave what message maye be sent by that assembly and the counceall of warr of that province to the Lord of Muskry and counceall of warr of the province of Monster, whose resulte much concurring with yours (awivinge of both provinces), confirmed by the meetinge of some members, instructed by both provinces, the which in order to your desire I shall presse to all possible speede, though I presume nothinge is more longed for then a true understandinge and union twixt both in concurrence therewith, I doubt not, expresses shalbe sent unto you from the Lord of Muskrye and the province and the counceall of warr, in regarde that Mr Patricke Bryan is not there arrived, by whom his Lordship sent his owne and the province his sense to your assembly, from whom I had in charge to receaue the sense of your province, and in his absence I haue receaued your message, by Sir Walter Dungan and Colonell Fitz Patricke, and haue imparted my message unto the saide Sir Walter and Colonell Fitz Patricke, not much differinge from yours.

Colonell
Edmond
Duyres letter
to Linster
assemblye.

In the interime I remaine, My Lords, etc.,

Vlt^o. Jan. 1651.

Signed,

Your most humble servant,

Signed, Edmond Duyre.

Copia vera : Ita testatur Edmondus Laghlensis Episcopus.

Extravagant instruments of Catholicke union and confederacie, these foure, Patricke Bryan, chiefe encendarie and promoter of disloyaltie and faction, and Sir Walter Dungan, Iohn Fitz Patricke, and Edmond Duyre, that have withdrawen themselues against oathe, couenant, and conscience from that holy association, adheringe onely unto Muskrye, euer yett of the Presbyterian faction, with Ormonde and his sequaces, such as alreadie did shake hande with perjurie, heresie, and disloyaltie, are apointed agents and comissioners of Catholicke confederacie, none other thought fitt for such a taske. O strange proceedings of suposed Catholics. It is allsoe worthy observation, the deceite and craft of this assumeinge-Linster assemblye, employinge privatly Sir Walter Dungan and Iohn Fitz Patricke, agents to receaue the message of Muskrye and his counceall of warr, and desiringe publickly the deputies authoritie in their instructions, in the behalfe of Sir Walter Dungan, to have free accesse unto Dublin and other enimie garrisons for the exchange of prisoners, as above mentioned, and now (not expectinge the deputies resulte therupon) employinge both Sir Walter and Fitz Patricke in the vntinge of provinces, havinge alreadie perfected their submission unto the Parliament, and this much well knowne unto the assemblye, O strange paradoxes, etc.

856.

Obscure this
passage.

The poore convocation of a fewe withered members of Linster province is by them baptized under the heroicke name of assemblye, it beinge published to convene in Garenche such as were well affected; arriuinge thither, Kevanagh, Byrnes, Tuhills, and others did there continue the matter of 3 weekes and upward, without anythinge worthy consideration; the comissioners leadinge this baile, did

857.

1651

Sir Walter
Dungans
character.

not give waye to any proceedinges till the returne of Sir Walter Dungan, imployed, as aforesaide, and not knownen to any the other members wheare, howe, or in whose behalfe did he soierne? neither how could he come to that authoritie, that a whole province in assemblie-wise did waite his onely cominge, beinge at mightie expence without actinge nothinge? however, must doe it. At lenght this greate personage, the master-peece and corner-stone of Linster-buildinge, apeeringe where nothinge did passe currant other then what issued from his childishe, and cheitinge breste, the purses of such as waited this longe while, on the presence of this suposed recent-presbyterian dietie exhausted must of necessitie adieue and leaue the managinge of all to these reall anothomies of faction and treasone, which had beene the drifte and feteche of those in all their former assemblies since those comotions. Sir Walter Dungan did publickly character Iohn Fitz-Patrice, a slippe of a boye, with the heroycke epithome of a prince, onely because hee adhered unto his faction and made his conditions with the parliament, though yett under a cloude, and was the seconde man in this assemblie.

The use of
those factious
members in
their
assemblies.

858.

John Fitz
Patrice
publickly
submitted to
the enemye.

Whoe leavinge all things in such disposition as best suited to his treacherie, tooke his leaue, and noe sooner in his proper home, then shewed publickly what he was, did dispatche his addresses unto Colonell Daniell Axtell for a safe conducte to repaire with saftie unto Athlone to be further assured of his saide conditions by the vivæ vocis oraculo of Comissarie-generall Iohn Reynolds, where havinge a meetinge was ascertained of his conditions, wherupon returned home, and acquaintinge Axtell, the Governor of Kilkenye therof, promisinge by a peremptorie daye to laye downe armes, and to transporte for Spaine 4000 men, comanninge all his brigad in the interime to surcease all hostile acts, in those his conditions, was comprehended, Colonell Edmond Duynes, Colonell Lewes Moore, Colonell Charles Molloye, Lieutenant-colonell Richarde Grace, Lieutenant-colonell Daniell Carroll, Lieutenant-colonell Richard Duynes, with their men and under officers. The assemblie herof enformed, a councill of warr did sitt upon this matter, conceaued an acte, disclaiminge in Fitz Patricke action, tearminge him a traitor and perjurer by a publicke instrument, signed and sealed by all the members of that assemblie, and to giue the world a touche of their censuritie, earnestly desired the Bishop of Laghlin, with the rest of the clergie in congregation-wise to fulminat an excommunication against the saide Iohn and all his adherents in that particular, which was immediatly performed. A man would thinke upon the superficies of this intimation that the assemblie did hearin proceede really and bona fide, publishinge soe authenticke a declaration, to his perpetuall dishonour, and withall causinge the fulmination of an excommunication against him and his adherents. But all was fopperry, deceite, and knawerye (as soone after did apeere). The excommunication therfore issuinge, Collonell Molloye, Colonell Lewes Moore, Lieutenant-colonell Grace, Lieutenant-colonell Duynes, and Lieutenant-colonell Carrall, and others in obeysance to the clergie decree, did recoile from Fitz-Patrice, and did adhere unto the Church, wherupon in gratuitie of their obedience that waye, Lieutenant-colonell Richard Grace and Lieutenant-colonell Daniell Carrall were assumed to be colonells of foote, but Grace of both foote and horse, whose partie did dayly flocke towards them in soe much that in a short time Fitz Patricke was left too

Those for
whom he made
his conditions.

A declaration
issued by the
assembly
against
Fitz Patricke.

An excommuni-
cation issued
against Fitz
Patrice from
the clergie.

Richard Grace
and Daniell
Carroll made
colonells.

farr from complyinge with his saide engagement, and such of his men that did laye downe armes, and was brought to Waterforde to be transported, did in heapes steale awaye and adhered unto Grace. 1651.

By the daylye accesse of these run-awaies Colqnell Grace was considerable. 859.
Colonell Thibott Gawlye, with three foote companies and a troupe of horse, Captain Thibott Dalton with another troupe, and severall others joined with him, as still in action, and ordinarily thrivinge against the enemie, in regarde where-of was sent for by the assemblie to giue his attendants there, rather in order to giue a rubb unto his reall and loyall proceedings, then any desire those members had of beinge adviced by him, notwithstandinge that he was herof fully perswaded, in obedience to theire comannds apeered, but fearinge the worste, comannned his owne troupe to beare him company within a mile to the place, leavinge his horse behinde, thither repaired to tender his duetie to the assemblie house, where continuinge for two daies, the refractorie members therof did privatly worke his imprisonment next daye, for nothinge else other then that he was a true and reall servitor, and still antagoniste of theire principles, revolted from John Fitz-Patrice and became a member of the clergie association. This stratageme was not soe private, but was knowne to some well affected members of the assemblie, whoe insinuatinge that much unto Grace, pursuant therunto tooke his flight, till arriuinge where his troupe did lodge, now in place of saftie, dispatched his addresse unto the assemblie, settinge fourth the cause of his departure and greuances for the saide discourtesie undeseruedlye; prayse be to God, saide he, that I am not guiltie of the surrender of any castle or forte to the enemie; what they or anye else can saye unto me, in deprivinge them of seuerall of theire owne, I feare not the worste tongues to clatter upon me, that I euer worked the leaste qualefication with the comon enemie, or contrarie to the cause in agitation. If I were culpable of those or the like crimes I should be forborne to beare a greate stroke in that house, as others of the like condition doe at presente, etc. Richard Grace. Treacherie againste Graco intended. The cause that Grace was persecuted by the comis-sioners. Grace, his letter to the assemblie.

CHAPTER XXXV.

JUSTICE and fortune are painted blinde to shewe us what the one doth and what the other should not doe, for the one useth to giue without respecte, and the other in noe respecte is to take. Those princes therefore, that for bribe, feare, or any other particular end, faile of doinge euery man right, swarve from the prescripte rule of justice and equitie, which admitts of none to sitt in her seate but such whose eyes are sealed from respectinge persons, and hands closed from acceptinge rewards. 860.
Tacit. lib. 13.
Ann.
Horat. 3.
Carmen. 3.
Juvenalis Sat. 8.

provincia cum te
Rectorem accipiet, pone iræ fræna modumque
Pone et avaritiæ.

The former letter of Colonell Grace receaued and read in open assemblie to the greate disguste of the faction. But that the reader maye obsearue, on whom he aimed in the saide letter, you shall understande, that the comissioners caused

1651.

The abuse don
by those
comissioners
unto the
Bishope of
Laghlin.

Sir Robert
Thalbott came
to the
assemblye.

The Bishop of
Laghlin
speakes to Sir
Roberte.

The Bishop
convicted.

861.

Sir Robert
impeached of
treasone.

Grace, recon-
ciled, came to
the assembly.

Sir Roberts
challenge unto
Grace.

His satis-
factorie an-
swere in the
assembly.

seuerall instruments to be sent as summons unto such members as they thought fittinge to asiste in that assemblye, and leaste the Bishope of Laghlin (the onelye of his ranke there), that in shewe was mightie greate with them then, should suspecte any partialitie, or scente of faction in their actions, they would not name any in the saide instrument, and for the more calefication therof desired his Lordship to signe to the saide instruments, as well as they, which don, they onelye in their privat chamber did subscribe unto all the saide summonall instruments, amonge the rest, those comissioners did dispatche one of the saide instruments unto Sir Roberte Thalbot, whoe was publickly characterized with seuerall staines of treasone, faction and perjurie, and lastly was guiltie in the highest degree of the ignominious surrender of the castle of Athlone, as above specified, and neuer yett acquitted by any publicke authoritie therof, that wee euer hearde, when Sir Roberte apered in the house of assemblye, in vertue of the foresaide summons, the Bishope of Laghlin, as euer yett tender of the comon good of both religion and nation, thought it verie strange that this Thalbot should presume the courage and bouldnesse, as once to offer to be a Catholicke member of an assemblye, wherof by all lawes was incapable by his seuerall former relapses, questioninge him therefore, why did he attempte the arrogancie, as to sitt in that house, whoe answered, that it was by his Lordship comannde and grannte; the bishope not understandinge that language, desired some testimonie therof, whoe fourthwith shewed his Lordship and all the house beside the forementioned instrument of summons signed by the bishope, and subscribed unto him as aforesaide, the bishope convicted by his proper inscription, had noe other remedie then to smoothen all and hould his peace, whoe was after enformed by Secretarie Carroll how the same came to passe, as already related. Grace therefore, herof enformed in his saide letter, did intende the saide Sir Roberte Thalbot, whoe was guiltie of the treacherous surrender of foure impregnable forts, viz., Callvin Castle, Ticrohan, Kilkae, and Athlone to the enemye, beside his other secrett and clandestine treasons (as hertofore severally mentioned), notwithstandinge was a prime member of this treacherous convocation and anteassemblye. The jealousies betweene whom and Colonell Grace some what abated and growen tepide, as well by the often insinuation of settled mindes as by proper accorde, was sent for, with full assurance of saftie, whoe fourthwith apered, Sir Robert Thalbot was one of the firste that he mette in his waye to the house, fewe colde and fained ceremonies of salutations betweene them persolued, when the nocent Thalbot made a challenge unto him of an affronte offered by him in the saide letter (for this good knight did applye that which was meante in the letter unto himself onelye), sutable to the Irish adage: *An tè nac an gaduidhe an fearl fasneise*. Colonell Grace answered, that truly and really he aimed at him and others of like condition that beared swaye in that assemblye; as for your parte, saide he, I will endeavour to give you full satisfaction in the house; goinge in together, Grace did acknowledge before all the house that what he did expresse in his addresse to that house was meant and did aime at Sir Roberte Thalbot, as a true benefactor unto the enemye, specially in the voluntarie and free deliury of Athlone Castle, which haue beene, saide he, in the opinion of all well affected and soundest witts, palpable treasone, and for ought I knowe, saide Grace, neuer yett

acquitted thereof by either civill or martiall doome, I would therefore haue you 1654.
Mr Fitz Geralde (whoe was then chairman) examen this matter, and if founde
guiltie, as aforesaide, to be punishable by this house, or if inocent to be restored to
his former reputation, for I see the gentlmans honor did craeke by these informa-
tions, which is a world of pittie if undeseruinge; though this motion was reason-
able and Catholickly rendred, neuer a man was founde in that house that did open
his lipps either pro vel contra, three seuerall times did Colonell Grace move this
same subjecte, but neither chairman or other did answeare one worde. Wherupon
Grace, to complie with the duetie of a gentlman, saide, my masters, I conceaue
you will neither excuse or accuse this gentlman; for my owne parte, Sir Robert
Thalbot, I doe not accuse you as author, but as a publicke brute and comon rumor
had of you, neither will I hereafter speake of you in that particular, till I see more
indifferencie then I perceaue at instant, if you please to take this as satisfaction
of your conceaued affronte, there it is; if not, what other particular you will
desire (by the worde of a gentle souldier) shall be grannted, where and when at
pleasure.

The dumbe
behaviour of
all the house.

Grace his
challenge unto
Thalbot.

There is neuer a man how partiall soeuer, in my judgment (excepte those verie 862.
members of diuision), did not esteeme those supercilious ministers of impietie full
fraught of deceite, poyson, and faction in those two former points, the one in
deceauinge his Lordship the Bishope of Laghlin, to cause him signe unto an instru-
ment callinge for a withered member (incapax of any such degree), unto a Catholicke
assemblye, in a maner forcinge his Lordship to dispense in the incapacitie of a
publicke and knowne traytor against God and nation, enablinge him therby, con-
trarie to his Lordship honor, reputation and reall intentions, thitherunto to sitt in
consultation with this Judas (qui jungit meretrici vnum corpus efficitur), and his
abettors the saide comissioners. Sure this good prelate was highly on this acte
abused. They allsoe discovered both poysons and malice by their silent and
dumbe demeanor in time of Colonell Grace his pleadinge in such a high measure,
that neither policie, nor all the witte in their respectiue braines can warrant, for
if indued with any such, to colour their impudencie, they should either oppose or
defende the partie charged, and give the charginge with the rest, as had beene of
the same minde, soe much satisfaction as to answere once, they would bringe it to
a more seriouse consideration, and for that present to cause the deffendant Thalbot
to produce what he had for proper abonment; but nothings was don, it seemes
those miscreants neuer obsearued either the theoricke or practice of our former
aphorisme, a prime rule of policie, penned by its genuine authors, which if those
ministers of iniustice (though in Justice seate sittinge) did obsearue they would
use more moderation in their iniquitie, hoode it blinde, therby to be capable of
yeldinge euery person the just measure of his or their deserts, and neither for
bribe, feare, or other particular end faile herin, but those scicophants swarved from
this at present, for they did neither punishe the malefactor Thalbot accordinge
his demeritts, nor aprobe of the just pleadings of Colonell Grace, wherby are not
worthy to sitt in that chaire (whoe forbids any to sitt in it whose eyes are not
seeled from respecting persons, and handes closed from acceptinge rewardes)
which they factiously asume. But what they doe herin is pursuant to their other

The ministers
did deceaue
this braue
prelate.

The impu-
dencie of those
members.

The office of a
judge.

1651.

actions, to Clanricards directions and their former principles, as hereafter will evidently appear.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

863.

Dionis.

Halie.

Pichar.

Justin. l. 48.

Ann. in Tacit.

l. ii.

Esop. fab. 90.

THERE is a lawe of nature, another of societie, a thirde of armes, a fourth of nations, a fift of state, and each of these in their order bridle and restraîne one another with certaine cautions and provisoes. For though the arbitration of a thirde man betweene two parties in difference, either comes not within compass of those former lawes, or else is permitted without limitation of circumstance, yett the lawe of state allowes it not, but with this restriction, neuer to referr any matter of greate importance to one much mightier then they self, as doubtfull of his indifferencie and fearfull of his greatnesse.

Hei mihi, inquit vulpes rubo, confugi ad te tanquam ad auxiliatorem, sed tu pejus me tractasti : Heus tu, inquit rubus, errasti, quæ me apprehendere voluisti, qui omnes apprehendere soleo.

What did the
grande
councell in
Galwaye.

Wee left Clanricarde and his grand-councell sittinge in Galwaye, all and singular employed, viribus et posse, in the totall destruction of both towne and nation, by rent, division, and distraction, conducent unto its surrender (as n^o. 835 mentioned) unto the enemye, the poore inhabitants and militia there distracted, thought on nothinge else then desolation, did foolishly comitt its saftie unto the vulpes Clanricardes disposall, and though they fled for refuge under his shelter, may with reason soone saye unto him, as the fox saide unto the shrubb, I came to you as to my aider and assistant against my enemies, but you proue worse unto me then any of them. But to hooe this a litle, he gaue waye to severall of the comannders to write unto the Linster assemblye for succours unto Galwaye, which was in vaine, as he verie well did knowe, whose letters are as followeth :

864.

The Agent of the Duke of Loraigues letter to the assemblye of Linster :

Sir,

The Agent of
Loraigues
letter to the
assemblye of
Linster.

I beinge put in trust and qualified with power by my master his highnesse the Duke of Lorraine to over see his Highnesse affaires heare and to be an encouragment to the nation, till the cominge of the longe expected reliefe, and obsearvinge this garrison much declininge, and in greate danger to be giuen upp or lost, unlesse speedilie relived, I thought it my duetie not to lett slipp this oportunitie without interposinge meselfe and my authoritie in your present invitation hither for the relivinge of this place, wherefore I thought fitt to giue this encouragment in the name and behalfe of my master, that the relivinge of this place before the gatheringe the enemye forces about it wilbe the acceptablest service that his highnesse maye expecte at your hands, untill the cominge of the reliefe, now euery hower expected, givinge you full assurance that nothinge can diuerte or frustrate my master his pious and most Catholicke designe in relivinge this distressed nation, or disanimate him in that his greate undertaking, soe much as the losse of

this place without any battle, or as much as an attempte giuen to relieue it, by all 1651.
 or any the forces of the kingdome, consideringe the consequence of it to be noe-
 lesse then the destruction of the whole kingdome and nation, and the attempte of
 the relivinge it not soe desperate, as it might promise the losse of 20 men.
 Givinge you this further encouragment, that if this place be once relived that it
 shall cost the Parliamtent twentie millions before they shall gaine it, and that it
 shall cost my master and potente adherents fortie, or if neede be a 100 millions, or
 he will compasse his pious and most glorious designe in deliueringe this Catholicke
 nation and recoueringe the kingdome. Gentlmen, I beseeche you, what opinion
 can his Highnesse houlde of your gallantrie, consideringe the character of
 cowardlinesse alreadie spreade over all Europe of you? or what encouragment he
 may haue to venture his fortunes, his life, and honor to relieue a nation that should
 suffer themselves to be totally routed and extirpated by a lesse number of men then
 they haue in armes themselves without fightinge one stroke for their owne
 intreste, or attemptinge any opposition for their owne defence? if this be not able
 to move you, I cannot tell what to thinke of you, otherwise then that you are a
 people destinated to destruction by some heeden misterie of God. And doe not
 thinke, gentlmen, that my master hath broken with you, or agreede with the
 parliament to be their Generall in France, as is giuen out by some malignants;
 assure your selues that for all Englande he could not harbour soe base a thought
 that would bringe any staine upon his honor, and as for my owne parte, I dare
 promise you soe much in the worde of my master that all the officers and
 comannders as shalbe seene in relivinge this place shalbe respectiue remunerated,
 and their names shalbe registred in the cathologie of chivalrie, in the worde and
 honor of

Your most humble servant,

Jo. Wandermaster.

Copia vera: Ita testatur Edmondus, Laghlinsis Episcopus.

There is noe maner of waye capable to drawe, intice, and perswade rationall men 865.
 to doe an honorable acte specially tendinge to proper intrest, but this agent doe
 move unto this Linster assemblie; he tells the declination of the towne, the
 desperation of the people, the facilitie of the reliefe, the high esteeme that his
 Highnesse would make of the attempte, the mightie consequence of it, either the
 destruction of a whole nation or the recooper of a kingdome; in faylinge the
 assecution herof, to edge them further on, tells what character is had of them in
 all Europe, and will be confirmed in the omission of the presente requeste; he
 assures them of his masters integritie towards them, and that he neuer thought to
 breake square with them in his covenante (as was fulsely and factiously giuen out
 by some diabolicall members of division, rupture, and leasinge spirits, most
 prejudicious to his Highnesse honor and reputation), which for a whole kingdome
 would not harbor soe base an acte, if your owne remissenesse in this action will
 not occasion the contrarie; if there were any sparke of honor in those members
 (havinge sett before their eyes the facile waies to win the garland of victorie,

A comentary
 upon the same.

1651.

The comis-
sioners of
Linsters
humor.

though none obtained, onely their personall presence for an attempte) they would undergoe all hazarde to be recorde in the booke of fame and cathologie of braue martialists (as he takes upon his honor to be performed). But all this to noe purpose, they weare soe farr intangled in its contrarie, soe disloyall unto royaltie, soe unfaithfull unto their nation, soe litle esteeming of holy religion, soe jealous of Lorraine, soe engaged unto proper will, soe tyed unto Clanricarde, and soe desirous of worst noueltie, that all the alurments possible cannott hinder their headstronge malice to run vpon the destructive Caribidine of their owne ruine and desolation. Now to other letters from Galwaye for the same effecte.

866.

Generall Prestons letter to the Bishope of Laghlin.

My Lord,

Generall
Prestons letter.

Notwithstandinge the seuerall armies and parties now in this kingdome, wee doe not see that any of them haue as much as a thought of relivinge this towne, beinge the onely now left in our hands, which cannott but stricke greate admiration in the people, that after all their sufferings they should be forsaken and left to themselves. Wherefore, knowinge your Lordship to haue power with My Lord of Westmeathe and the comannders of the forces of that province, I must earnestly beseeche your Lordship to sollicite and procure the speedy cominge to the reliefe of this place, vpon which the preservation of our religion and nation in Irelande depends. If within 20 daies they doe not attempte it I feare all wilbe lost, and wee left to the mercie of a mercilesseemie; soe that I must seriously recomende this to your Lordship's care, and the greatest desire of, My Lord,

Your Lordship's very humble servant,

Galwaye, the 20th of Jan., 1651.

Signed, Taragh.

Copia vera: Ita testatur Edmondus, Laghlinsis Episcopus.

867.

The impossi-
bilitie of
compliance.

The quasi impossibilitie of compliance, by the extraordinarie dispatche of this quondam generall, is noted, consideringe the posture of the Linster armie, in winter quarter, soe farr asunder, and others in loose companies vpon diuersitie of employment, and none any waye willinge to doe any service in Conaght under the deputie, or in the behalf of the natiues, for their former bad usage there; and in case they were plyable to this requeste, dispersed as they are, the leaste they spende in cominge vnto a bodie within the same province without rubb or hinderance of either friende or foe, is 12 daies, and to marche from any place in Linster, the waies they are to take vnto Galwaye at present, havinge all necessaries for such a jorneye to hinder their diuersion any wheare, and secludinge all interruption or opposition of enemie, the leaste they spende in their saide marche is six daies, beinge from the limitts of Linster in that waye, upwards of three score miles, ten for euerie daies marche: the two supernumerarie daies they haue to refreshe themselves and then giue the attempte, as Preston will haue it. But when this gentle Preston was generall in Linster, and was comannded to the field vpon some

dispatchinge service within the same province, nec leo nec ursus in via, noe rubb 1651.
or stopp in theire jorneye, or hinderance in theire randevvouze, the leaste he spent
in gatheringe them unto a bodie was 20 daies (as by perusall of our former
discouery maye apeere), and now desires a relife unto Galwaye from Linster in 20
daies, four of which was spent before his letter arriued to Linster, to gather, make
readie, and marche in soe shorte a time, havinge to passe through the countie of
Longford, Letrim, Sligoe, Mayo, and Galwaye, and euery hower in eminent
danger of miscaryinge. All is fopperie and deceite, which is further discouered
in sayinge that the Bishope of Laghlin have power with My Lord of Westmeath,
Westmeath himself at the same time in Galwaye; and if in Linster, Preston knewe
well none of the factione did wishe soe heartilie unto the Bishope of Laghlin, euer
yett theire antagoniste. If Preston were desirous to haue compliaunce he did not
desire the Bishops mediation: all is jugglinge.

Obsearue how Thomas Preston doe signe unto the former letter, Taragh. This 868.
is the first time I sawe this Ormondian creation written by Preston. Assuredly, if
self-faction and aliquid ultra were not concomitant propertie of quondam Generall
Thomas Preston, he neuer ascended soe neere the royall seate of Taragh as to be
Viscounte therof, for this place was in greate repute with the kings of Englande,
that they neuer condescended to afoorde any creation from thence, as the late
Kinge James would not admitte the Earle of Fingalles creation either of Baron or
Viscounte from Taragh, though it be for the most his patrimonie and contiguum
unto his house of Killin, which I beleue was in tender respecte to that place, that
had been in ancient time the seate of the chiefe monarche of Irelande. This very
decorum in its owne degree was euer unto this daie kept unto the Earldome of
Tyron by the respectiue kings of Englande, which insinuat some hidden misterie of
greatnesse. But now that Ormond and his faction is against all that is royall, did
transuerte this order, bestowinge this creation on Preston to prove altogether
auerse unto regall proceedings, and to character Preston with that indellible badge
of inconstancie, P. and T. If not that I see other letters from persons well affected,
I would easely passe by Prestons letter, and would not the more beleue the danger
of Galwaye that he decyphers it, as here in his proper adresse he had don for, qui
semel est malus, semper præsumitur malus. Now to other letters.

The meede of
treasone.

The repute of
Taragh and
Tyron by the
kings of
Englande,
and why?

Reg. Jur.

For the Comannders of the Catholicke forces of Linster.

869.

Noble Sirs,

The present sadd condition of this towne, unlesse soone reliued, and the
greate dependance the saftie and preservation of the whole nation haue of your
keepinge of it in our hands, invites us to be earnest and humble sutors to your
honors, to affoorde your speedie asistance for the relife of this towne, a thinge, as
it is in shewe more difficulte then in effecte, if you joine with the forces of our
province in a gallant resolution to under goe it, soe will it be the most profitable
and glorious acte that euer any partie of this nation have don, consideringe that it
may be a begininge of regaininge what of grounde and creditt by our irresolutions
wee haue lost; and wee assure you for our parte that wee will not fayle to doe what

Huigh Oneylle
and George
Guires letter
to the
comannders of
Linster.

1651.

wee maye to diuerter the enemie power from fallinge on you when you come neere,
and doe remaine with a resolution to liue and die, Noble Sirs,

Your most affectionat and humble servants,
Galwaye, 20 Jan., 1651.

Huigh Oneylle.
George Guyre.

Copia vera : Ita testor Edmondus Laghlinsis Episcopus.

870.

All which is
nothinge to the
assemblye of
Linster.
The messenger
of those letters.

The treacherie
of Wm. Heyn,
messenger.

These seuerall former addresses (notwithstandinge the pressinge expression of honor, facilitie, and profitt therein sett out) cominge to the assemblye of Linster, were noe more made off then as a plaine comedie, as soone hearde as forgotten ; they were nothinge sensible of the disaster painted before theire eyes, the messenger wherof was one William Heyn, a lay brother of the Order of Minors. The assemblye did write some answeare by him insteede of an armie, which had beene the requeste, and not paper. The Bishope of Laghlin and other prelates not of abilitie to sende a relife did write theire sense. The messenger dispatched was by the assemblye directed to John Fitz Patricke, to knowe his resolution, though well perswaded that he alreadie made his conditions, and that they issued a declaration against him, and was by the clergie excommunicated (as above mentioned), wheare this messenger fell sicke of an ague (or fained soe at leaste), and soe continued for the space of 3 weekes ; at the expiration wherof tooke his journey towards Galwaye, and caried all the saide dispatches unto Clanricarde, and not to the proper owners (as I doe verily beleeeve by the comannde and assente of the refractorie members of the assemblye, though did giue out that it had beene by the drift and managment of William Bourkes wife, a foster sister unto the messenger). By this practice, at the receipte of those addresses, Clanricarde chafed against such as he perceaved loyall and true ; perusinge all, he sent such as he thought fitt to theire owners, and others suppressed, and thus weare all loyall hearts disapointed of all hopes of relivinge Galwaye by the colution and practice of both Clanricard, assembly, and messenger. Now to others of Clanricards tragedies.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

871.

Vines de
Anima.
Cic. Off. l. 2.
Tacit. Hist. 4.
Plin, l. 1, c. 7.
Sil. ad fidem, l.
2.

THE beautie of truth is in her nakednesse, and therfore shee seekes noe corners to hide it. But falshood is uglye if stripped bare, and therfore, like ill complexions, she borroweth colours to cover her deformitie. Men justlie taxed with this foule aspersion are not to be treated with, much lesse trusted. But he which first and last keeps touche with his allies is a mirrour of men and a paterne of princes.

Ante Jovem generata, decus divumque hominumque,
Qua sine non tellus pacem, non æquora norunt,
Justitiæ consors, tacitumque in pectore numen.

Wee are heare to offer unto your consideration a cruell sacrifice and a tragicall scene, in acto signato, againste vertue and veritie, both sisters (whose imediat

progenitor is God Himselfe). The prime actor of this bloudie tragedie is Clanricarde, the patients are two loyall and reall members of the cause that should be in agitation, residing at this time in Galway; the one, Father Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conallmore, prothonotarius apostolicus, Vicar-generall of Meathe, missionary from the holy Congregation of Propaganda Fide, and dellegat from the clergie of the province of Linster (as n^o. 819 touched); the other, Colonell Mortagh OBryan. This noblman and nephewe unto the Earle of Tomond, was in actuall service in the county of Clare, with a considerable partie of his owne, and a regiment of Vlstermen, havinge for Colonell Art McHuigh boye Oneylle, in dayly action against the enemie, to their exceedinge praise and the enemie prejudice. Beinge enformed that a grande councell did sitt in Galway, thither tooke his course, with pregnant hopes to haue indifferencie in charginge Castlhauen Audley of treason, in relation to the disservice against the enemie at the foorde of Killaloe (as n^o. 750 mentioned), but was farr deceaued, for none was there, other then such as Clanricarde did picke out, wherof was confident to be of his faction. Notwithstandinge, Colonell Bryan, in tryall of his juste and pious intentions, presented his quærelinge petition to the councell, and offered himself to make good all therein contained, and consequently punishable in high degree. Clanricarde noe sooner enformed hearof then issued his orders, without further proceedings, against the plantiffe to be committed without bayle, and caused the guiltie defendant to absent himself, with some honourable imployment. At the end of 4 weekes restraints was sent for, and comannded to bringe his prooffe in place. The gentlman did answeare that duringe his restraints seuerall of them went awaye to their proper homes, but foure or fiue of good calefication and extraction, whom he offered. But the nequam Judge replied that he would not accept of those extant (though exceedinge for the prooffe of any matter of highest concearnment accordinge the lawes of the kingdome), but must bringe others within 48 howers, how farr soeuer distant, of what qualitie or condition, what impediments or rubbs they might propose to the contrarie notwithstandinge, otherwise must continue his former restraints, and be lyable to pœna talionis. O cruell sentence, the like neuer hearde before; if the deputy was loyall to his Majestie (as one of his place should be) why did he soe palpably transgresse the lawes of the kingdome, beinge a publicke minister therof, soe reputed, and seuerally sworne to its obseruation. This gentlman could haue noe better satisfaction, was kept at home for 4 weekes more, daylye menaced of pœna talionis, wherby justice was neglected, traitors encouraged, fidelitie punished, publicke service hindred, and to the enemie full scope giuen to advance.

The other patiente of this catastrophe, Fa. Prior of Canall, missionarie from the holy Congregation of Propaganda Fide, and dellegat from the Linster clergie, correspondencie on foote betweene him and Abbott Crelly, agent for the saide Congregation in England, as instructed and behoved, receavinge in pursuance herof his dispatches from the foresaide Abbott, and not to be subjecte to eache mans censure; what they imported were written in ciphers, one wherof, by more then maliciouse carefullnesse, came to Clanricards hands, whoe not capable of its sense, did sende for the partie to whom directed, whoe apeeringe was comannded to deliver the keye of that unknownen character. The Father alleadged the same not

1651.

Clanricards
tragedie
against
Anthony
Geoghegan
and Mortagh
OBryan.

O partiall
judge, how
tyranicall your
doome.

What the
consequence of
that doome.

872.

The other
member of this
tragedie.

Father
Anthony
Geoghegan
arraigned, and
why?

1651.

The pleadinge
of Fr. Vicar,
Father Thomas
Makvernian
and Father
Teige Eygan
will not avayle.

Tuamensis
suspected of
indifferencie.

faysible, in regarde he was sworne to its secrecie, the deputie herewith not satisfied, not with the sequestratione of the same expresses, comanned the Father to be comitted into safe custodie, charginge him publickly with treasone and consequently punishable to deathe, with much adoe by the seriouse intercession of his owne bishope, Drumore was confined to his chamber, where he continued 4 or 5 weekes, euery seconde daye brought before Clanricarde and his Grand-councell, to be tryed for life and deathe. The deffendant and his abettors, Father Thomas Makyernan and Father Teige Egan, still pleadinge their ecclesiasticall priuiledges, imunities, and exemptions not to be tryed by a secular judicature, anouncinge seuerall excommunications to be anexed unto the contemnners therof, and specially by Bulla Cæna Domini, denounceinge such to be ipso facto excommunicated, as assuminge the power unto themselues to bring any ecclesiasticall person before their laicall judicature, not onely to be tryed as aforesaide, but to be questioned in any criminall cause (as n^o. 485 mentioned), and, in Latin, will to the calce of this presente tragedie apeere), but the pleadings of these learned Fathers was in vaine, neither would Clanricarde remitte the deffendante unto his ordinarie to be examined upon that pointe, as the church canons doe desire, onely he would be pleased to remitt him unto the Archbishope of Tuame, as perswaded to be still of his owne faction and antagoniste of any power deriued of the Courte of Rome, but the deffendant would not acknowledge him to be his ordinarie, nor indifferent judge, as really he was not either of both.

873.

The Father
advised to
open the keye.

The true sense
of that cha-
racter.

The unsatiabie
desire of Clan-
ricarde to spill
inocente
bloude.

Some of the well affected advised the deffendant (the rather, that the saide letters did not importe any thinge that might be deemed treasone or treasonable), to shewe his Excellencie in publicke viewe, the keye of that character, upon this friendly advice in a publicke instrument, attested by himself upon his priesthoode to be true, and all the substance therof, really contained this resulte, upon this same was intercepted, which Clanricarde did judge to be treasone), which accordinge its contents, as apeered, was thus. He writes unto Father Orellye, that in case the Irish were forced to make conditions with the parliament to haue such as adhered unto My Lord Nuncio, and were not obnoxious of the censures by him fulminated, to be of as good conditions as those that adhered unto Ormond, for I see (saide he) wheare any of them comes unto the hands of any the Parliament members, they are not with the like indifferencie used, as wittnesse Limbricke. Therefore wee desire as good conditions for those, if not better, as for the other. This was all the substance of that cyphered letter, which noe indifferent judge would conceaue prejudicious to either kinge, religion, or nation, notwithstandinge that it was authentickly deliuered, as aforesaide, was not sufficient to drawe a beleefe unto incredulous Clanricarde, rather therby did growe more exasperate against the Father, that he protested againste him, as against a traitor, and vowed publickly that this good Fa. was come to that towne onely to infuse bad counsell unto the corporation, and drawe them to make their conditions with the Parliament (which was as farr from truth as that Judas Iscariotes is in heaven, rather the contrarie. Noe Nero soe thirstie after humaine bloude, nor the commons of Jerusalem soe madd to spill the bloude of our Saviour, nor Castlhauen Audleye soe forward for the execution of inocent Captain Fox, as Clanricarde is to deprive this inocente soule,

and worthy Father of his life; he desired Tuamensis to degrade him out of hande, 1651.
and soe lefte to his mercilesse doome, which not grannted, addressed himself to
drawe some quæres unto some of the clergie whom he thought currant unto proper
opinion, which quæres are those followinge:

1. First, whether a temporall Judge may proceede in criminall causes, and specially 874.
treason against a prieste?

2. Whether a priest may be tortured by the ciuill magistrate to confesse the saide
treasone, as houldinge the negatiue parte against a greate presumption therof?

He must haue the clergie to sitt in a colledge-wise upon those quæres, disguish,
examen, and vote the same by their severall subscriptions, in favor and behalf
of his impious and hereticall opinion, which was the affirmative. All the clergie
did convene as comanded, the saide quæres were exhibited and canvassed as afore-
saide, but none was founde in that congregation, either freinde or foe to the comon
cause that did subscribe unto the affirmative, rather all to the negatiue of his
assertion. This universale resulte they authentickly presented unto Clanricarde
and his grand councell, whoe neither contente or satisfied therby, did sende the
saide quæres unto the respectiue regular convents, to know whether their divinitie
did swarve from the rest of the clergie, but in vaine, for all the regulars did hould
the negatiue with the congregation of the secular clergie, except the Augustines,
whoe foolishly, erroneously, and heretically held with Clanricarde the affirmative,
without any grounde of divinitie, canon, scripture, or fathers, onely their owne
brother Luther, thoughte I beleue this very apostate dogmatiste neuer affirmed
this doctrine to be true, but those recente-antidivines, by this their Sathanicall
assertion, invented by proper braine, will add to his iniquitie, whose authoritie
(though upon sandie foundation), is of sufficient force and validitie with this ante-
christian persecutor of holy church. How earnest this degenerat Catholicke
peere was of the distruction of this Reverende Father maye be well knowen, that
now he will not surcease prosecutinge him, though noe ceremoniall degradation
was grannted (as desired), noe resulte of clergie or divines in favour of his opinion
exhibited, but a fewe beardlesse, illiterat, and irreligious fryers of turbulent and
licentious character, maliciously joined with him; but any thinge suitinge to his
purpose, how bad soeuer, is good enough.

Upon this intimation must needes goe forward in the saide bloudie scene, but by
Divine providence was called to other affaires of higher concearnment (which was
in capitulation with the enemy, for the surrender of the towne of Galwaye), must
absente himself, comanndinge his grannd councell in his absence to goe through
with his saide damnable intentions to call the defendant before them, and proceede
against him as formerlie, the councell some what better inclined, and more humane,
though euill enough, used tergiversations and delaies, and admitted other church
men to giue their free sense before them in that particular, wherby came to passe,
that Clanricarde havinge disposed of all the hearts of the townes men, and most of
the militia there for a surrender unto the enemy. You obsearve his factious,
treacherous, and malicious proceedings towards those two loyall members, Vicar-
Generall Geoghegan and Colonell Mortagh OBryan, marringe and hinderinge this
noblmans loyall service all this while: butt now not apeeringe, the grand-councell

Clanricards
quæres.

A congregation
did sitt upon.

Their resulte
therupon.

They are sent
unto the con-
vents.
All held the
negatiue
except the
Augustines
whoe impiously
held with
Clanricarde.

Their charac-
ter.

875.
Clanricarde
did absent
himself to
capitulat with
the enemy.

His malice
discovered.

1651.
Father
Anthony dis-
missed by the
councill.

George Barn-
walls perjurie.

Mortagh
OBryan went
awaye.

did remitte Father Geoghegan upon his parole to Tuamensis, as his reputed ordinarie, whoe thither arrivinge, the archbishops perusinge his proper Vicar-generalls certificat in the behalfe of the inocencie of the Father and the impietie and lawlesse proceedings of the Deputie, wherupon grannted him his owne and soe dismissed him to his proper home. All which I have seen and perused myself, though George Barnwall, Agent in Galwaye for Linster assembly, did publickly, and most falsly by seuerall obsecrations, atteste that this Reverend Father did steale awaye from Galwaye, beinge alreadye adjudged to deathe for treason, and neuer went to his ordinarie Tuamensis. You see how true this may be, and noe mervayle it be not, derivinge its truth from such a leisinge spiritte. As for Mortagh OBryan, havinge now the passadge free (Clanricarde beinge not at home), went awaye towards the Countie of Clare, where he left his men. O strange proceedings of a suposed Catholicke, and a deputie of a kingdome in a matter of soe high a concearnment, and in soe turbulent a time, not instructed accordinge the prescripte rule of lawe, or statute, divine or humaine, or directed in the prudent course of prediccursors, as one of his ranke, qualitie, and incumbencie should doe, whoe shall truste this man that soe falsly and maliciouslie doe hooe his falshoodes with those borrowed colours. None, that I knowe, unlesse a foole, will either treat or truste him to complye with my former promise; I offer to your viewe the seuerall excommunications incident unto the former proceedings of Clanricarde, that you maye be perswaded the saide Augustine fryers, his abettors, to be in the same predicament. Soe here followeth:

Percussor Clerici. Cap. unico de Clericis in. 6. et Consilium Lateranense, Cap. non dubium.

1. Pro cuius intelligentia.

The excommuni-
cations of
Clanricard
and his
adherents by
the Canons and
Bulla Cœnæ.
Domini.

- Adverte, non solum, manu, pugno, pede, ense, baculo, saxo, alioque corporis membro, vel instrumento: sed qui pulvere, salivâ, aut alia iniuriose conspergit, ut glossa, in Cap. si quis suadente Diabolo etc. Qui aliquid e manibus clerici vi eripit, frangit, vel scindit violenter. Vel qui mittit manum fræno equi, cui clericus insedit, vel abscondit cingulum sedis illius ut Clericus cadat, vel inuitus descendat, vel occidat equum, vel lacerat vestes quibus induitur. Qui detinet illum in carcere publico vel privato, vel custodia, Cap. nuper de sententia excommunicationis. qui capit cum.
3. Cap. deducit. vel qui capere facit, vel qui claudit domum in qua est clericus, ne possit inde libere exire, vel qui milites constituit ut ipsum capiant, vel qui arreat, vel secum ad iudicium ire facit, quasi vinctum et captum, vel atrociter persequitur. Qui ad omnia hæc consilium, auxilium vel fauorem præstiterit, excommunicationem incurrit.
4. Si ecclesiasticus torqueatur casu necessitatis ad explorandam veritatem non per laicum sed per clericum vel religiosum ex Cap. universitatis de sententia excommunicationis. Quamvis, dignus sit clericus castigatione, Iudex laicus ita statuens et in executione ponens, per se vel per alium, talem sententiam sunt excommunicati ibidem. Iudex ecclesiasticus non potest demandare Laico executionem talis supradictæ sententiæ, aliter incurrit ipse et talis laicus in excommunicationem ut supra. Non impediens percussionem clerici incurrit excommunicationem ex cap. quantum. Excommunicatio lata a dellegato Papæ, post annum transactum manet

reservata Papæ, ex Cap. Quærenti de officio dellegati in Decretalibus. Non servantes 1651.
immunitatem ecclesiæ, ex Cap. Conquesti, in Decretalibus. Qui hostiliter insequitur
delegatum Papæ. Cap. Cuicumque excommunicationis, in 6; et in Bulla Cœnæ, in
Clementinis et Extravagantibus etc., plura inveniuntur.

Lett Clanricard, his counsell, anti-divines, and other his adherents, looke and
peruse these lawes which will resolute him in his saide quæres to his damnation.
Now to other his results after his capitulation with Sir Charles Coote and returne
to Galwaie.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

WHEARE election is free wee are to choose the best of benefitts, wheare it is 877.
restrained wee must take the leaste of dangers, wherfore in a treatie betweene
states, when a demannde is made which the weaker would not willingly grannte
Demosth.
(in distruste of bad measure from the stronger), lett him rather propounde some
Eurip.
impossible caution then make a flatt deniall. Because it giueth the demannder
Horat. Ep. 1.
noe better advantage, and yett procureth himself lesse displeasure, for nothinge is
Arist. Eth. 1. 5.
more harshe to him that motions a matter then a peremptorie refusall; and wee
Terent. And.
dayly observe that many sutors are sent away without their purpose better
satisfied, then others that with bad tearmes and in ill manner obtaine it.

Nihil est tam deforme, quam ad summum imperium acerbiter naturæ adiungere.

Cicer. ad
fratrem.
Ep. i.

How well doe the harmonie and the comforts therof of Clanricard and Preston,
alias Ormondian Taragh, agree together? For Preston did write unto the Bishope
of Laghlin, desiringe the armie of Linster to relieue Galwaie, and that within 20
daies from the date of his addresse, which was the 20th of January, as n°. 866
mentioned, otherwise, saide he, I feare me all wilbe lost. This peremptorie time
was be all understandinge witts and disinterested intentions judged, accordinge the
The consorte
betweene
Clanricard and
Preston.
nowe iniquitie of the times, too shorte, but that you maye conceaue the zeale of
Clanricarde for the deffence of that one towne, of all others in the whole kingdom
now in his hands, that it may be thought faysible, he adds of his proper bountie
and liberalitie foure daies more to Prestons 20 daies. See what a shrewde guesse of
From the 20th
of Jan. unto
the 14th of
Feb. is onely,
exclusive,
4 days over
and above the
20 promised by
Preston.
Preston, to come within 4 inces unto Clanricards intentions, which could be noe
militarie inductione for neither enemy, famen, or pestilence did force the towne to
surrender, therefore factione and treasons, wherof those two peeres were of all others
most guiltie. Within 4 daies therefore after the expiration of the saide Prestonian
20 daies, Clanricarde sued Lieutenant-generall Ludloe for conditions of settlment,
as by the insuinge addresse maye appeere.

Seuerall of the nobilitie, clergie, and others persons of qualitie and intreste in
the kingdome, together with the corporation of Galwaie, beinge mette in this
towne, and havinge taken unto their consideration the present fate and condition
of affaires, and the destructive effects which, of a longe continued warr, haue made
it their suite and requeste unto me to propose unto you the intertaininge of a

878.
Clanricards
letter to
Lieutenant-
generall
Ludloe for
conditions.

1651.

His false and
juggling
intimation.

treatie, in order to a settlment in this kingdome, for your safe conducte to such comissioners as I by their advice shall thinke fitt to imploy unto you, for the caryinge of that matter, which requeste of theirs I haue condescended unto by this expresse directed unto you to that effecte, with this further intimation, that I shall not quitt or decline them or their intreste untill I see them settled in a good condition, fitt for the nation to accepte off, or if that will be denied them, resolved to continue his Majesties authoritie and protection ouer them to the uttermost tryall, and doe not doubt by Gods assistance, with the forces and armes wee have alreadie, and such aides and supplies as probably may come from his Majestie and his allies abroad, but that wee maye be soe enabled as to alter the present state of affaires, or if that should faile, at leaste make the conqueste you haue hitherto gained for a longe time of litle use or advantage to you, and sell our liues at a deere rate, if compelled therto, and soe leaue it to your consideration, and expectinge your timely answeare and certaine resolution, I remaine,

Your servant,

Galway, 14th of Feb., 1651.

Clanricarde.

Post.

His Post
Scripta.

If you sende the safe conducte desired, I expecte it may be sent to Sir Charles Coote, or to any other you shall thinke fitt nere this place, with a blanke for the number of fiue comissioners and their retinue, not exceedinge in the whole the number of twentie, wherby, upon intimation from him, I may send him a liste of the names of the comissioners.

Subscribed: For Edmond Ludloe, Lieutenant-generall for the Parliament of England, etc.

Answeare to the former letter.

879.

My Lord,

Ludloes
answeare unto
Clanricarde.

By your Lordships of the 14th instant you propose unto me the intertaining of a treatie in order to a settlment of this kingdome, and doe desire my safe-conducte for such comissioners as you shall thinke fitt to imploy into me for the caryinge on of that matter. Whearunto upon advice had with the comissioners of the Parliament of England and diuers generall and fiede officers of the armie, I haue thought fitt to giue you this returne: That the settlment of this nation doth of right belonge to the Parliament of the Comonwealth of Englande, to whom wee leaue the same, beinge assured they will not therein capitulate with those whoe ought to be in subjection, yett stande in opposition to their authoritie. But if the Lord hath that mercie in store for any whoe are at presente in armes against them, as to incline their hearts to a submission to that government He (by His providence) hath placed ouer them, upon timelie application made to their ministers here, on the behalfe of particulars, persons, or places, such moderat tearmes will yett be condescended unto as men in their condition can rationally expecte. As to the intimation of your hopes and resolutions, I shall onely saye thus much, that it hath beene the practice of those whoe haue searved the Parliament in this cause to acte accordinge their duetie, and leaue the successe to him whoe disposeth the issues

of all things. And as the Lord hath hitherto enabled them exemplarily to proceede 1651.
against those whose hearts haue beene heardned upon vaine and groundlesse
expectation to withstande such offers of fauour as haue beene made unto them, soe
as I assure meselfe he will still owne them in his owne waye and worke, wherein
yours wee maye continually be founde, is the heartie desire of

Dublin, 24 of Feb., 1651.

Your Lordships servant,

Signed, Edmond Ludloe.

Subscribed : For Clanricarde.

I neuer sawe either peere or gentlman that doe lesse care to write under his
hande thinges voide of all truth, as this peere. In his former letter to Ludloe he
writes, that seuerall of the nobilitie and clergie weare of his advice for settlment,
whearas really there was none then of the nobilitie with him, other then West-
meath, Athunrey, and Costllaghe, this beinge reputed a publicke traitor and
guiltie of deathe by a councill of warr, and nowe adviceinge Clanricarde to make
conditions with the enemie, havinge already, particularly ran the same waye him-
self; but to verifie the phrase of generallitie of nobles doe joine in this action with
this his handi-goshope. As for Westmeath, his perswasion herin doe confirme the
intimation of the Bishope of Clonferte against him in his letter unto Linster
Assemblee, (as n°. 836) though there denied by the peere. Noe other clergie was
there other then the Conatian cometts, Tuamensis, and his traine of refractorie
and retrograde adherents, nor other persons of intreste asisted there, other then
pettye peddlers and bankrount-merchants of Galwaye, his owne creatures, notwith-
standinge must be baptized by him under the name of generallitie, as to be under-
stoode universally by the whole kingdome. If the enemie to whom he sent this
expresse did knowe his misinformation and methaphisicall arismetick, likly
would answere the same with a more bitinge sawce then he did his illusorie
intimation. Obsearve his faithlesse promise in this his saide letter, not to quitte
or decline the naties of this kingdome, or theire intreste, untill he see them
settled in a good condition, fitt for the nation. This is as true as Judas is in blishe,
as will hereafter apeere. It might be credible that this peere and Ludloe did
speake heare one and the same sense, fitt for the nation; any settlment is good
enough for people of theire condition by rent and division not considerable; his
other braggs in the same addresse are forged, and too farr from his intentions. Ex
operibus eorum cognoscetis eos.

Noe sooner did Clanricarde dispatche those addresses unto Lieutenant-generall
Ludloe for conditions of settlment, then comanned My Lord Dillon Costllagh
poste haste to the Assembly of Linster, that they maye authorise him with full
power to treat with the Comissioners of Parliament in Linster behalfe. A fitt
instrument for such as tearmed themselves loyall for kinge and country, a man
that publickly did shake hands with disloyaltie, and betrayed the trust reposed on
him by both, and was therof convicted and arraigned. As the tree such is the fruite.
Whether this action doe bewraye Clanricards censeritie to the publicke good, or its
contrarie, I leave to the consideration of an indifferent judge; and though the

880.

He cares not
what he writes,
whether true
or false.
Dillon Costl-
lagh a traitor
and attainted
by a councill
of warr.

The metha-
phisicall in-
formation of
Clanricard.

His equivoca-
tions.

881.

Costllagh
appointed by
Clanricard to
be agent for
Linster to
make con-
ditions.

1651.

assemblye did not impower him, as suggested, they did as badd euery jott, and addressed themselues for jorneye to Dublin in Dillons companye, in relation to the saide purpose, whoe were Sir Richarde Barnewall and Walter Bagnall, as by the ensuinge instrument signed by Gerald Fitz-Gerald, then chairman for that assemblie, may apeere.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

882.

Sence.

Flor. l. 1.

Cic. Off. 3.

WHEN wee are unable to houlde in saftie any thinge which is deere unto us, the more another desires the safe keepinge of it, and the more he pretends it for our good, the more cautelous and scrupulous wee should be of intrustinge him there with, leaste it be for his owne particular end. For it is unsafe to comitte the lambe to the wolfs guardiance, and as dangerous it is to putt the childe that pretends a iuste title unto his hands that hath the possession.

Nec ulla res vehementius rempublicam continet quam fides.

A letter or paper signed by Gerald Fitz-Gerald, in behalfe of an Assembly of the Irish at Glanmalirie in the province of Linster in Ireland, to the Comissioners of Parliament, delivered the eleventh of Marche, 1651.

Honorable Sirs,

Gerald Fitz-Gerards letter to the Comissioners of Parliament for settlment.

It is desire herin.

As the horrid mischiefes (unavoidably) accompanyinge all warrs (though upon neuer soe juste groundes undertaken), are such and soe many, and soe recentlie experimented throughout this unfortunat kingdome, as noe man can without horror thinke, much lesse dilate on a theame soe lamentably tragicall; even soe the manifolde blessings deriued from a firme and honorable peace, are soe obvious to eache understandinge, as I maye not presume to trouble men of soe greate judgment as you are with any coment thereupon. Therfore to proceede breefly to the purpose, be pleased to understande that the kingdome is aduertised from all parts of a free and noble disposition in the Comonwealthe of Englande, to grante honorable and safe conditions of peace unto this people and nation, to the acceptance therof I dare assure you of their willinge and reall inclinations. In order therunto, I doe in this and other the provinces behalfe requeste your safe-conducts unto eache province, with blanks to meete, electe, and authorize members of the saide respectiue provinces to meete with the members soe to be elected by other the provinces at some convenient place within this province, and thence to authorize comissioners to presente proposalls to such as are, or shalbe hereunto authorized by the Comonwealth of Englande, and conclude on such transactions as shal be agreeede upon. Your garrisons in eache province beinge soe obstructiue, as the members maye not with saftie come together to the aforesaide purpose. Unanimitie in this kinde amonge the provinces beinge much more conducable to a generall quiet, than the particular addresse of any province aparte. This I hope and expecte will produce that soe much and soe passionatly desired a settlment, which out to be the prayer and wishes of all honeste and well affected persons.

Sir Richard Barnewall, Baronett, and Colonell Walter Bagnall are authorized and employed by the assembly of this province to sollicite the contents herof, to whom I shall request you will be pleased to giue full credit in what they shall offer in that particular and other matters, it beinge the sense of this province I should signifie soe much unto you, to which subscribes, Sirs,

Garrenche, 20 Feb., 1651.

Your most humble servante,
Gerald Fitz-Gerald.

1651.

Sir Richard
Barnwall and
Walter
Bagnall,
Comissioners
in company of
Costlagh goes
to Dublin.

Subscribed: To the Right Honorable the Comissioners of the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England for the affayres of Ireland.

An answere unto this letter.

IRELAND.

A declaration made in answere to the foregoinge letter by the Comissioners of the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England for the affaires of Ireland.

The saide Comissioners havinge on the 11th of this instant Marche, receaued a letter or paper directed unto them, bearinge date the 20th of Feb., 1651, requestinge on the behalf of the provinces of Ireland safe-conducts unto each province with blanks to meete, electe, and authorize members of each province to meete in some convenient place for offeringe proposalls to such as are, or shalbe authorized by the Comonwealth of England for the settlment of this motion, which saide paper or letter is subscribed by one Gerald Fitz-Gerald, under pretence of an authoritie, which the saide Comissioners cannott in duetie and with honor to the parliament acknowledge, yett for the satisfaction of those that may seeme to be concerned therin, they doe declare.

883.

The Comis-
sioners of
Parliament
answere.

First, that the settlment of this nation doth of right belonge to the Parliament of the Comonwealth of Englande onely, the consideration wherof is at present before them. 1.

Secondly, that in the settlment therof the Parliament will make distinction betweene such persons as haue liued peacably accordinge to their dueties, or (beinge misleade) haue since submitted to their authoritie and protection, and those whoe haue acted or abetted the murders and massacres of the Protestants, and those that adhered unto them duringe the first yeare of the rebellion, and likewise such persons as now beinge in armes and opposition to the saide authoritie shall not timely submitte therunto. And therefore the saide Comissioners cannot in justice give waye to any acte soe much to the prejudice of the people of this nation as may involve those that are peacably minded with them whoe continue in hostilitie. 2.

Thirdly, that to grannte saf-conducts and blanke passes unto such as are in actuall hostilitie against the Parliament, to meete together from all the provinces to communicate counsellis, is an acte to which the saide Comissioners cannott in prudence consente. 3.

Theire expla-
nation.

Fourthly, that for such persons as now are in actuall hostilitie against the Parliament, and are willinge to laye downe armes and submitte to the authorite 4.

1651.

therof, upon timely application made to the Parliaments ministers here, on behalf of particular persons or places, such moderate tearmes wilbe consented unto as men in their condition can in reason expecte.

Dated at Dublin, the 12th of Marche, 1651.

Miles Corbet.

Io. Iones.

Iohn Weaver.

Subscribed : For Gerald Fitz-Gerald, etc.

884.

A brave
dispatche
betweene
Clanricard
and the
Assembly.

Clonferts
intimation
verified
againste
Westmeath.

All denialle
will not hinder
those.

There was betweene Clanricards addresse unto Ludloe and this from Linster assembly unto the Comissioners of Parliament but six daies onely as observable by their respective dates, the one written in Galway the 14th of Feb. and the other the 20th in Linster, the matter of 41 miles the very next waye you may choose in the quietest times, but in the ordinary they now passe upwards of a hundred, which dispatche could not be without good intelligence betweene them (the waies beinge mightie dangerous and tedious, unlesse secured by a saf-conducte too and fro), though publickly still complaininge of both deputie and proper agent, of this for not certifyinge from time to time of the issue of affaires, accordinge instructions; of him for not complyinge with their desire in their now extremitie, from neither receaved a worde since the departure of the saide agente; this was their publicke clamors, which I doe not beleeeve, but as others their leisings: However this present was a brave dispatche in six dayes from Galway to their assemblye, consideringe the circumstances of time and waies, the dangers and rubbs wherunto subjecte. By their prompte secondinge of Clanricards motion for settlment is evidently auerred the truth and veritie of Clonferts letter unto this assemblye, in relation to Westmeathes intimation, that he was sente by the province of Linster to have the Corporation of Galway joine with them for desiringe conditions (as above in the saide letter mentioned), and their intentions in their third instruction to be for agreement with the Parliament, how cunninge soeuer they would faine hooe it (as n^o. 839), notwithstandinge their present addresse, for that purpose pursuant to Clanricards proper one to Lieutenant-generall Ludloe, and its resulte, they tooke their journeye to Dublin. It is worthy observation how forward they were to submitte upon any conditions which giues foment unto this surmishe that possessed of Lieutenant-generall Ludloes resulte unto Deputie Clanricard, altogether negative, must persiste the same motion alreadye reiecte (though farr inferiour unto the former petitioner in all respects), maugre all opposition and deniall, whoe arrivinge to Dublin, presented their power by the former instrument to treat. All they gained herein was, to bringe both their instrument and the former declaration of the Comissioners of Parliament negative to their intentions in printe to their assemblye. And though this was sufficient to hinder their future proceedings in that behalfe, yett their willingness was such to shake hands with disloyaltie that upon their returne they applye themselves the seconde time for further proposalls, by the same agents, to be exhibited unto the Comissioners in Dublin, which with their answers doe here ensue.

A seconde paper delivered unto the Comissioners of Parliament, by Sir Richard Barnwalde and Colonell Walter Bagnall, and the saide Comissioners answered therunto:

Further proposalls offered, in pursuance of the authoritie giuen us.

1651.

To the Right Honorable the Comissioners of the Parliament of the Comon- 885.
wealth of England for the affaires of Irelande.

Being inhibited to replye to your honors answere of the 12th of this present, onely to offer what further wee had in charge, in pursuance wherof, not beinge satisfied by your honors answere, how farr your honors are impowered to treat in order of the settlment and peace of this nation, wee desire you wilbe pleased to make the same knowen unto us, that if qualified with authoritie for caryinge on soe good a worke, safe-conducts be giuen to such persons, as by the provinces shall be nominated, to conveine at time and place conveniente, when and wheare your honors shall thinke fitt. Whearupon the province of Linster, with such as shall make their joint addresses, will endeavour by all good means the settinge on soe hapie a worke, conducinge to a generall quiet, and prevention of the greates effusion of much Christian bloude, by a voluntarie subjection, as well of hearts as armes, the onely meanes to advantage, make stable and glorious the government of the Parliament in this kingdome, which offers, if your honors maye not assente unto, that safe conducts be grannted to such persons as shall be apointed to make their applications to the Parliament of England.

Other pro-
posalls of the
Irish agents to
the Comis-
sioners of
Parliament.

Dated the 15th of Marche, 1651.

Richard Barnewall.
Walter Bagnall.

The Comissioners of Parliaments answere to the foregoinge proposalls.

IRELAND: By the comissioners of the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England for the affaires of Ireland.

Upon consideration had of the paper this daye produced by Sir Richard Barnwalle 886.
and Colonell Bagnall, the saide Comissioners doe returne this answere ensuinge :

First, as to the makinge knowen the power of the saide Comissioners as is desired, they doe not houlde the same fittinge or reasonable. But such of this nation whose hearts God shall incline to a timely and free submission to the power of the Parliament, those persons shall effectually knowe the authoritie of the saide Comissioners to grannte such just things as shalbe rationally desired, and doe truste the Lord will enable the parliament and their ministers here to make such others, whose hearts shalbe still heardned to their further distruction, sensible of the power God hath putt unto their hands. And as to the granntinge passes to any persons to goe to the Parliament to negotiat for the settlment of the whole nation, the saide Comissioners doe not thinke it fittinge, it not standinge with the honor and justice of the Parliament to treat about the settlment of the nation with such as contrarie to their duety are in hostilitie against them. As to the residue of the saide matter contained in the saide paper, the saide Comissioners haue giuen answere therunto in a former paper of the 11th instant, to which they referr themselves.

The Comis-
sioners
answere to
the former
proposalls.
All gyrynge.

Dated at Dublin, 15th of Marche, 1651. Edm. Ludloe.

Miles Corbet.

John Iones.

John Weaver.

Printed at Dublin by Wm. Bladen, Anno Domini 1651.

1651. Those braue agents from Linster assembly, for settlment of the nation, are now
 887. returned as wise as they departed, they and Costllagh theire abetter and stickler,
 The imbecillitie of those agents. whoe haue don nothings worthy theire printe, labour, and charges, other then you
 here peruse, which they might be satisfied with at home, if please them, by the
 resulte of Lieutenant-generall Ludloe to Clanricards addresse now. They see how
 the worlde goes, how eager the pretenders doe desire to haue the safe-keepeinge
 and settlment of both kingdome and nation comitted to theire onely charge, which,
 if wise, the more cautelous our agents should be of intrusting them therewith as
 knowinge it to be for particular end. Any man will conceaue it unsafe to comitte
 the lambe unto the wolfes guardiance, and dangerous it is to putt the childe that
 pretendes a iuste title into his hands that hath the possession. But it seemes
 God did infatuat theire understande, that they are at present dubious what best to
 doe; they trouble theire headstronge braine to inuente some other waye, not con-
 ducent to the publick benefitt, or nation awayle, rather to thrive in theire devillishe
 The wavering humor of those factious members, plotte to undoe the whole Irish nation; they will run all desperate course to this
 end. Staye, devills, reflecte upon the busines, looke what you doe, obsearue the
 ensuinge advice of greate politicians.

CHAPTER XL.

888. RASHNESSE is obnoxious to all maner of ambush and surprise; it is hott at hande,
 Liui. 22. but tireth at lenght, and havinge vented the firste furie, dieth like a waspe that
 Tacit. An. l. 4. hath lost her stinge. Wherefore men must looke before they leape, and consider
 Polyb. l. 3. the danger before they run unto it. Leaste as they goe on with small heede, they
 Plin. Nat. come off with lesse gaine, for as the puffen, a fishe of all other the most dull and
 Hist. l. 9, c. 42. slowe, is often founde with a mullet in his belly, of all other fishes the most swifte
 in swimminge, soe wise and well adviced men doe alwayes overtake and overthrowe
 the heade-stronge and hastie.

Ovid. Fast. Differ, habent parvæ commoda magna moræ.
 Ovid. Epist. Assumpsit vires, auctaque flamma mora est.

The mistake of Clanricarde and his comissioners. Those Linster agents and Deputie Clanricarde denied, villipended, and sett at
 naught, as aforesaide, neither admitted to condition at home, or allowed to sue for
 in England. A man would thinke they would worke all the meanes nowe to
 render themselues considerable, to gather an armie unto the fielde (accordinge
 Clanricards intimation unto Lieutenant-generall Ludloe, n°. 878). The leaste the
 Deputie could comannde (if once knowen to be well affected) in all the kingdome is
 thirtie thousande men, horse and foote, and might haue both men and meanes by
 this time from his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, but that he stopped him by
 his proper agent (as otherwise mentioned) contrarie to honor, covenante, and bene-
 fitte, wherby would retarde his pretended rashnesse in leapinge soe unadvisedly
 The number of the forces he might make up. unto a laborinth of danger with soe small heede, as rationall men could expecte
 nothinge lesse then greate gaine; but noe such was theire intent, rather the
 distruction of both themselues and others, with a heade-stronge braine, to proper

precipice by Divine Providence destined, sutable to their inveterat principles, though denied by the higher power in Ireland from the Parliament, for such applications doe addresse themselves now, Comissarie-generall John Reynolds, inferior unto the former in that behalfe, and this by none other then by Sir Robert Thalbott, as a person of intrest with the Presbyterian faction for the surrender of Athlone and other fortes (as severally before specified) and allsoe as satisfaction unto Costllagh, deniinge him that honor for Dublin, every jott as inocent as the other traytor.

Thalbott therefore takinge his journey, accordinge comission to Athlone, where Comissarie Reynolds did then reside, to whom he shewed the cause of his mission, upon the examination of whose proposalls answered, that noe power did existe in Dublin Comissioners, or in him for the granntinge of such proposalls; wherfore adviced him not to speake of them untill better times, specially the exercise of religion in noe wise would be granted or consented unto; therefore saide he must either descende to granntable or desiste prosecution. With this resulte did Thalbott returne to his assemblye as wise as the rest of agents. I am of opinion (saluo meliori iudicio), that Costllagh and this Thalbott did not carie themselves wise in this busines, beinge severall tyed unto the Parliament in the height of their fortune, adheringe unto the Irish nowe in the last period of their ebbing fate, wherby rendred themselves obnoxious of proper ruyn, and imitate the foolish and irrational behavior of Esops dogg, loosinge what he had alreadie acquired for the shadowe. It seemes neither the one or other did looke about him, or consider their future danger before they ran to it, and soe their lesse gaine will beare testimonie of their small heede.

Those respectiue agents conveyinge in assembly together, rendringe account of their villication, the consequence deducted of the former premisses, was to dispatche proper addresses unto Clanricarde, to receaue the influence of that scorpion-planett, whose noe sooner enformed of their negative negotiation in Dublin (leaste any waye thereby discouraged), then sent unto them his two actiue mercuries, chiefe instruments of such a tragedie; the Earle of Westmeath and the Bishope of Drumore; to edge them on, how base soeuer the conditions might be. Those, neuer famous for loyaltie, poaste haste dispatched towards Linster, arrivinge to the assemblye, imparted their errant, and My Lord Deputies pleasure, all which was joyfully embraced by the faction. But the fewe well affected there resident, could hardly soe farr prevayle as to hinder the instant prosecution of those mandates, till notice weare sent unto the respectiue provinces before they engage themselves any further. And this the rather that they made mention of them in their former proposalls in Dublin, soe that the associat provinces might either joine with us in the acceptance of conditions, or waging warr, which is now honorable, and conduent to force conditions (if neede require), then to run a particular score. This waie not soe pleasinge unto those waspes, and specially to the saide anti-christian mercuries, as not suitinge to My Lord Deputies comandes, notwithstandinge, to colour somewhat their treacherous pretences, condescended unto that motion, and soe did write unto the respectiue provinces (or at leaste fained soe to haue don), aforesaide. While wee expecte the returne of other provinces in this

1651.

Thalbott a
Presbyterian.

889.

Thalbott agent
for the Irish.Reynolds an-
swere unto
Thalbott.

Esops Fab.

890.

Their dis-
patches to
Clanricarde.Westmeath
and Drumore
Clanricardes
mercuries.The motion
of the well
affected
reasonable.

1652.

behalf, lett us speake a little of the Linster militia, at this time, wherby will comence a yeare.

[SIXTH BOOKE.]

CHAPTER I.

The yeare 1652 is comenced.

891.

Lamp. Ael.

Sil. 6.

Cicero.

Polyæn. l. 1.

Livi. l. 30.

IN a fearfull tempeste at sea, wheare men are in danger of shipwracke, they throwe parte of their goods over boorde, leaste the rest, the shipe themselues and all should perishe; soe must a wise prince, in the tempestuous stormes of warr, he must adapte his consultations and actions to the necessitie of the time, and not expose the maine to a manifeste losse, by seekinge to saue the bye. Wisdome is therefore more necessarie in a chiefe then valor.

Simul parta, ac sperata victoria, unius horæ fortuna euertere potest.

The desire of
the well
affected and
whoe they
were.

Sir Walter
Dungans drift.

His disservice
in Rosse
wittingly.

All the well affected comannders in Linster and their respective forces were most desirous to doe service, and did thriue euery wheare, their willingnesse was such. But Westmeath and Dungan, as chiefe leader of those distracted forces, by all maner of meanes did inhibitt the same to their best endeavours. But Byrnes, Keuanaghs, Captain Naasse, Grace, Lieutenant-colonell Duynes, and seuerall other loose parties did acte now and then very remarkable service against the enemy upon greate odds. The inhibition of Sir Walter Dungan was mightie noted, such as haue been recall and loyall hitherunto, did conceaue to yelde him any obeysance, did prove both destructive and prejudicious to the intended cause. Of this resolution was Bryan Mc Phelim and Keuanaghs, euer yett constant in their principles. By this alienation from Dungans suborned authoritie the saide parties haue acted extraordinarie good service, which Dungan obseruinge, goes in person towards them, and invitinge them to the takinge of Rosse, a very considerable porte towne, and very riche, promisinge that it might be gott without loosinge one man, and withall did assure the pilladge unto the cariers. The souldiers, greedie of such a baite, condescended, whoe marched awaie, 1500 foote and 400 horse, neuer suspectinge the leaste danger till within the gates of Rosse aforesaide. The enemy was onely 30 men, too farr from suspectinge such an attempte, walkinge naked in the church yarde, ran unto the church-steeple, except three, which were knocked to death. Some musketiers were there appointed to keep them within while the towne was rifled, plundered, and pilladged, whoe neither did garrison or demolishe the same, rather againste the vote of all the comannders, except onely Dungan did agree with the townsmen for £400 per monthe, to be payed unto the saide partye, for not turninge all to ashes, which couenant perfected, returned backe, many a man loaden with pilladge and marchant-ware; neither did the saide Dungan, the comander, permitt them to kill the enemy souldiers in the churche-steeple. This contribution, if desired, was neuer payed, and likly was neuer imposed to the intent to be giuen the Irish for any their abettinge, rather therby to free the

enemie cittizence from the present furie of the souldiers. How well such an acte did conduce to the furtherance as the Catholick-affaires I leaue to your consideration. 1652.

This partie, not pleased with those proceedings, dispersed unto their accustomed places of saftie, and turnes to Dublin, and from thence to Kilkeny, to indeere himself unto the Parliament members there, and giue an accounte of his humanitie towards the people of Rosse, and bid them be more warie for the future, leaste others of lesse regarde unto their saftie did giue the like attempte. The Lowe Linster comaunders, ashamed to be idle, about this time, that our Agents, Deputie and Comissioners were most forward for settlment (as they tearmed it), to render themselves considerable rushed out where euer they were against the enemie. 892.

About the 15th of Marche this yeare Captain Bryan Fitz Patricke had the killinge of Major Wentthorde, gouernor for the Parliament in Tinakill ohogartie, a greate tyrant, a captain, and 4 troupers, and tooke 15 troupers prisoners, had all their horse, furniture, and armes. Sir Walter Dungs aduice and behaviur in the enemie behalfe.

About this verie time, Major Charles Keuanagh and Captain Art McDermott Keuanagh had the killinge of 50 troupers at Skaruailshe, in the countie of Wexforde. The saide Charles and Art caried a preye from Rosse, and eightene Englishe cavalliers of late come from England, not knowinge what the worde Torie did importe, judginge it rather to implye a monster then a man, the garrison not daringe to followe or offer to rescue, as beinge alreadye, to their losse, acquainted with the saide Keuanaghs. The saide cavalliers to be enformed (as the saide) what they were whom the English garrison did soe much feare, followed alone, which Mayor Charles obsearvinge, gott betweene them and the towne, tooke them all prisoners, had their horse and armes, kept themselves the matter of 3 or 4 nights, entertained them very respectively, and compoundinge in the interim for their ransome, dismissed them, whoe highly comended him and his traine for ciuill and courteous men, thinkinge, saide they, the Tories were some savadg men or beastes. This same Charles and Art did pilladge and demolishe the towne of Iniskortie. 15 daies our anticipation of this yeares comencement.

About the 20th of Marche this same yeare, the enemie marched in a greate bodie to Glanmalury, the preye of the Glans beinge in places of saftie, the Irish did drawe the cattle to champion grounde to baite the enemie on, which he obsearvinge, tooke possession of both fiede and cattle. The Irish with manly courage followed, rescued the preye, had the killinge of 300 men, and did putt the rest to route. Bryan Mc Phelim and Huigh his brother marched with a partie to Arcloe, where was a stronge garrison for the Parliament, where findinge three boates readie for saile, full loaden with marchant goods and other comodities taken of them perforce, by the garrison to be transported for Dublin, tooke the same with all in them contained. Amonge other things founde there was 15 ferkins of powder, worth a £1000 of goods, demolished the boates, had the killinge of severall of the garrison that offered rescue, and caried awaye a cornett and three troupers prisoners. Charles Keuanaghs service.

The sixt of Aprill Colonell Grace and Colonell Gawly with their partie brought 893.

The Byrnes service.

Another of the same familie.

894.

1652.

Dauid Shornes
preye in re-
uenge of his
reuoulte.

John Fitz
Patricide.

a greate preye from Killinbracke, in the countie of Westmeath, and barony of Rathconrad, from Major Dauid Shorne, a Germane, reuolted from the Irish, and became a reall seruitor to the Parliament partye. This same partie did burne and sacke the towne of Birr, unto the uery castle, in the Kings countie, killed some men, tooke prisoners, greate pilladge, and good store of armes, whoe brought allsoe a greate preye from Ossorie in the Queens countie, in reuenge of Iohn Fitz Patrickes treacherous reuoulte, whoe basely betrayed his nation, kinge, and religion now in actuall seruice with the enemie, without any condition worthy relation, neither did he speake one worde in the behalfe of his religion; naye, nor in behalf of father or mother, whoe thitherunto held out as confidinge in the braue partie that did adhere unto this their fatal son, whoe unto them proued noe lesse then patricide, for his father died of greefe, hearinge what character was attributed unto his onely son, and his mother araigned for a long time in Kilkeny, and after executed in Dublin, by name Brigid Darcy. Some honest fellowe tellinge this Absalomian Fitz Patricke at the time of his transportation, that he was portator of both his parents curse, answered that he was as well pleased therewith as with their benedictions. O incarnat deuil! doe you beleeeve or knowe the Diuine comandments? honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longæuus super terram.

Exod. 20.
Math. 15.
Marc 7.

895.

Colonell
Walter
Brenaghs
seruice.

All to
the next
number.

About the 8 of Aprill, Colonell Walter Brenagh, in the border of the countie of Typrary and Limbricke; a Colonell of the Parliament forces, with three score horse, went to one Morish OReillies house, to amarie a daughter of the saide gentleman, without at leaste consent of parents, hearinge such a busines, thither directed his course with 60 horse, whoe cominge to the saide in chase of that English wooer, fell upon them, had the killinge of the whole number unto three horse, whoe ran awaye, and lost none himself. This seruice was soone bruted in all them quarters; upon notice wherof, the enemie garrisons therabouts rallied their men, issued after this Brenagh, whoe forced to retire unto a mountaine, beinge in chase very hearde, in his flight mette with a contrie clowne of his acquaintance passage beye, givinge him some tobacco, comandded him to walk towards Loghsquire, a stronge enemie garrison (whethe the saide clowne seuerall times thitherunto resorted, and was too well acquainted there, under the name of a pedler), and intertaine the centrie with the same tabaco, while a douzen of his horse, by two and two, roade easilie homwards, dissemblinge to be the horse of the saide garrison now returninge from the pursuite of Brenagh aforesaide. All which was cunningly acted by the saide clowne. The centrie, obsearuinge the horse, suspected some stratageme, but the clowne (as already instructed) perswaded them to be onely their owne, whoe too prodigall of beleefe, by their carelesnesse gaue waye that 8 horse did inter the gate, and when the centrie, too late, did obsearue their error, and offered to oppose, were presently knocked to deathe, the horse rushinge into the towne, demolished the same, except onely the castle, as hauinge a draw-bridge betweene them and it, gott 50 braue horse there, with seuerall other bootie, wherof beinge in possession, whipped awaye, but next morninge was in chase with the enemie. Colonell Brenaghs proper horse was tyred, wherupon comandded the fresh horse, last dayes bootie, to be saddled, and gaue order to 4 of his troupers, well mounted,

to turne the same waye and face the enemie, which don, to turne backe the same waye. The enemie, espyinge these horse in a milancholy moode cominge towards them, which they gaue waye to doe, untill the very horse, as if wakeinge from some drowsinesse, looked about them, and seeinge the enemie within a pistle shott turninge the raynes and settinge spurrs without mercie unto their swifte and dexter steedes. The enemie, as fast as euer he could, pursued those fugitiue horses in a disordered waye. Brenagh layinge in ambushe permitted all to the last man to followe the suposed route, and in the rear cryes aloud, whoe had the killinge of all the enemie that hapned to be there, whoe were 4 intire troupes, had all their horse and armes, with this and the last dayes bootie, tooke his waye towards Muskrye (of whose partie he was, though not of his intentions), enformed his Lordship of all the passadge, and desired he may be pleased to send more horse with him, and assured of good and faysible seruice, Muskry did condescende unto this gentlmans reall requeste, did send by him 400 horse. The Colonell marched with this number towards the Pollye, where Colonell Edmond Duyre did at present reside, in reuenge of his treacherous and disloyall surrender unto the enemie, cominge aboute Duyres cottage, Duyre stepinge fourth in his shirte, and escaped by the courtesie of a neighbouringe bogge neere his borrac; his lodginge was pilladged, gott there 8 horse and awaye he went; all the former seruices were don by this cavallier, in onely 8 daies.

The 29 of Marche, remar[kable in these northeren semyspheare, by the greatescylipse of the sunne, the same hower of her apearence, Colonell Richard Grace, Colonell Thibott Gawly, with a partie of horse and foote, went to the towne of Birr, took a prey of 50 cowes and soe many garrans, the enemie issuinge to oppose and rescue, of whom 50 men were killed, 14 taken prisoners, had 40 of their horses and their armes, lost none themselves but three hurte, and none mortallye. This uery daye and hower the enemie came to Bellaghmore, in Ossorie (as suposinge to surprise an Irish partie that thither resorted nowe and then); 7 score and 10 was the enemie number, wherof a 100 were horse. Lieutenant-colonell Carroll, Major Byrne, and Captain Bryan Fitz Patricke hapned to be there then with onely three score foote, nothinge aware, untill the enemie did rush unto their uerie cabinetts or borraes, the enemie did soe farr engage himself in the woode that of necessitie must forgoe his horse and doe seruice a foote, the place beinge inaccessible by nature, wherof Major Byrne takinge aduantage, ran poaste haste unto a straight passadge, with 20 musketires, and a piper a horse backe in the enemie rear, played on him soe fierce and manly, the English horse not accustomed to fight upon such a score afoote, and discouraged by the willdnesse of both people and place, the aduantage was soone discouerde, for the Irish had the victorie, and killed three score of the enemie, in the same place; all the remaine castinge off their armes, cryed for quarter of their liues, which beinge grannted, all the aduerse partie (except one that did not apeere to be accounted either aliue or dead) were killed or taken prisoners; the victors gott a 100 horse, furniture, and armes; they lost neuer a man. In regarde they had noe garrisons to keepe those prisoners in, dismissed them upon their parole, to apeere a certaine daye or send their respectiue ransomes.

1652.

896.*

Colonell Grace

· · · · ·
 · · · · ·
 · · · · ·

A brave pecco
 of seruice.

A fine
 stratageme.

Three score
 killed, all the
 remaine taken
 prisoners.

* In margin here: "This should preceede the two former numbers."

1652.

897.

Mightie discouragement
unto this
partie what
Iohn Fitz
Patricke haue
here don.

In this interim Iohn Fitz Patricke hauinge accesse unto those, his quondam souldiers and kindsmen, whoe did connieue at him (though feared the excommunication), grounded upon the surmishe of amitie and paste superioritie, not onely enlarged freely the saide enemie prisoners, but allsoe restored all the bootie gott that daye of skirmishe in specie, which proued most prejudicious to the Catholicks future service and encouragment. The very same daye and hower of the ecclypse Captain William Carroll, a ciuillian doctor, tooke six troupers of Rosscrea garrison prisoners, he and his troupe waitinge on the preye of that towne. This daye proued a fatall daye unto the Parliament forces in those and other places, by their owne proper attestation, and did still proue noelesse fortunat if not for our proper rent and division; wheareuer the Irish and enemie mette in those dayes, these had the worste and ours euer thrived.

898.

Leutenant
Barnewalls
preye from
Mollingare.

Leutenant-
colonell Dwyne
his seruice.

Leutenant
Carroll and
Leutenant
Egan joined
with Grace.

The Vlster
souldiers
courageed.

Kildare preye
by Grace.

Byrnes seruice
at Castisolla.

Keuanaghs
seruice against
Katarlagh
enemie.

Leutenant Barnewall (whose captain was the Baron of Tremlettstowne, an ignorant but a prime factionier) caried a greate preye of horse and cowes from Mollingare in Westmeathe, at leaste a 100 horse, this Leutenant onely with his proper troupe, and Captain Terlagh Conors foote companie, which was about the 15th of Aprill. About this uerie time Leutenant-colonell Dwyne did carie a preye from the garrison of Monestereuin; this same man within 8 daies after tooke 8 troupers of the enemie, goinge to Kilkeny from Mariborough, gott by them at present, beside their ransome, their horses, armes, and furniture, a £100 in moneye, and a packett from Comissary Iohn Reynolds, directed to Leutenant-generall Ludloe. This same daye the saide Dwyne rescued a preye that the enemie brought from Ossorie, and caried the same to his owne campe. At this time Leutenant-colonell Carroll and Leutenant-colonell Egan, with the relation of 500 men, all of Iohn Fitz Patricks partie, came and joined with Colonell Grace and Colonell Gawly. Eight score and ten Vlster souldiers of Fitz Patricks partye marched in a bodie towards their owne natieue countrie, as not to incurr into the excommunication fulminated by the clergie of Linster against Fitz Patricke and his adherents. The 28 of Apriell Colonell Grace, Colonell Gawly, Colonell Molloye, with their respective parties, went to Kildare, gathered all the cowes, garrans, sheepe, swine, and other cattle betweene that and the Liffy, burned and pillaged the towne, gott a greate bootie that did relieue them for many dayes, and if well managed might relieue them for a longe time; of cowes the leaste was 650, with a greate number of small cattle. Seauen score and ten horse loades of amunition and prouision did the Byrnes of Glanmalury take from the enemie cominge to Castisallagh in the countie of Wickloe, routed the conuoye, and within four daies after had the killinge of 9 captains, 5 majors, 3 leutenant-colonells, with many other under officers and souldiers, routed all the saide enemie partie, which was the strongest the gouernor of Dublin could for that present make up, therby intendinge to surprise all Glanmalury men, but you see how they thrived. This same daye Charles Keuanagh and Art Keuanagh, with their proper partie, burned the towne of Katarlagh, killed 3 troupes of armed horse of the enemie, and seuerall others. At this verry time Captain Laurence Dempsie and Captain Naisse, and others their adherents, did kill 3 score horse at Gowran in the countie of Kilkenye. This Captain Naisse was a braue seruitor, mightie fatall to the enemie, specially in the

countie of Kilkenye ; naye, did seuerall times inter the gates of that cittye, kill some troupers in the streete, and carie away the best horses from the ury stables ; he was more fortunat in extraordinarie seruices then a man of treble power might promise, continually laye in waite for the enemye, not for any couetousnesse of spoile (as I belceve), rather proceeded of his good nature and Catholicke inclination to the comon good of his countreye. One daye about this ury time it was his chance to haue mett at Carrignabrocke, in the countie of Kilkeny, one Colonell Cooke, with the matter of 20 horse. Captain Naisse had onely with him eight horse, whoe discoueringe the enemye advantage might passe by, if soe minded, nor Cooke would once offer to followe him, knowinge him to be the man he was (though an able horsman himself), notwithstandinge this gentlmans courage admitted noe such humanitie with a sworne enemye, aduiced his fewe comrads to followe him, and that he would giue the onsett ; whoe, trained to such actions, promised compli-
 ance of his saide requeste, which was with mightie courage performed, one onely of the enemye escaped with life, and 5 of the Irish, but all wounded. The noble Captain Naisse fell, himself and the enemye Colonell together, deade to the grounde, by whose falle the flower of chiuallrie in the countie of Kilkennye did cracke. A ury good relation I had of this gentlmans courage and censeritie : I beseeche the diuine Majestie maye be pleased to remunerate.

1652.

Captain Naisse,
 his comenda-
 tion, valour,
 and deathe.

Colonell Cooke
 killed.

CHAPTER II.

In consultations a prince must yeld leaste to his owne passions ; graue counsel-
 lours, whose wisdom and experience haue formerly aproved their seruice, must
 haue greatest credit in cases of greatest weight. Such as aduice, either to sooth the
 princes humor, or for their owne particular aduantage, may well be hearde, but
 ought not to be followed ; where it is otherwise the effects are dangerous.

899.

Curtius l. 7.

Salust.

Plut. Sen-
 tentiæ.

De rep. Germ.

Maxime salua est ciuitas, ubi consilia senum et iuuenum arma obtinent.

While the Linster agents doe expecte the resulte of the other provinces as aboue
 mentioned lett us examine upon what grounde did Clanricarde betraye Galwaye to
 the enemye, it beinge nothinge necessitated ? to colour and hoode his treacherie
 therin ; when he obscurued all things don sutable to his intentions, and that the
 oportunitie destined for the destruction of the Irish nation was in the immediat
 disposition of its rapture, he peremptorily called a congregation of such of the
 clergie as there waited, and desired to be resolu'd in the ensuinge quæres : Whether
 it be more comodious for the nation, and specially for those of Conaght province,
 to surrender the towne of Galwaye to the Parliament upon conditions by him
 aproved, or stande out against that power to the extreame hazarde of both life and
 fortune ? By the one you will, saide he, at leaste saue your liues (which is the
 prime jewell of our beinge), and some of your substance ; by the other you indanger
 all in a high measure ; the rather the affirmatiue should be embraced, that all
 other prouinces are respectiuey soe engaged, that if willinge to relieue you (which

Clanricards
 treacherous
 [act]es and
 sense upon the
 surrender of
 Galwaye.

1652.

Pilat is innocent in the sense of this peere, though Iudged Christ to death.

I doe not conceaue) is impossible, accordinge the occurrences of affaires at present. That none therfore maye carpe at me, I will leaue this and its discuishinge to your consideration, and desire you returne unto me within three howers your resulte therupon, that the townsmen and others maye adresse themselues accordingly. This busines soc managed, he addressed himself to his Grand Councell for the same intente, thus to warrant his proper actions by the uote of both spirituall and temporall members. If this will cleere the sorditt behaiour of the present deputy-peere herin, noe man can taxe Pilate, the nequam judge, obnoxious of our Saviours death, culpable, as havinge the uote of both spirituall and temporall members of the Jewish race to that effecte, sed ipse nouit, qui sunt eius. By this his intimation unto the clergie his intentions were well knowen, notwithstandinge conuened together accordinge the saide apointment, wheare apeered of all sorts six score and six persons; after some debate, pro et contra, six onely adhered unto Clanricards opinion and sense in the behalf of surrendringe the towne to the enemie, upon what conditions his Excellencie did thinke fitt, but the six score unanimously did uote the contrary, both which were presented in authentick instruments unto Clanricarde, with the respective insignments and inscriptions of the authors; upon perusall of both, embraced the sense of those sixe, and rejected the six score, neuer examininge the grounds or reasones of either partie, onely followed that which fauoured his intentions, which (if not degenerat from his beinge) would neuer haue don; rather admitte those graue counsellours whose wisdom and experience haue acquired better opinion and credence in former seruices, whom he villipended, and followed such as did sooth his humor, and was owned to particular advantage; he adhered unto Judas betrayinge his Lord and Master, and dispised the eleuen apostles defendinge him. This tragicall scene brought thus to its period, apointinge the daye of the saide surrender and the authoritie in the hands of Mayor and some of his brotheren-Aldermen, leauinge a watchworde with his Grand Counsell and others his well wishes to deserte the towne against the saide time, tooke his journey and went himself to Ir Conaght to Aghananiure, which you maye be acertaind off by perusinge the subsequent letter of Doctor Teige Egan, which is as followes :

May it please your Excellencie,

900.

Doctor Teige
Egans letter
to Clanricard.

I may answere to that question of yours last Sundaye, propounded to me at Aghanuire, viz., how can wee helpe Galwaye? First, to hope in God, as I saide there, juxta illud, in te Domine speraui, non confundar in æternum, et spes non confundit. Secondly, by their pastors either stayinge with their flocke or timely returne, and to liue or die with them against your hereticall wolves, the comon enemie of Gods church, kinge, and kingdome, bonus pastor dat animam suam pro ouibus suis, et perfecta charitas mittit foras timorem humanum et mundanum non diuinum, quia initium sapientie timor Domini. Thirdly, your Excellencies straight and urgent comannde, if not your personall power to the armie within the towne and their gouernor, with an inuitation of the armies abroade, and the asistance of the major and sanior parte of the clergie there and else wheare (very fewe temporizinge excepted), against the six disciples of darknesse in that pointe, not soc faithfull to Christe as

Nicodemus, whose ringleaders are Fr. Valentine Browne, Fa. Sedgraue, or Segrye the Jesuite, and Fa. Iohn Linche, Archdeacon of Tuaine, now titularie uardian of lost Galwaye, whoe gaue a contrarie opinion before noone, with theire other seconds after noone; as Fr. Iohn Linche, Prior of the Augustines; Fr. Nicholas Linche, of the same Order, and Fr. Teige OGorman; the saide Fr. Valentine beinge the man that gaue seauen seuerall opinions, one contrarie to the other, since the cominge of the Lord Nuncio, to this poore and now forsaken kingdome; for, first, he was for the saide Lord Nuncio, as the rest of the clergie of this kingdome, before the flenchinge from the heade and bodie of the Churche in this lande, qui ad tempus crediderunt, et in tempore tentationis recesserunt. My Lord, are not holy Popes elected and crowned by the major and sanior parte of Cardinalls? Are not mightie Emperours, whoe receaues their crownes from His Holinesse, created by the vote of the greatest number of the electors? Are not all Generalls of religious Orders, and their inferior prelates, comonly choosen thus? And many kings: and your owne Irish predecessors, M^c Williams Iaghtar and Vaghtar? And lastly, the magistrates of corporations in the towlshe by the major parte or more voices? But Galwaye must against conscience and lawe embrace the opinion of six against the vote of six score and more, not lesse within, and without that inconstant towne and against the more votes of the commons, prescribinge, sicut constantius inconstanter, and their owne naturall uardian, with the best and more pious parte of both clergie. The reasons, My Lord, of my obloquies against your Excellencie heare:—first, that I conceaued you loved more the English then the Irish. Secondly, you permitted to abuse My Lord Nuncio, against the lawe of nations, in besiedginge Galwaye, not admittinge a nationall councill, and sendinge the saide Lord Nuncio awaye with disgrace, not askinge an absolution ad cautelam from that excommunication a jure, ipso facto, from which is noe appellation. I speake not of that friuolous appellation of the Supream Councill from the Lord Nuncios censures, quæ transijt in rem iudicatam per triennium; and for abusinge many other churchmen of this kingdome, namely, the now Lord Bishope of Clonferte, your owne ordinarie, whoe loues (if I be not deceaued) your soules saluation, as any other bishope, prieste, or fryer in this land; the Provinciall of the Franciscan Order, the Deane of Tuaine; and lastly, the Vicar-generall of Meathe, as altogether unmindfull of that nolite tangere christos meos, etiam, et qui tetigerit vos, tangit pupillam oculi mei; and for adheringe unto the Lord Marquesse of Ormonde, a Presbyterian, against the Confederats. And, My Lord, you shalbe pleased to note your owne minions did fayle and betraye your Excellencie against the oathe of association to the nation, and the due alleageance to their exiled kinge; I meane Sir Robbucke Linche, not Linxe, Sir Valentine Blake, Sir Richarde Blake, though more honest in that point, and Sir Oliuer Frenche, a knight of your owne makinge, with others of the deputed agents unto Coote. But God saith, mihi vindicta, et ego retribuam, and as I craued pardon, My Lord, of God and your Lordship for my obloquies, out of your goodnesse, ita et uos faciatis, in askinge pardon of God and His Holy Churche in those and all other points, that your Excellencie maye the better prosper both in sea and lande, for an act of repentant humilitie, not onely of justice, quid, si non eritis sicut paruuli non intrabitis in regnum cœlorum,

1652.

See the character of Clanricards diuines.

From these did Clanricard sugarc.

Math. 18.

1652.

as our Savior saide to His apostles ; and soe, comittinge your Lordship and us all to God and His holy courte, I duetifully take leaue, and will praye,

Your Excellencies beadsman and well wisher,

Thadæus Eganus.

Aghanuire, 6^o Aprilis, 1652.

Supscribed : For His Excellencie the Lord Marquesse of Clanricarde these, etc.

Copia vera, ut testatur Fr. Anthonius Geoghegan, Prothonotarius Apostolicus et Vicarius Generalis Medensis.

901.

Aristoteles de
Platone.

A coment upon
the former
letter.

Clanricards
choice of
diuines.

Valentine
Brownes
character

A pregnant testimonie (omni acceptatione dignum) of an author, of life, learninge, and conuersation voide of all exception, beinge an eye wittnesse of this peeres actions, a wellwisher of his house, as borne his follower, Plato amicus, sed magis amica ueritas. This same letter doe evidently auerr what wee hitherto haue saide of Clanricarde concearninge treason and faction, rather addes to our Illias ; he calls him friende of the comonemie, and foe to kinge, nation, and religion (though sworne in vertue of his place to the contrary), which is the summ of our proceedings against him, and is well proued by the present action, admittinge the sense of those fewe relapsinge members, euer noted as such since, inimicus homo, did shoe cockle of division, rent, and faction in the fruitefull soile of Catholicke Irelande, by the surmises of those and such other ministers of iniquitie, not of justice or godlinesse. It is strange, but this peere had the shame or witte to palliat a litle his acceptance of soe fowle an acte as the presente, to embrace the opinion of soe fewe against soe many, without euer examininge the grounde of either side, or euer offeringe to shewe reasone to the partie rejected ; for, in case the foresaide six against soe many were eminent persons in all circumstances conducent to the acceptance of their onely resulte, he should in all courteous ciuilitie give some seeminge satisfaction to the other partie ; but those onely six against six score, the most waueringe, inconstante, mutinous, irregular, illiterat, shamelesse, ungodly, and impious of all the then congregation, the scume of all religiositie, the froathe of all litterature, and the outcast of all ciuill and honorable demeanour, experto crede. I am too well acquainted with both authors of negatiue and affirmatiue assertion, and neuer knewe any of the foresaide six other then incendaries and factious, but good enough for Clanricarde to giue luster unto his now treacherie, and calefication to his abominable intentions, treason, and disloyaltie ; verily he might be ashamed for the present choice, to followe the resulte of these fewe anti-divines and pseudo-preachers, and relinquishinge the major and sanior parte, did marr all his buildings as without fundation upon sannde erected. Obsearve what character the former doctor giues Fr. Valentine Browne, for his instability and waueringe resolutions, the same tincture in graine might he giue the rest, his now complices, this man, or rather monstrum naturæ, a litle lumpe of a dwarfise quiditiue, participatinge of both humane and assnicall subsistence, though by combination and division assumed to a transcendent degree of dignitie, beyonde his reache and meritt, in the Order of Minors, did neuer acte any thinge other then what compted the neuer coupled union of natures, specie diuersarum. As for

those Augustine fryers, they are for any impression, more prone to shake hands with apostacie, from both religion and habitt, and become a prostitut of all offerred heresie, in imitation of their brother Luther, then continue their once vocation to that holy Order, and followe the light of that splendor of Gods Church, St. Augustine, their now repud father and fundator; those (if Clanricarde will haue it soe, as actually he did) did giue their opinion, against all lawes diuine and humaine, to execute, torture, or both, by the onely power of a ciuill magistrate, without relation or dependencie of any other whom soeuer, any prelate of holy Church, how eminent soeuer, upon a bare presumption of treason, or faction, as they haue erroneously exhibitted against all the diuines and canonists conveyned in Galwaye for that purpose, against the Vicar-generall of Meathe, in this letter mentioned, and touched n^o. 874. It wilbe enough to tell Segræue, or Segry, the Jesuite, that in Ireland in this brazen age he is a Te tengo, and noe Jesuite; for all Loyollas familie in this kingdome (except Father Iohn Egan, and one Mc Angill) swarued from their fourth, or rather prime vowe, wherein they solemnly promise and proteste obedience to the Sea of Rome, which by our Saviours opinion was not complied with, opposinge his chiefe minister in this kingdome, immediatly authorized by his Holinesse; I meane My Lord Nuncio, qui vos spernit, me spernit, et qui vos audit me audit. I doe not well knowe how genuinely they can adapt this unto their scientia media. Teige OGorman, a Minor, a starcinge fryer, like a cocke, giues a glannce with one eye towards heauen and with the other towards the earthe, by this inatiue propertie of the cocke was by diuine lawe reputed uncleane, and consequently inhibited to be offerred as oblation or sacrifice in any diuine misterie (as the expositors therupon doe alleadge); I thinke noe lesse of the representatiue type therof. Those are Clanricards diuines, and none but they or such upon whose uerditt he apointed some of his proper cabinet councell of towlsheer and other to surrender the towne to the enemie within six daies hence, nothinge necessitated as aforesaide, and though the conditions came through his hands, and by his apointment, yett neuer a worde was spoken therein of any churchman to the relation of either function or stayment, other then these six disciples of darknesse. How Catholickly and loyally don by a suposed Catholicke Deputie I leaue to your consideration, and allsoe doe remitt unto your indifferent censure the rest of the contents of this letter, beinge as true as I am a rationall creature.

1652.

The Augustines of Galwayes opinion.

The Loyollas retrograde resulte.

The reason why the cocke was by diuine lawe reputed uncleane.

CHAPTER III.

THERE be some people that sleepe with their eyes alwayes open; such are ambitious princes, for though their senses be sometime soe bounde as they will not heare the truthe when it is tould them, nor see the danger that is manifestly before them, yett is the eye of their imagination euer watchfull upon euery advantage that may seeme to further their ends, soe as they neuer take howers rest in the sweete sleepe of contente, and for want of sufficient meanes, or fitt instruments of their

902.

Salust. Cat.

Lip. ex Eurip.

1652.

owne, they sowe the seedes of discontente, and then blowe the coales of sedition in the hearts of rebellious subjects.

Quid pessimam Dearum amplecteris, ambitionem, o fili?

Clanricarde now hauinge disposed of Galwaye, as aforesaide, directed his course to Yre Conaght, to make readie a shipe for his transportation for Franncce (as he was pleased to giue out), onely expected a true disposition in all the rest of the kingdome for surrender unto the comonemie. Of his two under generalls of Linster and Monster, the Earle of Westmeath and the Lord of Muskrye, he was well assured of their compliyanee; Conaght busines was caried by himself as formerly, soe that he wanted nothinge for bringinge his saide designes to its wished end other then Vlster, wheare hauinge a watchfull eye, receaved intelligence from thence to haue noe inclination of agreement with the Parliament other then upon honorable conditions for both laitie and clergie, the scope of their warefare hitherunto; wherupon did simulate to alter his course, to stayer in the countrie, thereby to drawe the Vlstermen unto an uniformitie with others in the saide surrender, and soe make an end of that tragedie, pursuant therunto writes the ensuinge colloquinge letters unto the undernamed comannders.

From Ir Conaght, 12 Aprill, 1652.

903.

Sir,

From Clanricarde to Philipe OReyllye.

I thought to enforme you of a resolution I haue taken, out of my tender loue to my countrie, through all dangers and hazards whatsoever, to owne meself to one and the same fate and fortune with it, and haue in some proportion imitated an ancient comannder, that slewe his horse in the begininge of a battle to encourage his souldiers, and take off all hope of saftie by flight, by a voluntarie dismissee of the onely frigatt left to carie me off with saftie, he mette with prosperous successe therein; what mine wilbe depends next under God upon the gallant and generous resolution wilbe taken by you and the other comannders and officers of the province, and the inuitation of the same effecte. I haue sent unto the Earle of Westmeathe and My Lord of Muskrye, and for these provinces under their comannde; whilst I am meself managinge the affaires of an untowarde and unsettled people in this discontented prouince, Galwaye hauinge basely and perfidiously yelded, and is this daye to receaue Sir Charles Cootes garrison. If I cannot be sudaine in the heade of a considerable armie, I am likly to be founde in the counties of Sligoe or Letrim, or endeaoueringe to force a passadge to you, if you cannot come speedilie to joine with us in Conaght, longe expected, and without which the province wilbe sudainlie lost. This I send you in much haste, leaste you should be abused by reportes of my departure, and I am confident of Gods mercie and protection ouer us, if some of us of peculiar wayes of pretendinge to be better and more zealous Christians then others, and to make religion the couer to other designes. I shall unanimously come and unite in one cleere score for God, our kinge, and countrie; with that wee exactly performe to pacifie Gods just wraethe with us, shalbe the constante prayer of

Your reall affectionat freinde,
Clanricarde.

I writt formerly of my owne very scarce condition and my confidence in you, 1652.
and shall noe more then thus brieflye to minde you of it.

Subscribed : For Colonell Phillipe Mc Huigh OReylly. Hast, hast, in Vlster.

Another of his for Lieutenant-generall Ferrall and others.

904.

After our heartie comendations: Yesterdaie wee dispatched the Earle of Castlhaven in Captain Antonios frigate, and if supplies be not alreadie cominge to us, you may be most confident his Lordship will use all possible endeavours, and leaue noe stone unturned that maye produce both speedie and considerable assistance for the reliefe of this kingdome, and how desperat soeuer our condition maye seeme to be, wee haue possiblie settled our resolution to endure the uttermost triall, and to runn all hazarde and dangers what soeuer that maye best presearue those precious intrests of our duetie and religion to God, our loyaltie to the kinge, and the saftie and just right and libertie of the nation, and haue readily choosen rather to perish in soe greate and glorious a cause then to leaue the leaste colour or pretence to any for a base submission to a tiranicall enemie, that they weare forsaken, and his Majesties protection withdrawn from them, though it is aparent to all men that faction, diuision, and disobedience in many, and treacherie in others, want of resolution, and an ill grounded self intrest in others, hath giuen us sufficient scope, without any the leaste blemishe in our honor or duetie, to withdrawe his Majesties authoritie and our owne person out of those confusions and disorders that hath hitherto been predominant amongst us; but the enemie havinge soe cleerely discovered their resolutions not to giue any generall conditions to the kingdome, by their late prints at Dublin; and that nothings is more certaine (what pretences soeuer of favour they make to particular persons) then that all mens estates of this nation are sould to undertakers in England, whom they dare not offende or deceaue; and the designe layed by priuat ouertures and applications by degrees and peesmele to route out and extirpate the whole nation. Wee cannot but hope and trust in Gods mercie that now in this extreamitie all men will rightlie consider their desperat condition, and with united hearts and hands labour through life and death to presearue themselues and their posteritie from that ruyne and slauerie that is intended for them. And in expectation of such a generous resolution, wee shall verie speedily repaire to a more comodious place for giuinge and receauinge of intelligence from the seuerall provinces, and upon the first aparance of any considerable forces, together to apeere personally in the heade of them, and soe wee presume the forces of that province are alreadie together, or readie to be drawn unto the fiede, and doe expecte that you keepe not onely constant correspondence with us, but with the comannders in chiefe of the other provinces, that there maye be noe delaye of seruice where occasion shall most be offered.

Another for
Lieutenant-
generall.
Ferrall, etc.

Your very louinge freinde,

The 11th of Apriell, 1652.

Signed,

Clanricarde.

Subscribed: To our welbeloued Lieutenant-generall Ferrall, and the rest of the officers and comissioners of the province of Vlster, these, hast, haste.

Copia vera: Ita testor Fr. Bonaventura Mellaghlin, Guardianus, de Killihy, etc.

1652.
905.
Psal. 76.
Math. 26.

Acts. 9.

Luc. 23.

Luc. 7.

Luc. 22.

2 Reg. 12.

This fained
dissimulation
of change is
not from God.

By the superficies of this present addresse, a man would thinke, hæc mutatio dextræ Excelsi, a change from worste to best, from sin to vertue, from treacherie to loyaltie, from atheisme unto holy religion, from diuision, rent, and distraction to holy unitie, confederacie, and association, such a change is by the finger of God, mutatio dextræ excelsi. If Iudas, after his preuarication, in betrayinge his Master, did humblye begg forgiuenesse, it would proue mutatio dextræ Excelsi. The conversion of St. Paule unto the true faith, from a persecutor of holy church to be a preacher unto the universall world, by our Saviours apointment was mutatio dextræ Excelsi. Soe was that of the good theefe, executed at the right hande of our sweete Saviour, destined for the torments of hell-fire in remuneration of his former malignities, was therof acquitted, by the verdit of the universall Judge, in recompence of seauen wordes uttered in that seasonable time, viz. memento mei dum veneris in regnum tuum, and translated to the glorie of heauen to enjoye euerlastingly. Mary Magdalen, that was possessed of seauen malignant spirits, was therof made free, and enjoyes the company of angells in heauen, hæc mutatio dextræ Excelsi. That of Saincte Peter, that denied his Master by the reverberation of that diuine sunn shine on him, was presently restored to his former beinge with advantage. And that of the kingly prophete, for murther and adulterie, the menaces threatned by the oracle of God, Nathan, the prophet, was remitted by one onely worde, peccauit. All these, and thowsande such like, are mutatio dextræ Excelsi, for, it is anexed unto the frayltie of humaine weaknesse to err, but is diabolicall to perseuere in that error, and to remoue the partie from this or the like error is mutatio dextræ Excelsi. But the extrauagant change of this peere, in this his proper addresse expressed is not mutatio dextræ excelsi, as not beinge for repentance from worste to best, from sin to vertue, or from euill qualities to a reformation of life and maners, rather to be further enabled to giue a lustre into his former damnable principles to bringe inocent soules unto a laborinthe of miserie, contrarie to both conscience, oath, and couenante; all which is farr from beinge mutatio dextræ excelsi; for if soe tender of the cause in agitation (as he herin expresseth), why did not he keepe Galwaye in his hande (as he might verie well doe), as by the ensuinge letter of prime polititians may apeere.

CHAPTER IV.

906.

historia Caroli
5. in obsidione
Veneti,
Senec.

THE first worke of physicke in a diseased bodie, is to repell the venemous humours from the hearte, because a disease once seased in this metropolis is incurable, and the first care of the members in man is to warde a blowe made at the heade: art and nature in presecruinge and defendinge these two nobler partes are to be imitated by wise princes, in guardinge a place of chieftest consequence, he must send in succours, and drawe out the discontented and dangerous mutiners and spare noe coste to sавve that peece, in the losse wherof consisteth the maine of all his busines.

Pecunia ancilla est, si scis uti, si nescis—domina.

In the towne of Galwaye were many mutenous and factious people, specially Sir Richard Blake, Sir Robbucke Linche, Sir Valentine Blacke, Sir Oliuer Frenche, and

others, under the name of elders, Preston, and such of the militia as adhered unto him. But, if Clanricarde, as Deputie and generall, did drawe out these dangerous members, the towne might stande for his Majestie; noe such was don, rather intertained those, as his chiefe minions and agents betweene him and Coote, none did searue his turne for such imployment, other then those that haue beene publickly noted of treason and faction; but sure, if he did cast off those, and adhere unto the sense of the six score churchmen, and to the yonglings of Galwaye, that were reall and loyall, and distribuitt the twenty thowsande pounce, sent by his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine (as triall of the nation acceptation of him) unto the souldier, with other vaste summs aplotted and leuied on the corporation, upon pretence to defraye the soulderie meanes; if all this were well applyed and turned unto the use aforesaide, Galwaye might houlde out in spite of all enimie power; none such was don, rather the saide summs were distributed betweene the Deputie, Westmeathe, Costillaghe, Sir Walter Dungan and others of the same crue; and noe armie or garrison payed or brought to the fiede, all which was contrarie to the intention of the respectiue donators.

1652.

Sir Richard
Blake, Sir
Valentine
Blake, Sir
Robbucke
Linche, and
Sir Oliuer
Frenche, Clan-
ricards
minions.

This fomented cause of mutinie in the souldier, discouragment in the comannder, disunion in the confederat, jealousy in the clergie, disobedience in the loyall subjecte, a licentious raine unto treasonable actions, rent, and diuision in all well affected, as knowinge the distemper of this morall disease to be encurable, as seased on the nobler parte of the misticall bodie of distracted Irelande, and not therin cured. This beinge as true as that the sunn doe shine, I meruayle with what a brazen forheade Deputie Clanricarde doe bragge in his former letter, that he tooke a newe resolution to endure all dangers for the loue of his countrie, to unite himself unto the rest in one and the same score, for his religion, king, and countrie, you maye obsearue that it is now heard upon 11 yeares since the comencement of this warr, and haue beene all this while seuerally desired (as too often heretofore mentioned) to make such an intimation, wherby the Confederats might be assured of his censeritie untill this present haue neuer don it; nor is he any thinge the rather to be more assented unto, his now promise of newe resolution as not from God (as above touched). His sendinge for Westmeath and Muskryes partie (if it weare true, which is not) giue foment unto our former surmishe, as beinge the prime instruments of distraction in their respectiue provinces. In case this union had beene truelie and really ment and embraced by Clanricard now (which is farr from his thoughts), it did not proue sufficient as he conceaues, rather must giue satisfaction for the multitude of his relapses unto ecclesiasticall censures, anathems, and excommunications incurred by him, before he exactly comply with the duetie of a Christian Catholicke unto God, or pacifie the Diuine clemencie justly incensed against him and us.

907.

How moneys
dispursed.

Note seriously.

He chargeth Galwaye with baselinesse and perfidie for yeldinge unto the 908.
enemie, and worthily, though with a brazen foreheade: Truelie I haue still noted in this peere a greate facilitie to disclaime in his proper acte, and, if dishonorable, to father it upon others, though inocent, as here observable, what (I pray) was all the resulte of the six anti-regulars of Galwaye against the townsmen and the six score churchmen opposinge, other then the surrender of that unhapie towne to the

1652.

Clanricard
doe still dis-
claime his
proper acte.

emie? Was not this peremptorie resulte pursuant to Clanricards proposalls and queres? What other did these implye? Nothings (as n^o 899 obsearued), and this notwithstandinge doe alleadge in his present addresse the saide acte to be both base and perfidious, though nothings therein don, other then what came from his proper breste. O shame of soe greate a peere, imitatinge herin the vixinge calleaghs, callinge her antagoniste, hower firste, to preuent the other to tearme her soe, as best becominge; ontowarde people he calls his Conaght men, wherein he doe not meane such of them as adhered unto theemie, or made theire conditions with them (as plyable to his former quæres unto the clergie, alreadie mentioned), but he meanes such as are true and loyall, and haue some parties stickinge unto them, beinge eye witnesses of his proceedings, were mighty jealousie of him, and would not joine in action with his Excellencie till certified of Vlster, what they in that exigence did conceaue fittinge. Of this tenente was Colonell John Bourke, *an t-sleibhe*, Dualtagh Duffe, and some of the Reyllies.

909.

His assurance
of diuine assist-
ance is strange.

His Excellencie is mightie confident of Gods mercie and protection ouer him and his, if some pretendinge better Christianitie then others (saide he) will not giue a rubb therto, wherein he meanes such as doe still adhere unto My Lord Nuncios censures, and the respectiue acts of the clergie, conceaued in the provinces of Ardmagh and Dublin, he would wishe all to runn one and the same score with him and his factionall and disobedient crue, to shake hands with disloyaltie of both pope and kinge, to be as well traytors against temporall alleadgence, as schismaticks or hereticks in beleefe. As for the assurance he maye haue of Gods mercie, callinge all my faculties to an accounte, to knowe what grounde he might propose for such an assurance, I can finde none. If for persecutinge prime members of holy Church contrarie to holy writte, persecutinge still in the same malignitie, without renderinge the leaste satisfaction to God or partie, leased he may lawfully hope in diuine assistance, or if that he is shackled with seuerall inodations of ecclesiasticall censures, a jure et ab homine, and occasioninge others to be fettered with the like insoluble chaines, neuer yett shewinge soe much godlinesse as once to desire an acquaintance therof, rather continuinge still contumaxemie unto God (as all withered members and prodigall children of his diuine spouse the church are), he maye haue that constant hope of Gods mercie. I maye lawfully saye unto Clanricarde, as our Saviour saide unto Saule, when persecutor of His Church, transuertinge onely his name: Vllacke, Vllacke, cur me persequeris, why doe you persecute me? Our Savior was in heauen 30 yeares before he spoke those wordes to Saule, whom Paule or Saule could not persecute, as here suggested; the one resident in the throne of glorie, the other existent in this valley of miserie; notwithstandinge made a charge of persecutinge himself, accordinge what in St. Luke is saide by our Diuine Master, qui vos audit, me audit, et qui vos spernit me spernit, what is don to Gods members in this world, is immediatly don unto himself, though sittinge in heauen, as by this and many other passages in Scripture maye be obsearued, which if your Excellencie will otherwise beleeeue or hould for tenent, you are not to be placed in the predicament of Catholickes. As you haue therefore imitated Saule in persecutinge Christe in his members, imitat him alsoe when Paule doinge penance for his saide enormities, and then you maye

Luc. 15.

Act. 9.

Luc. 20.

bouldly bragg of diuine asistance ouer you (as your type haue don) qui sequutus es errantem, sequere pœnitentem, wee see noe liklihoode of that diuine asistance, rather the contrary; your Lordship doe taste euerie daie of that forbidden fruite, (which is that of excommunication) plague, sworde, and famen, a deuouringe fire from heauen fallinge in your verie house of Loghreagh, the enemie giuing lawe unto all that is deere unto you, rent and division (by your meanes in the kingdome, treason and faction by you aduanced, loyaltie and fidelitie suppressed, religion underfoote trampled, diuine edifices abolished, gods ministers banished, truth exiled, falshoode seated in the throne of honor; all which are the actions of Deputie Clanricarde, the knowen fruite of sin and excommunication, notwithstandinge haue an assured hope of Gods asistance, which assurance can be noe other then such as the prophet Jeremias writes in his epistle to his countrimen in slauery in Babilon, of the goulden-siluer gods of the gentiles. The dismissee of his frigat was not well applyed to the valerous acte of that Romaine captain killinge his horse in the begininge of a battle, leaste to be an occasion of any dishonorable flight, for the intention of that warrior was honorable, by that dismissee, did look onely upon the comon good, without relation to particular intreste, for, not onely depruiued himself of such a pearle as a good horse is, soe much conducent into the saftie of his life, that he slewe him, rendringe hereby the horse uselesse, and himself disapointed of soe faire a jewell. But if the deputie sould his frigatt to Sir Charles Coote, a reputed enemie to Clanricarde, for a £1000, as beinge sure when he pleased to gett it or another from him backe, which he had don for particular auayle, and to shewe a courtesie unto his cossen Coote, and not for any profit that might acruer therfrom to the comon good, which by the intimation of the scarcitie of his condition (in the rescripte of his addresse), doe partly apeere, nihil opertum quod non reuelabitur; neque occultum quod non sciatur. Now to his second letter.

This greate Peere doe insinuat in his letter unto Lt. Generall Ferrall and others the comissioners of the prouince of Vlster, as a baite to drawe them to his owne partie, that he dispatched the Earle of Castlhauen for succours unto the kingdome. If those weare as wise as their respective incumbencie did desire, the lesse esteeme they should haue of him, for it might proue sufficient motiue not to joine with him, that he did send for such a purpose soe publicke and knowen traytor charactered in the three kingdomes, since those comotions for such, as seuerally treated off heretofore, a sworne enemie to both religion and ancient Irish; sure this reliefe, thus procured by this Agent, and expected by Clanricard, was not that of his Highnesse the Duke of Lorraine, because comodious and profitable for kinge and religion, and honorable to the nation, by oath and couenante therunto obliged; but was either of the Parliament members, Presbyterians, or Hugonetts, under the comannde, and by the solicitation of the Marquesse of Ormond and his complices, to add more paine unto the recente bleedinge wounds of unfortunat Irelande, which haue beene the sole objecte of those peeres, his paltrie resolution to endure the uttermost triall of all hazard and danger is most false (as hereafter will apeere) and giues waye to all shallowe witte to judge of his actions as tendinge to the positie contradiction of his present assertion, notwithstandinge his Pharisaicall comendation of proper censeritie

1652.

Ambro. ad
Theod. Imp.Clanricard
[guilty] of
all these.

Baruch 6.

The misap-
plication of
his frigatts
dismissee.

Math. 10.

910.

Coment upon
his 2 letter.Castlhauens
encomies.

Luc. 18.

1652.

Math. 8.

Marc. 10.

Luc. 4.

Act. 19.

Palpable dis-
simulation of
Clanricarde.Clanricards
character.Clanricards
fetcbe and
intention.

towards God, kinge, and countrie. True it is that faction, diuision, disobedience, treacherie, and want of resolution were predominante in this kingdome hitherto (as he sayeth). By whose faulte, My lord? verily by you and your adherents, whoe haue beene both actiue and passiue agents herein; your Lordship prime motor of all this obstruction in proper person and in others, for not punishinge legally malefactors, though too often sued unto for justice, sittinge undeseruedly in her seate. As for his other intimation, in this his letter, what he sayeth of the Parliamēt intende towards this poore nation. I doe beleefe the very devill tells truth now and then, amonge his other leisings, to drawe people to more beleefe in other his actions. Soe this peere doe intexe amonge his seuerall mendacia some knowne and undeniable truth, the more easie to intice men of prodigall beleefe to the credence of other his assertions. But will none think strange, hauinge receaued this intelligence by a printe instrument from Dublin as answere to his letter from Lieutenant-generall Ludloe, bearinge date the 24 of Feb. last, that he neuer acquainted the province of Vlster therof till now, at the end of six weekes and 4 daies. If he was as tender of the kingdome saftie (as he giues out in this addresse), why upon the receipt of the said resulte from Dublin, did not he intimat that much unto the province of Vlster, that the forces there maye be in a readinesse to acte accordinglye, and then goe in hande with this union and confederacie too late now suggested? In steede of doinge this, which better became one of his place and qualitie, he worked to the uttermost of his abilitie for the surrender of Gallwaye to the enemie, aduiced the comissioners of Linster to doe the like in their province behalfe, and leaste herin remisse or retrograde, did sende Westmeath and Drumore to edge them one (as n^o 890), and bringinge all his drifts to the last fatall stake, at the end of soe many weekes, doe addresse himself to Vlster, neuer acquaintinge them of any his proceedings thitherunto rather dissemblinge with a simulatinge behaiour to take his voyage for France, which sure he had don, or to Englande, if he obsearued alike disposition in Vlster as in other provinces; he was well perswaded there had beene noe better character of him amonge the well affected then that of a dissemblynge traitor against God, kinge, and nation; he worked therfore for his proper calefication to the uttermost of his endeaouours to bringe all the kingdome unto the same predicament by their base submission, except the Vlstermen and fewe others, now insinuates himself unto their fauour, usinge many protestations unto them of recent resolutions, union, and confederacie to the uttermost triall to endure all hazarde of life and death. And why all this? Because he intends their confusion, he will cause them be the instruments of their owne destruction to drawe them unto an issue prius, to the complice of his proper offence, that they maye runn the same score with him and his and if euer by regall authoritie questioned to be partners of the punishments due to his actions. Loe the fetcbe of Clanricards insinuations of union and confederacie to the Vlstermen, as they will soone to their losse experiment, whom wee leaue, by him convicted for a while, and turne to Linster.

CHAPTER V.

1652.

It is a damnable policie to make those, whose confusion thou doest wish, the instrument of their owne destruction, and noe lesse deuilshe aduice it is to drawe men into the complice of theine offence, that theye maye be copartners of theye punishment.

911.
Salust. Iug.
Salust. Catl.
Lucan. l. 5.

Sic Tolumnius Fidenates cruento scelere interficiendi legatos implicuit, ne spem ullam a Romanis possint respicere.

Livi. l. 4.

The harmony or consonancie therof betweene Clanricarde and the anti-assemblee of Linster doe confirme what is of his Excellencie comented in our former discourse and subsequeute subiecte, for whose explanation you maye call to minde what wee spoke (n^o 828 and n^o 832) of the seuerall addresses of the provinces of Vlster, and Monster, and Linster assemblee, desiringe a newe union or continuance of the ancient, and a perfecte understandinge betweene them, whose date haue beene the seconde and 15 of Decimber last (as in the saide numbers aparant) to which they neuer gaue a possitiue answeare, soe that it was not the faulte of the two former provinces that this union did not houlde.

The concordant
harmony
of Clanricarde
and Linster
assemblee for
distruction.

Now after the application of Clanricarde to Vlster, such of Conaght as had beene loyall and in armes (as somewhat scrupulous of Clanricarde), beinge assured of the loyaltie of the Vlstermen, to make up the full number of provinces in the kingdome for a Catholicke confederacie either for peace or warr, did dispatch Lieutenant-Colonell Huigh OKeylly with an authenticke instrument to the assembly of Linster for the same purpose, though subscribed to Sir Walter Dungan. This agent not findinge Sir Walter (as then lurking amonge the enemie garrisons, as already mentioned), havinge but fewe peremptorie daies allowed him in his safe conduct, must returne, leauinge the foresaide instrument, with his proper addresse, in a freindly hande, to be deliuered unto Sir Walter Dungan at his arriual, desiringe therein a speedie answeare, which letters are as followeth :

Honored Sir,

In order to the trust reposed in me I haue ventured a jorney to the Kings countie, in expectation to haue meete you in some parte therof; but beinge frustrated of my hopes, and hearinge of you beinge at suche a distance of, as by the expiration for the time limited for my conduct, I could hardly come to you; I am enforced not to expose meself to that danger, beinge a stranger in this province of Linster, and to returne unto those from whom I haue been employed. Sir, I cannott, for feare of intercepction or miscariage, descende now to the particulars of what I haue been intrusted to imparte into you, but doe assure you that all the forces of Conaght are already in the fiede, verie considerable and unanimously resolved to die the last man, or force conditions honorable and worthy a Catholicke nation, in which union and settled resulte they perswade themselves of your coniunction and the Vlster armies, to whom their letters weare dispatched, and are to meete the last of this instante at the Corlewe, whither our armie already marched. And for

613.

Huigh
OKeyllys letter
to Sir Walter
Dungan.

1652.

the proposalls made unto Comissarie Reynolds, they extended soe farr beyonde his reache, as he coulde not treat, the exercise of the masse beinge absolutly protested against, either in priuat or publicke. Sir, the intreste our partie assumed in you, with youre owne inclination, in a matter wherein you are deeply concerned, I doubt will invite your distance from treatinge any further with the enemye, other then upon a generall score, particulars beinge the onely distruction of this nation, as maye apeare by Colonell Fitz Patricke, whose is now nothinge the better.

Sir, indeauour to make a speedie returne to our partie, and keepe dayly correspondencie with our officers, wheare, if once giue waye, you shalbe punctually answered. I doubte not but the good inclination of the rest of the officers of this province, upon a serious consideration of the cause in hande, will induce theire speedie compliyance with the expectation of our officers, referringe what now I maye inserte to better conuenience; wishinge you much hapinesse and the distraction of those disunited times, I conclude meself as

Your humble servant,

28 Aprilis, 1652.

Huigh OKelly.

Post. I send you inclosed in this our officers letter to you, which is as followeth:—

Honored Sir,

913.

The Kellys
letter to Sir
Walter Dun-
gan for union
with Linster,
in the behalf
of Vlster and
Conaght.

The reporte generally is spred that the armie of Linster, and other forces of the kingdome, were compoundinge with the enemye, made us imploye some of our officers, with proposalls in the behalfe of ourselues, and most of the Conaght partie to Comissarie-generall Reynolds, whom wee understoode to be most fauorable for applications of that kinde. What his answeares were, and how farr wee haue proceeded in that treatie, the bearer, Lieutenant-colonell Huigh OKelly, will fully enforme you, to whom wee desire you giue creditt, what he relates and proposes, as authorized and imployed unto you to that effecte. If you are for a generall score, either for continuinge the warr in expectation of supplies from that greate monarche, whose holy cause is onely now agitated, or layinge downe armes upon conditions honorable and worthye a Catholicke nation, you maye assure your selfe of our coniunction, and wee do not doubte of the armies of Conaght and Vlster, which is all wee haue to add to the beareres relation, but that wee are resolved to continue still

22 April, 1652.

Your most faithfull seruants,

Donogh OKelly.

Huigh OKelly.

Wm. OKelly.

Teige OKelly.

Bryan OKelly.

Charles OKelly.

Copia vera: Ita testor Edmond Laghlensis Episcopus.

Subscribed: For Sir Walter Dungan, Comissarie-generall of the Horse of Linster.

914.

These seuerall addresses of the respectiue provinces of Irelande for union unto Linster assembly, together with the fortunat and dayly valerous successe of the

well affected parties of the Irish Linster forces, and, as observable from the n° 893 1652.
 unto the n° 899 and else wheare, was not of force to incline the stif-necked hearts
 of those abortiue statists either to peace or warr, upon any honorable score, dura
 cervice, et incircumcisis cordibus et auribus, semper Spiritui Sancto resistunt; soe Acts 7.
 odious they are to religion and nation, soe auerse to loyaltie and fidelitie, soe tyed
 to rent and faction, soe perseuerant and contumax in their impious and diabolically
 principles, that neither the incontestable refuse of the enemy for peace, or the serious
 inuitation of Catholick union from the respectiue provinces, or the howerly prosper-
 itie of their proper associates against the enemy in each corner of Linster,
 is sufficient motiue to moue the moat-eaten conferences of those poysonall anti-
 Catholicks, either to remorse of their condemnable fate, or in the behalfe of the
 tender saftie of their native soile; rather maugre all obstacles and rubbs, must goe
 forwarde, and with much adoe (for fashions sake and to temporize a little), will
 expecte the resulte of other provinces, as already mentioned.

All the colonells and commanders of the faction parties haue acted nothinge in 915.
 this interuall except Tremletstownes troupe, as under the command of Lieutenant
 Barnwall, whoe well behaved himself but for proper auayle. That you know
 hereafter whoe is in Linster (I speake heere of the present militia), a factioniste,
 and whoe a reall and royalliste; you shall obsearve that they are Westmeath, Gen- The faction
 erall of Linster (of whom dependeth a regiment of horse and another of foote), Sir commanders.
 Walter Dungan, Colonell of horse and Comissarie of the Linster horse; Sir James
 Dillon, Colonell of foote, was iustly by a councill of warr in Conaght deposed from
 that encumbencie, as incapax of beinge a member of the association, for the
 treacherous surrender of Athlone unto the enemy, but was enabled, by Deputie
 Clanricards absolut power, to be restored to his former beinge of Colonell, and though
 had not his proper ancient regiment (as by Westmeath giuen unto Major Fitz Zymons,
 formerly bearinge that office under Sir James Dillon), under the name of Colonell
 Fitz Zymons, soe that by Sir James Dillons treacherie was bettered, both himself
 and his major promoted. Colonell Lewes Moore had the name of two regiments,
 one of horse, another of foote; this not consistinge of one 100, and that not of 40.
 My Lord of Clanmalirie, a Colonell of foote, Walter Bagnall, a Colonell of foote,
 Sir Thomas Esmond, a Colonell of foote, and John Fitz Patricke, that already
 reuolted, had a greate partie. All those, with their under officers and commanders,
 were of the faction, and acted nothinge against the comon enemy, but liued by
 rape, theft, and pillage in such poore quarters as the natives had at instant in
 possession, and would not liue, and others did upon the enemy spoile.

The reallists are the subsequents, viz. Colonell Bryan Mc Phelim Byrne, 916.
 Colonell Huigh Mc Phelim (whoe was Lieutenant-generall to Preston), Colonell
 Daniell Keuanagh, Colonell Richard Grace, Colonell Charles Molloye, Colonell
 Thibott Gawly, Colonell Daniell Carroll, Major Charles Keuanagh, Lieutenant Colonell
 Richard Duynes, and other fly-butters of both horse and foote; those onely were
 dayly in action against the enemy, still thriued to their exceedinge commendation,
 and aduersarie preiudice. But the sons of Belial are euer jealous of all heroicke
 and vertuous deedes as not degeneratinge herin; Sir Walter Dungan, the north
 starr of the faction in Linster, spendinge his time as aboue mentioned, betweene
 The reall
 and loyall
 commanders
 behaviour.

1652.

Sir Walter
Dungans
treacherous
behaviour.Reade unto
the next
number.Sir Walter
Dungan, three
seuerall times
rescued by
Major Charles
Kevanagh.Charles now
prisoner with-
out rescue.Sir Walters
treacherous
flight.Daniell
Keuanaghs
behaviour.48 Irish killed
and 500
English.

1 Mach. 12.

the enemy garrisons, to indeere himself to that his future partie, obsearvinge how well and prosperous the Low-Linstermen behaued themselves against their foes, beinge jealous of their honorable proceedings, not to imitate their faithfull behaiour, or encourage the remissnesse of his proper tepide adherents to their assistance, or ambitious of acquiringe glorie and honor in the like occasion, but to giue a rubb into their censeritie, a hinderance to the publicke service, and betraye his domesticke and suposed associats unto the power of the knowne enemy, inuited them to the countie of Wexforde, wheare euery daye they highly impeached all the enemy garrisons. The daye apointed for that expedition was May daie, as well knowne unto the enemy as unto this comannder, meetinge therefore, accordinge orders, overran all the countie, caried awaye all the preye they could hitt upon, drawinge the same awaye, all the enemy garrison followed in three seuerall bodies to rescue, but couragiously opposed, gaue them the foile with greate losse; notwithstandinge tooke Sir Walter Dungan prisoner, which Major Charles Keuanagh obsearvinge, ralinge his men, fought with the enemy, whoe soe well thriued that he killed seuerall of his best comannders and rescued Sir Walter Dungan. The enemy, newly supplied with freshe horse, advanced now the third time, both partie fought soe earnestlie that three seuerall times (though with the honor of the daie) Sir Walter was taken by the enemy (as was thought industriously, as the euent proued), and soe often rescued by the valour of Major Charles Keuanagh aforesaide. After the last rescue, the enemy, the matter of 20 light horse (all the remaine pursued the foote, drawinge the preye awaye on champion ground) came in a dareinge maner towards the Irish horse, leade by Dungan and Charles, which the noble Keuanagh obseruinge, disparaginge the number, and villipendinge their already abated valour, gaue them a charge, but Dungan and such as adhered unto him faylinge to seconde him, as in duetie obliged, as he thought, engaginge him too farr upon that surmishe, was taken prisoner and whiped awaye post haste, neuer lookinge once after, nor Dungan once offeringe to rescue him, rather as the enemy turned one waye, soe did he another, leauinge both Charles in restraints, his brother, Colonell Daniell Keuanagh, leadinge the foote in the fiede in greate danger against the enemy, both horse and foote fightinge, whoe soe valiantly complied with the duetie of both souldier and comannder that he gaue them all enough to doe (though many of his men did run awaye with the most parte of the preye, not once suspectinge such a sudaine change in the fiede that was already theirs) had the honor of the fiede with the remaine onely of his foote. Fewe of the saide three enemy parties escaped with life, excepte the forementioned 20 horse, but were all killed in the respectiue skirmishes of that daye, and chiefly by Colonell Daniell Keuanagh and his foote. The Irish lost that daye 24 foote, and soe many horse, and the enemy upon good accounte (as I am credibly enformed), hearde upon 500, the honor of the fiede and preye, other then such as the contrie peasants did carie awaye duringe the fight; notwithstandinge the enemy was well pleased with his bootie, as hauinge Major Keuanagh his prisoner; Dungan allsoe was joyfull, as compassinge his owne intente, of betrayinge the Jonathas of them parts. But Colonell Keuanagh was mightie pensieue for the restraints of his brother. I leaue to your consideration whether this Dungan acte be conformable to

practice of gratfull Christians, to betraye soe beneficiall a benefactor, associate and confederat, that soe often in one and the same daye rescued him from the jawes of his enemie by the hazarde of his proper purest bloude. I hope your end, Dungan, will proue noe better then that of Menelaus, whoe betrayed his contrie.

The sixt of Maye, Colonell Richard Grace, with a partie of horse, went to the towne and garrison of Rosscrea; thither arriuinge, in three seuerall places, did place and apointe ambushes, and comanded one Pembroke Herbert, son to Sir George Herberte, and Leutenant of horse, with 20 horse, to passe through the towne to intice the enemie to come out, but the enemie hauinge better intelligence then was thought, was on horsebacke without the towne, the matter of 150, in all points readie for seruice. Pembroke, accordinge orders, roade through the towne, intendinge if not opposed to giue a wheele about to discouer a preye, or induce the enemie to sally. But what unexpected did he perceauce but the enemie

in the posture aforesaide? Now is noe time to stagger or turne taile; either aduance or perishe, which obsearuinge, gaue his comrads the signall, desiringe them to proue their courage in this action, and thus runinge formost himself, beinge manlye seconded, did passe through the aduerse partie, each castinge his antagoniste to the grounde, receauinge noe hurte themselues, wheelinge about, broke upon the enemie bodie, did kill and take prisoners 3 score and ten, caried to their comrads (all this while in their ambushes) 3 score and 12 horse, 12 prisoners, armes, and furniture; the signall betweene them and their owne (if pursued by the enemie) they to simulat a flight, to drawe the enemie unto the bocardo of ambushe; but the matter was offered as aboue mentioned, that they could not soe doe without eminent danger, notwithstandinge, by diuine asistance, with that aduantage were victors without loss of their owne. Thus they dayly acted, that the verie enemie did verily beleue fortune did begin to fauour ours and frowne at him, their dayly successe was such and soe extraordinarie in Lowe and upper Linster, they were by the enemie feared and honored, riche and plentifull. Colonell Grace was mightie repute with the Irish of Vlster and Conaght, and good correspondence kept betweene them, and noe lesse from the well affected in Monster, which fomented cause of greater jealousie of the Comissioners and factionists of Linster against him and his partie, as the brothers of Joseph weare with him, as beinge more tenderly loued by God and their father Jacob then they, upon this onely surmishe betrayed and sould him unto the Ismalits merchant-venturers.

All these circumstances, Comissioners of Parliament, result negatiue; the seuerall inuitations of the respectiue provinces for union, the simulatunge conjunction of Clanricarde unto Vlster, etc., and the dayly prosperous successe of their owne partie at home, is not sufficient to retarde those Comissioners of mistruste to run headlonge unto a desperate course of treasonable submission unto the enemie. Receauinge now the returne of other provinces, with one and the same instructions of peace (if soe inclined) which equipollent are these that ensue:

- First: Free exercise of religion in all the kingdome to both clergie and laitie.
2. The cancellinge of the acts or acte of Queene Elizabeth touchinge Præmunire, recusancie, and other penall lawes inhibittinge the saide free exercise of holy religion.
3. A reuocation of all the plantations since the crowninge of King James in

1652.

2 Mach. 4.

917.

Grace to
Rosscrea.Pembroke
Herberts
valor.20 horse
against 150.3 score and 10
of the enemie
killed,
12 prisoners,
3 score and 12
horse the
preye.The enemie
opinion of the
Irish.

Gen. 37.

918.

The head-
stronge
inclination of
the Comission-
ers of Linster.The instruc-
tions of the
respectiue
prouinces for
peace.

1652.

Englande, unless ratified and confirmed by morgage or other free donation of the proprietors.

4. An acte of obliuion to be conceaued in all that was don on either side since those comotions.

5. All arrears of Kings reuenewe, customes, manopolis, etc., to be forgiuen.

6. All forbearance of debte hitherto not payed to be forborne, and the principall to be payed by gales.

7. To be reputed capable of all offices, ciuill and martiall.

8. To haue theire armes in theire owne hands.

9. To haue some stronge fortes and hostages for compliance of the premisses.

10. And lastlie to enioye respectiue all their reall estates, as ample as they did before those comotions.

The authoritie
of the Com-
missioners of
Linster
restrained.

These were the principall and more considerable conditions the respectiue provinces did sende in theire instructions unto the Comissioners of Linster and its assembly, to be condescended unto, with this provided intimation, that any of the former proposalls denied, or the Comissioners of Parliament not fully authorized to the granntinge therof, not to further treate therin, but to leaue all in statu quo prius, beinge confident (under God, saide they) unitinge in a Catholicke Confederacie, to be able to force those or better conditions.

All which was most gratfull and pleasinge in shewe to the Irish assemblie and confirmed them as proper, but——

CHAPTER VI.

919.

Lipp. Pol. 4.

Tacit. Hist.
lib. 3.

.

Senec.

ACTIONS once resolued, like fixed starrs should hold one and the same station of firmnesse; they should not be subiecte to irregular or retrograde motions, for the vacillation or irresolution of princes, whose thoughts are whirled about the spheare of seuerall perswasions, and neuer fixed in one center of resolued constancie, turnes to his dishonor and prejudice of the affaire in hande. He must therefore not resolue or goe through with his resolution :

Aliud stans, aliud sedens de republica sentis ?

The Comission-
ers of Linster,
for settlement
and theire
inatieue
inclination.

This zeudo-assembly did picke out the ensuinge seauen factious Comissioners: Sir Walter Dungan, Lewes Visconnte Clanmalirie, Sir Robert Thalbot, Baronett, Sir Richard Barnewall, Baronett, Colonell Walter Bagnall, Colonell Lewes Moore, and Thomas Tyrrell, lawyer, wherof was none (except Clanmalirie and Moore, and those of little braine) other then such as euer yett haue proued meere antagoniste unto the cause in agitation, and My Lord Nuncio, howeuer good enough to oblige a whole kingdome unto theire proper acte, they are pursuant to our former aphorisme, and soe will finish. Therefore, against all opposition, contrarie to all sense and reason, though in dispaire of thriuinge, because they are still of the same resolution, to proue constant in iniquity and not retrograde in motions, though to the distruction of a whole kingdome, they will not wheele about seuerall perswasions, doe still embrace one and the same, though dishonorable to the name of Catholicke

licke and prejudicious to both kinge and nation, they will goe through with their diabolicall resolution to betraye all the nation. Any five of those seauen were authorized to conclude, though denied in Dublin and by Comissarie Reynolds (as aboue mentioned) they peremptorily now addresse themselues to Reynolds to Birr; Sir Richard Barnwall and Bagnall were by the rest comanded thither, desiringe his safe conducte for seauen comissioners and their retinue, and for My Lord of Westmeath, though noe comissioner as too importunat could not be ride of them whoe gaue them onely five daies to come and goe, begininge the first of their jorneye; Gowran was the place appointed to meete.

1651.

Sir Richard
Barnwall and
Bagnall to
Reynolds in
Birr.

Will any man putt those comissioners the question, upon what score will they shewe their faces for treatie of peace before such as denied them and their deputie alreadie? for any generalitie unless they descende to particulars, as was desired by the comissioners of parliament, or why or to what purpose doe they bringe alonge the fore mentioned instructions of the respectiue provinces unto those comissioners to be granted, whoe haue noe authoritie or power from the parliament to grante such, as Reynolds, the first nominated in the comission, did engeniously acknowledge to Sir Robert Thalbot; to what purpose then doe those appeere there, or propose these proposalls? They haue noe authoritie to treat with the Parliament comissioners but in order of obtaininge their proposalls, which the Parliament comissioners cannot grante, therefore in vaine doe they appeere, or propose which cannott be obtained, unlesse some hidden blacke designe is intended; sure what now they doe was longe agoe don, all pursuant to the intentions of the aduerse comissioners.

920.

Queres against
the Comission-
ers.

The non au-
thoritie of these
comissioners.

You shall obsearue that while those did addresse themselues for this fatall iorneye, all and singular did infuse unto the eares of eache man, both laitie and ecclesiasticke, how constant they were in their principles, not to accepte or embrace any conditions other then what their instructions imported, and specially what concerned religion and the armes of their militia (as aboue mentioned), confirminge these intimations with seuerall execrable attestations if they declined one jott therefrom; their protestations to this purpose were soe often and vehement, that noe man (beinge not alreadie acquainted with their former periuries, or a craftmaster of double dealinge himself) could choose but giue credit. This prodigall beleefe and inconsiderate credulitie of the simple and well affected towards those detestable and incredulous ministers of iniquitie did marre what by the contrarie might be helped. And leaste any suspicion might be conceaued in their verball protestations (as aforesaide) they endeauour, beyonde the ordinarie course of all dissemblinge behauior, to confirme it by their externall actions, and specially Sir Richard Barnewall, Sir Robert Thalbot, and Walter Bagnall, for duringe the sittinge of that zeudo-assembly these three euer and then did publickly perswade nothinge, other then what behoofull for the comon good, lookinge still upon the poore with a Godly comiseration (as they saide) most obedient to the Church in all exterior behauior, goinge two or three miles to woods and boggs in winter time, and afoote, to heare masse, issuinge pressinge orders to the militia, to keepe inviolable to Churchmen their respectiue immunities; by this arte to drawe on the credulous Irish, both clergie and laitie, by the performance of those smale things, that they maye the more finely fetch them ouer to beleefe the like censeritie in other greater matters. As for Sir Walter Dungan,

921.

The deceitfull
behaviour of
those comis-
sioners.

O pharisaicall
broode *

1652.
Sir Walter
Dungaus
character.
2 Mach. 4.
Thomas
Tyrells
encomies.

Math. 23.

922.
The Irish
comissioners in
Gowran.

3 noblmen
onely in
Linster.

The foolerie
of those
comanners.

Polyb. and
Plut. de bell.
Chartag.

923.

he was neuer a politician, rather a couerte or cogginge knave, a Jasonian traytor, a malitious, snakinge-by-linguiste, and an antydott against all censeritie and faithfullnesse. Thomas Tyrrell, a barister, publickly known to be auerse unto all that concerned either Catholicke religion or ancient Irish, euer producinge in his extrauagant pleadings and conference what acts conceaued against either in the times of former kings of Englande, neuer makinge the leaste mention of any that was in fauor, and though some of these did onely intende the Church of Englande (Ireland not then under their subiection, nor euer should be in the spirituall managment), he properly, as he saide, applyed the same to this clergie nation, whose too often gloried to be stiled with this epytome, a reprehender and opposer of ecclesiasticall immunities. If the poore well effected were soe wise as not to truste this pharisaicall broode, as euer yett acquainted with the multiplicite of their relapses (now isinuatinge otherwise unto the people then they intended to acte), their comission did not proue soe faultie, nor omission soe offenseu.

About the sixt of this instant Maye, those seauen comissioners took their iorney for Gowran, in the conntie of Kilkeny, with the Earle of Westmeath, My Lord of Slane, an uterine brother of Westmeathe, Tremletstowne, and with much adoe Oliuer Darcy, bishope of Drumore, did not beare them companie; those three lords was all of their condition that had been then martiallists of the Irish partie in Linster province, who went thither onely to grace that future contracte, to render the comissioners better qualified with power, that all the nobilitie then of Linster, and the chiefe comanners of the militia, were there exstante, was calefication enough to goe through in their present resolution. But a man of indifferent understandinge might conceaue strange, that those lords and comanners, specially Westmeath and Sir Walter Dungan, the one Generall of the province, the other commissarie-general of the horse, did take upon them such a taske, unless some hidden treason was hatched and harboured by them; the one neither called by the enemy, nor appointed by the Anti-assemblye for that busines: the other, though subreptitiously nominated for that encumbencie, others might be founde of farr better partes, more indifferent and lesse suspitious, to supplie his place. If those were willinge to shewe any seeminge satisfaction unto the publicke, or themselues feared or reputed wise, they should rather call their armie unto a bodie, and to haue them in that martiall posture duringe their comissioners treatie, and aduice with other provinces to doe the like, whose doubtlesse would obeye, whereby would putt themselves in the predicament of honor and esteeme, in the very enemy opinion; but those Pygmeians of chiuallrie, those ante-politicians and abortiue statistes, were not to acte anythinge sutable to proper honor, or comodious unto either kinge or nation, for all the politicke scriuners that euer handled such a subjecte did yelde as an infallible rule unto succedinge ages, that he that desireth peace of his enemy (be he either weaker or stronger) must haue his buckler on, and his speare in rest, which is to be in armes and in posture of offence, otherwise his motion wilbe despised, his conditions unauaylable, his posture villipended, and his treatie neglected, all which did here hapen, therefore—.

Arriuinge now to Gowran, acquainted the comissioners of Parliament resident in Kilkeny, 5 miles thence, of their aparance there, accordinge assignation, whose

the apointed time apeare, and takinge their lodgings, the Irish comissioners did sende unto them their proposalls, accordinge instructions (as aboue mentioned). The aduerse comissioners extempore, without any tergiversation, answered they had not the power to treat of such, much lesse to graunte them, which the Irish comissioners did well knowe before, by the intimation of Comissarie Reynolds. This answer soe giuen was sufficient, if the Irish comissioners were not altogether intended for the destruction of the nation, and to doe an acte of proper sense, not warrantable by any mission or authoritie giuen them, for the instructions, both foraigne and domesticke, did onely authoriz them to treat with the comissioners of Parliament as inuested with authoritie to graunte their proposalls, and not otherwise, which beinge wantinge, or proposalls denied, are inhibited by the saide instructions to further treat with, soe that the Irish might categorically answere the comissioners of Parliament, that neither were they authorized to treat with them, other then in order of the saide proposalls (which was very true unlesse understand authorized by Deputie Clanricarde); notwithstandinge all their non potestas, they were at it for two daies in reciprocall contestation, pro et contra, but at length could not agree, and noe maruayle, for neither partie was authorized, as aforesaide. At the expiration whereof they broke up; the English went to Kilkeny, and the Irish to Grannge, two miles south from Gowran, My Lord of Galmoyes house. The two daies remaine of their saf conducte they spent verie merry in that house, both daye and night carrousinge and leadinge an Epicurian life, nothinge sensible of the bleeding wounds of relict Irelande, of their owne honor, saftie, or mission, untill the peremptorie hower of the runinge glasse assigned in their saf conducte was out; whearupon, like another Baltazar, were presented with a letter from Captain Iohn Vernon, one of the comissioners of Parliament, that they should, upon sight, repaire to Kilkeny, the fruite of their ebrietye and surfett, which will proue fatall unto them hereafter, as the other character did unto Balthazar. They durst not dispute of the matter; must obeye, they hoise saile, and their styryng carde they directe for Kilkeny, wheare arriuinge, meetinge with the saide captain, all were comitted to safe custodie, tellinge them that their saf conducte was expired, and therefore they, reputed enemies, to be founde in that nature in their quarters were guiltie by the lawe of armes, whose benefitt they weare to receaue, biddinge them to be contente with their fortune, while he gaue notice unto Lieutenant-generall Ludloe, further assuringe them they must either condescende unto the proposalls exhibitted by the Parliament partie, or be sent unto England, to be dealte with there by the higher power. With this result he boasted to Lieutenant-generall Ludloe, imparted unto him all the busines. Ludloe answered like a gentlman, that it was against the honour of the Parliament to force conditions by such a by-waye on people of their condition; they shall, saide he, haue their free libertie, and then lett them, in vertue of their former passe, goe to their proper homes, or continue for a peremptorie time here to make their conditions. The captain, in obedience to that comande, tould the Irish comissioners what passed, and straight enlarged them, whoe applyinge themselves the seconde time to the Parliament comissioners, who shewinge their proposalls would not alter or descende anythinge therein contained, which I omitt to inserte here, as all together included in the articles. Many friuolous ouertures

1652.

The resulte of
the Englishe
comissioners to
the Irish.

Whereby in-
hibited to
further treat
accordinge
their instruc-
tions.

They breake
up.
Their pastime
in Galmoyes
house.

Daniel 5.
They are com-
anded for
Kilkeny.

They are
comitted.

Ludloes
answere.

Comissioners
enlarged.
The Englishe
will not alter
their pro-
posalls.

1652.

they had touchinge their proper proposalls (beinge seuerally tould of their inhibition and non authoritie therto), and specially of their reall estates, which was the maine of their busines, if granted for answer therunto, peruse the ensuinge lines, sent unto them by the commissioners of Parliament, which is as followeth.

CHAPTER VII.

924.

Lip. Pol. l. 5.
Cicero.
Am. Marcell.
lib. 26.
Agath. l. 4.
Seneca.
Liui. l. 8.

THE rigor of the ould Romaines to punishe the transgression of a comandment in warr, though the good successe aproue it, is not soe strictly to be forced; because in actions of this nature wee often meete with those aduantages by accident, which reason and iudgment could not possibly forethinke of, muche lesse directe, for things giue better counsell to men then men to the things. But he that hath once transgressed the limitts of his comission, and therby hath faire occasion offered to make an honorable amends, and in ample sorte to iustifie his first transgression, and wipe out the forfeite, that man makes a double faulte, not to take it.

T. Manlius filio è prælio prospere gesto redeunti : Quandoquidem . . . aduersus edictum nostrum extra ordinem cum hoste pugnasti, etc. . . I, lictor, deliga ad palum.

The Irish
neuer accord-
inge instruc-
tions.

Those very Irish commissioners haue made it a habitt not to acte in any occasion accordinge instructions (as hereafter will appeere), and because there is noe punishment inflicted for any their transgressions, they euer and now lett loose the raines of their cauterated consciences to worke the distruction of both religion and nation, and though a faire occasion is now offered to make honorable amends, in an ample sorte, to wipe out the forfeite of former abuses (onely by a negatiue acte as not impowered accordinge instructions), they will not doe it, as contrarie to their habituated principles. And therefore is presented by the commissioners of Parliament, with the ensuinge lines in lewe of their reall estates.

925.

The Irish con-
dition for reall
estate.

That as to the reall estates of any person or persons comprehended in the proposalls presented unto you, they maye haue and enjoye as good and as available conditions and concessions as any person or persons whose heartofore haue submitted, or hereafter shall submit to the Parliaments gouernment haue had, or shall haue, for, or concerninge, their reall estates, and that an effectuell mediation to the Parliament be for the enjoyment of their estates.

Irish comis-
sioners satis-
fied onely by
the mediation
of Captain
Vernon for
their estates.

The Irish commissioners receauing this resulte from the commissioners of Parliament, touchinge their reall estates, hauinge alreadye easily agreede to the rest of the enemye proposalls, are now satisfied onely that the commissioners of Parliament, or any of them, giue under their hande to mediate in their behalfe unto the parliament for a moderate share of their proper estate. In this requeste is chiefe member, the Earle of Westmeathe (though noe commissioner appointed for this treatie), by either province or kingdome, they write their sense herin most pittifully, as if in fetters, unto the aduerse commissioners, as you may conceaue by the ensuinge result therupon.

That although nothinge in the aboue written paper can either be grannted by
 the comissioners apointed to treate, beinge directly contrarie to their proposalls,
 and out of their power, neither dare present the aboue written to the comissioners
 of parliament, or any other concerned in the late treatie, whoe will neuer allowe
 the leaste capitulation with the parliament in pointe of estates. Yett, for as much
 as the Earle of Westmeath, Sir Walter Dungan, Sir Robert Thalbott, and Colonell
 Bagnall, hath now againe, in the names and presence of the rest declared, that
 they look upon themselues as engaged to agree to the substance of our late pro-
 posalls, and declare that they desire noe more then that wee, the comissioners
 lately apointed to treate with them, should giue under our hands, our promise,
 faithfully and really to mediate with the Parliament to our uttmost endeaouour, that
 they might enioye such moderate parte of their estate as might make their liues
 comfortable maintenanne of the familie of such of them whoe maye goe beyond the
 seas. Doe hereby declare that faithfull mediation they shall haue from me and the
 rest of the comissioners, in case the Lieutenant-generall and comissioners of Parlia-
 ment and councill of warr shall allowe two howers longer for the concluding the
 treatie, which I engage to aduenture to mediate for, and signe this in the name of
 the comissioners for the treatie, if the saide Earle of Westmeath, Sir Walter
 Dungan, Sir Robert Thalbott, and Colonell Bagnall signe this, as the sense and
 resolution of their partie, in the name of the rest, in the behalfe of the partie for
 which they came to treate.

The saide
 Captains
 engagment
 as desired.

John Vernon.

The ensuinge was sent by the Irish in returne of the former, as desired :

In pointe of estate, wee are satisfied with the engagment of Captain Vernon and
 former explanations concerninge present possession and contribution equall with
 the rest of our neighbours.

927.
 O poore people
 and treach-
 erous villaines.

In pointe of religion, first yeares comotion, Supreame Councell, and Generall
 Assembly, wee are allsoe satisfied with former explanation ; wee desire onely till
 two of the clocke to explaine the other things and agree.

Signed : Westmeath.=Slane.
 Walter Dungan.
 Robert Thalbott.
 Walter Bagnall.

With too smale offers these our comissioners are pleased with the verie enemy
 proposalls, in totum. Westmeathe and Dungan weare in England the firste yeare of
 those comotions, and therefore doe easily condescende unto any penaltie due to the
 same, as not comprehended therein ; but doe meruayle [that] Bagnall, that was prime
 motor in the counties of Katarlagh and Kilkeny ; and Lewes Moore in the North,
 Sir Richard Barnwall, and Sir Robert Thalbott, princes electors of the foremen-
 tioned supreame councill ; and Thomas Tyrrell, a comettee by its authoritie, a
 barister in its iudicatures, and a chairman in this last assemblye (all grounded upon
 the foresaide power), and Clanmalirie, in action exercito, buildinge his ordinance
 against Geyssell Castle, and Manesterevine, did not oppose this pointe as obnoxious
 of future inconuenience. Sure some of them erre longe will feele the smarte
 therof. As for Slane, he was a child in the begin of this warr, but officiously did

928.
 The blindnesse
 of those men.

1652. signe unto this instrument, beinge neither comissioner by ether prouince or kingdom apointed for this treatie, or any in whom they did impose the leaste trust for such an affaire; onely was a noblman and a brother to Westmeath in those two respects, accordinge matters were caried, founde himself obliged to doe noelesse, for the calefication of the acte as a noblman and as a yonger brother of Westmeath, to shewe his obedience to the elder. The articles and explanation wherwith contented, I offer to your viewe, as followeth:

929. Articles of agreement made and concluded the 12 of Maye, 1652, betweene
 Commissarie-generall Iohn Reynolds, Colonell Iohn Hewson, Colonell Jerome
 Sanchy, Colonell Daniell Axtell, Colonell Richard Laurence, Colonell
 Henry Pretty, Scoute master-generall Henry Jones, Adiutant-
 generall Wm. Allen, Captain Iohn Vernon, authorized Comis-
 sioners by the right honorable Lieutenant-generall Edmond
 Ludloe, Commannder-in-chiefe of the Parliament forces in
 Ireland, of the one partie;

Articles of And Sir Walter Dungan, Commissarie-generall of the Agreement.
 Irish horse, Lewes, Lord Viscount Clanmalirie,
 Sir Robert Thalbott, baronett, Sir Richard
 Barnewall, baronett, Colonell Walter Bag-
 nall, Colonell Lewes Moore, and Thomas
 Tyrrell, esquire, on the other partie;
 for, and in behalfe of such persons
 as now are in armes against the
 Parliament, within the pro-
 vince of Linster under
 the comannes of
 the Earle of
 Westmeath;

and for, and in the behalfe of others in the saide articles mentioned, as fol-
 loweth, viz.:

1. The saide Sir Walter Dungan, baronett, Lewes, Lord Visconnte Clanmalirie, etc., for themselves, and in the behalfe of the persons before and after mentioned in these articles, doe couenante and agree as aforesaide, that all horses, armes, garrisons, amunition, and other furnitures of warr, in the custodie of the officers and souldiers of the Irish partie, whoe are comprehended in these articles, shalbe deliuered upp to Lieutenant-generall Edmond Ludloe, Comannder in chiefe of the Parliament forces in Ireland, or to whom he shall apointe, without any spoile or embeazlment, for the use of the Comonwealth of England, accordinge to the time hereby giuen to the forces of each province respectiuely, viz.: All the forces of Linster to bringe and deliuer in their armes by the first of June next followinge. The lord of Muskry and such of the forces of the province of Monster as will signifie their acceptation to these articles to the officers in chiefe comanninge in the respectiue precincts, within ten days to laye downe their armes the fourth of June next. The lord of

Mayo, Colonell Richard Bourke, Major-generall Taaffe, Colonell Gerrott Moore, and 1652.
 others the forces in Conaght. The lord of Iueagh, Phillip Mc Huigh O'Relly,
 Lieutenant-generall Fferrall, Colonell Meylds Reylly, and others the forces in Vlster,
 signifyinge their acceptation of these articles, within twell[ve] daies to laye downe
 armes the sixt of June next, except what is hereafter excepted.

Eache colonell of horse to haue allowed fve horses and three cases of pistles.

Eache Lieutenant-colonell and major of horse to haue foure horses and two cases
 of pistles; each captain of horse three horses and one case of pistles; each
 lieutenant and cornett of horse two horses and one case of pistles.

To eache quarter master of horse one horse and a case of pistles.

Eache colonell of foote to haue allowed three horses and two cases of pistles.

Eache lieutenant-colonell and major of foote two horses and one case of pistles.
 And eache captain of foote to haue one horse. The Earle of Westmeath and
 Comissarie-generall Dungan to haue each ten horses and fve cases of pistles; Mr.
 George Barnwall, Judge Advocate, two horses and one case of pistles. The foure
 comisioners, viz. Sir Richard Barnwall, Colonell Roger Moore, Thomas Tyrrell,
 Esquire, and Laurence Dowdall, Esquire, each foure horses, with two cases of
 pistles, with swordes to all, not exceedinge the number of horses.

2. That in consideration therof the persons aforesaide (except such as are hereafter
 excepted) shall haue pardon for life, and protection for themselues and their
 personall estates, they submittinge themselves to all acts and ordinances of
 Parliament.

And allsoe such of them as shall desire it, shall haue passes to transporte
 themselves and their goods to any place beyonde the seas in amitie with the
 Comonwealth of England, within three monthes from the date herof, they actinge
 nothings in the interim to the prejudice of the Parliament and Comonwealth of
 Englande, their forces and garrisons.

Provided that the number of persons that shalbe agreeede to laye downe armes
 shalbe accertained, and undertaken for.

3. That the non comission officers, troupers, and gentlmen shall in leiwe of
 their horses receaue such moderate satisfaction in redie money, as by two choosen
 of each partie to aprise them shalbe agreeede upon.

4. That eache of the officers as is desirous to transporte themselves and their
 souldiers to searue any foraigne state, in amitie with the Comonwealth of Englande,
 shall haue libertie to treat with any agent or agents for that end and purpose,
 as allsoe (if they can soe agree) to transporte themselves and six thousand of the
 Irish partie, concluded in these articles, within three monethes from the date
 herof, from eache porte, as the Lord Deputie or the comissioners of Parliament
 shall think fitt, to any such places as be in amitie with the Parliament of the
 Comonwealth of Englande, as aforesaide, sufficient securitie beinge giuen that they be
 not transported to any other places to the diservice of the Comonwealth of Englande:
 [and the Commissioners on the behalf of the Commonwealth of England are] herby
 engaged to endeaour earnestly the procuringe of licence to six thousand men more
 of the number comprehended in these articles to be in like maner transported.

5. That after the time apointed for the Irish partie to laye downe armes is

1652.

expired, one monethes assignation accordinge unto the same proportion of paye shalbe allowed the forces which shall apeere and laye downe armes, as aforesaide, to be rayseed and payed unto them within three monethes last paste.

6. That as to the reall estates of any comprehended in these articles, they shall haue equall benefitt with others in the like qualefication with themselues in any offers shalbe hereafter helde out by the Parliament of the Comonwealth of Englande.

7. That the benefitt of all or any of the articles aforesaide, extende not to the exemption of any person from beinge questioned accordinge the due course of lawe, whoe had acted or weare actors in any of the murthers, massacres, or robberies that weare comitted by or upon any person not beinge in armes, nor to giue protections to priestes or Jesuits, or others in Popish orders, to liue in the Parliament quarters, or passes to them to goe beyond seas, otherwise then as the Lord Deputie or Comissioners of the Parliament shall thinke fitt. Nor the benefitt thereof to extende to such as haue murdered any of the Parliament partie after quarter giuen.

8. That the officers of the respectiue regiments, troupes, and companyes shall giue in a true and perfecte liste of all the officers, souldiers, and others comprehended in the foresaide articles, as allsoe of all the horses and armes to be deliuered up. The Linster forces to giue in theirre liste the 26 of May, the Monster forces the 28 of May.

9. The Conaght and Vlster forces to giue in theirre liste the firste of June next ensuinge.

That all prisoners of the Parliament partie in Ireland, and all prisoners of the seuerall Provinces of Irelande, belonginge to parties layinge downe armes as aforesaide, shalbe parouled upon the engagment of theirre superiour officers, and upon the aforesaide layinge downe of armes, the prisoners on both sides to be discharged. This not to extende to such as are in those or former articles excepted.

That for performancie of these articles hostadges shalbe giuen, upon signinge herof, for performance of all and singular the premisses the parties to these presents haue herunto interchangably sett theirre hands and seales the daye and yeare aboue written.

Signed, sealed, and deliuered in presence of us:—

Slane.
Iohn Bedlowe.
Henry Owings.

James Standish.
Edward Roberts.
Daniell Keuanagh.

Iohn Reynolds.
Ierom Sanchy.
Daniell Axtell.
William Allen.
Iohn Vernon.

As to the 4th article the Irish Comissioners (as an addition) doe answeare thus:

Wee doe engage ourselues herby to endeauour earnestly the procurment of licence for six thowsande men more of the number comprehended in these articles to be in like maner transported. Signed: Irish Comissioners.

Explanation as followeth.

1652.

At a councell of warr held at Kilkeny the 9th of Maye 1652,
Leutenant-generall and the rest of the Comissioners of Parliament beinge
presente, did explaine thus :

1. Resolued, that lands in the proposalls which concerne such as are of the first 930.
Generall Assembly or first Supreame Councell shalbe left out.

2. Resolued, that such of the Irish partie, beinge souldiers in armes, as haue 931.
duringe the first yeare of the warr besiedged or stormed any castle, townes, or
forts garrisoned or defended by persons publickly inlisted and entertained in armes
and paye, or officers of publicke, or priuate souldiers, for, or in the behalfe of the
Englishe against the Irish, shall not for such acts onely be questioned for life, as
beinge guiltie of the murthers and massacres comitted in the saide first yeare. Explanation.

3. Resolued, that such of the Irish partie, beinge souldiers in armes, as engaged
against any fielde forces publickly inlisted, entertained in armes and paye, as
officers of warr, or priuate souldiers, for or in the behalfe of the Englishe against
the Irish, shall not for such acts onely be questioned for life, as beinge guiltie of the
murthers and massacres comitted in the foresaide first yeare.

4. Resolued, that by the wordes, whoe had a hande, or weare actors in the
murthers, massacres, or robberies that weare committed upon the English and
Protestants in Irelande, duringe the first yeare of the rebellion, is mente and
intended such persons as duringe the saide first yeare, or before, haue continued,
acted, ayded, asisted, or abettered the saide murthers and massacres.

Signed in the name and by the appointment of the saide comissioners.

John Vernon, Secretarie.

Wee doe herby as comissioners apointed to treat and conclude, confirme these
foure resolues, as qualification to the articles made with the Lord of Westmeathe,
Sir Walter Dungan, and others. Signed, ut supra.

Vpon the explanation of the articles touchinge personall estate, wee doe hereby 931.
declare, that noe officers or souldiers, comprehended in the saide articles, shalbe
impleaded or sued at lawe for any horses, cattle, moneyes, or other prouision, or free
quarter taken by them, by the order of their superior officers, from any of the
inhabitants of this countrie, nor for any matter or thinge comitted or don by
them as souldiers, in their orderly and usuall course of warr, provided that they
extende not to free any of them from beinge impleaded for due debts accordinge
to lawe. Commissioners confirmation.

Dated, Kilkeny Castle, 12th May, 1652.

Signed : Comissioners.

The addition touchinge reall estates.

In addition to that of 7th article concerneinge reall estate, wee doe promise 932.
faithfully and really to mediate with the Parliament to the uttermost endeaour
concerninge the reall estates in the article mentioned, that they may enioye such

1652.

For reall
estates.

moderate parcells of their estates as maye make their liues comfortable amongst us, or for the comfortable maintenance of the families of such of them as shall goe beyonde the seas, and in the meane time, if any parte of their saide estates be at the present not disposed of to any other, in custodium, they shalbe putt into possession therof, and continue therein untill the pleasure of the Parliament be knowen, payinge and bearinge equall contribution and charges with the rest of their neighbours; and if it be disposed of then, after the expiration therof, they shalbe putt into possession of it, and in the meane time they shall receaue the rents and profitts that shalbe ouer and aboue countrie charges therout payable. Dated 12 May, 1652.

John Reynolds.
Ierome Sanchye.
Daniell Axtell.

Henry Iones.
Wm. Allen.
Iohn Vernon.

Articles for Arrearrs :

933.

For arrearrs.

It is agreeede that libertie shall be grannted for collectinge of the arrearrs of the last three moneths assignation due unto the forces comprehended in the articles concluded on the respectiue baronies, therout allowed such due for quarters, preyes, or otherwise, or they can partly challenge from them for that time. And the Generall officers likewise, if their paye be not comprehended in the saide assignations, shall haue libertie to collecte the arrearrs of the last 3 moneths due to them out of such aplottments wheare out they weare to be payed, they abatinge to the countrie the due claime for them for that time, provided that noe English Protestant be charged hearwith, except such as were in that time contributors, and the officers of the respectiue precincts are to see to the equall collection hereof.

Dated, 12 May, 1652.

Signed ut supra.

I doe hereby aproue, ratifie, and confirme the 11 articles in this paper written, and expresses, and the explanation therupon.

Witnesse my hande and seale, the daye and yeare aboue mentioned.

Edmond Ludlowe.

934.

The places of randezvouz wheare the officers of Linster, comprehended in the agreement bearinge date the 12th of May, 1652, are to laye downe armes and to receaue the assignation agreeede upon, and fitt places of saftie be apointed for their securitie, untill the time of their transportations, and there to receaue passes to returne home for such as shall not be inclined to goe beyonde the seas.

Mollingare :

Places of
layinge downe
armes accord-
inge articles.

The Earle of Westmeaths regiment horse and foote.
Colonell Fitz Zymons regiment of foote.
Sir James Dillons foote.
The Lord Dillons horse.
The Connty of Longfords horse and foote.

Maribourough :

1652.

Colonell Lewes Moores foote, and some troupes of horse.

Katarlagh :

Sir Walter Dungans regiment of horse.

Colonell Walter Bagnalls regiment of horse.

Leutenant-generall Huigh Byrnes regiment of foote.

Sir Thomas Esmonds regiment of foote.

Colonell Bryan Byrnes regiment of foote.

Colonell Daniell Keuanaghs regiment of foote.

Colonell Thomas Bagnalls foote

Kildare :

Colonell Lewes Clanmaliries regiment of foote.

CHAPTER VIII.

It is a manly vertue in a prince, and a Manlian aduice, to prepare for warr when he propounds for peace : and not to stave his prouisions for the one though he be treatinge upon conditions for the other. Because otherwise he seemes to begg or buye his peace, and getts it not but at a high rate : Wherefore peace is neuer to be treated with our armour off, or sworde sheathed : nor to be concluded but under a buckler, and upon sure tearmes.

Ostendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis, videant
Vos paratos ad vim, ius ipsi remittent.

Heare is all that was grannted to those agents in the behalfe of the Irish, both articles, resolues, and explanations : You see what they importe ; it seemes they weare wearie of their proper liues, or rather verie desirous to expose the necks of others, their quondam Confederats, to the axe, sed inciderunt in foueam quam fecerunt. Some of them soone, that haue beene very actiue in this business (how euer others will exscape) will fall unto the same laborinth that they ordained for others. How malaparte soeuer these articles be, the contriuers had in parte their will, which was the compliance of their faction, to betraye religion, kinge, and ancient Irish ; any thinge will please them, soe those be left off, excepted against, and not treated off, beinge the maine pointe of the respectiue prouinces instructions, but those are pleased (they say) and satisfied in pointe of religion, which is not to permitt any churchman in any the three kingdomes ; what doe the very Puritants, or the worste hereticks more ? The grounds of this warr, as well the first yeare as the rest, was warrantable by all lawe, for Religion, Kinge, and Nation, against tyrannie, intendinge the extirpation of the one, disinthroninge the other, and the anihilatinge the thirde ; but our agents are satisfied to heare a bloudie verditt published against their sworne freinds, and such as did tender their proper liues and best fortunes to vendicat soe just and godly intrests (as in that instrument signed by Westmeath

935.
Tacit.
Ann. fol. 231.
Salust.
Hist. 1.
Lucan.
l. 2.
Cic. pro Mil.
Manl. apud
Plutarch.

Psalm. 56.

The grounds of
the Irish warr.

Lawfull by all
lawe.

1652.

and others, n^o 927 may apeere.) If those were as forward in religion, busines, and first yeares comotion as they haue beene for their reall estates, sure they might thriue better then they had don; if they did cede from any agreement (as not authorized, as certainly they were not) God would prosper their actions, if they did leine upon him, and procure to searue him first, quærite primum regnum Dei, et omnia adijcientur vobis.

936.

Wee see ordinarily that God doth shewe himself soe good a father and soe fauourable towards those which be couragious to defende his church, that ouer and aboue the most hapie eternitie, which is assured unto them, he doth rewarde them allsoe temporally, and stricks with ignominie and calamities those which be enemies to him. Amonge the archereticks, Symon Magus, caried by the Deuill in the ayre, at the prayers of Saincte Peter, did falle downe, and all brused died shamfully. Manichæus was flaid aliue by the kinge of Persia. Montanus did hange himself. Arrius beinge about to goe into the church sudainly died of an horrible deathe, casting out his intrailes. Nestorius was eaten of vermin. Luther died sodainly the same night that at supper he tippled, square, goshiped, and made all the company laugh. Zuinglius was slaine in warr against the Catholicks. Carolostadius was slaine of a deuill by the testimonie of his own disciples. Caluin died yet more miserably. Amonge princes Julian the Apostate was slaine from heauen, and his body without buriinge was swallowed up from the earthe. Valens burned aliue of the Arrian Gothes whom he had faoured. Anastasius was stricken with thunder. Hunericke, kinge of the Vandalls, eaten with vermin. The three Herods, as allsoe Nero, Domitian, Maximin, and all the other persecutors of Catholicke beleefe miserably died, either by killinge themselues, or beinge cruelly killed by their owne men, or otherwise. But all the emperours, Catholicke kings, and others, which haue defended the church of God, haue beene glorious in the world; God haue made them triumphe ouer their enemies, and hath giuen them their desires. To speake briefly, the examples of Constantine, of Theodosius both elder and yonger, of Honorius and others, doe proue the same. As longe as Heracleus was a good Catholicke he prospered against the Persians, but when he became an hereticke was unhapie, and died miserably. Likewise Justinian; and to be briefe, sithens that the emperours of the easte did withdrawe themselues from the Romaine Church, they grewe from daye to daye to decaye, waxinge weaker and weaker untill they lost the empire. It is aparent that the emperours of the weaste haue flourished more or lesse accordinge as their deuotion was more or lesse to religion. As for France wee canott denye that euer it had beene in greater glorie, and more redowted to the world, then when it was a refuge to Popes, and hath euer declined soe much as when it hath beene against them, and such of the kings of England that haue don most for the Romaine Church haue beene most hapie, most beloued of the people, and most dreadfull unto their enemies. This doctrine is most assured, and in confidence therof shall doubtlesse see (with the grace of God) those whoe at this daye putt themselues in posture to defende holy religion, God shall crowne them with honor, and shall heape on them goods, prosperities, and temporall blessings, and shall cause his wrathe and all maledictions and shame to raine upon those persecutors and clandestine traytors and fauourits of heresie against Gods Church.

Actorum.

Obsearue the death of those heresiarchs as antagonists of holy church.

How Princes were punished by God for persecutinge his Church.

Princes faoured by God as adhereinge unto his church.

When did France decline?

When did England flourish?

All those conditions doe affoorde nothings considerable, nothings honorable, nor any thing praise worthy, as observable in the first place, speakinge of religion, all actinge any thinge in the first yeare of this Catholicke warr; Supream Councell and first assemblye are sett aside and excepted against, noe worde spoken in behalfe of which, rather are left to the mercilesse doome of cruell aduersaries; for reall estate noe other assurance then a bare engagment of Captain Vernon, the very last in comission, to mediate for, to the Parliament (though in the same instrument acknowledginge that none durst moue such a business unto) which sufficiently proued satisfactorie unto those our agents. All that I perceauie here of concessions is libertie to take upmeanes, for comannders and souldiers, to empouerishe the poore inhabitants, allreadie subiecte to all inhumanitie of plunder and pillage, what euer they had, gettinge of horses and armes for onely comannders and comissioners, naminge amonge such Mr. George Barnewall as Judge Aduocate, whom wee neuer hearde baptized under that encomie untill this presente, onely an attorneye betweene oure Linster pseudo-Assemblye and Clanricarde. And Dowdall named here comissioner whoe neuer sate with the rest either in comission or assemblye since they came to Linster, or resorted any where there other then into Dublin, to giue intelligence too and fro, as agent there from Clanricarde for the presente peace since December laste; now to qualifie his proceedings and to gett horses in vertue of this treatie is now reduced unto the predicament of comissioner of Truste for the province of Linster. Naminge allsoe here colonells such as had neuer a man, or verie fewe; Bagnall had onely one troupe, here Colonell of horse; Sir Thomas Esmonde two, Costillagh neuer a man, Sir James Dillon none, though Colonell of foote. Westmeath, Fitz-Zymons, Dillons, Clanmalirie, Bagnall, and Esmond, or any theire respectiue parties, since they came from Conaght, did neuer apcere any where against the enemye, or did acte the leaste seruice in the behalfe of theire country, but did kill thowsands of theire owne suposed associats, by famen, preye, pillage, and plunder, notwithstandinge are now the onely men to engage a whole kingdome to run this desperate score.

It is worthy obseruation that in the nomination of other members in the respectiue prouinces, that will laye downe armes in vertue of this presente treatie, they speake neuer a worde of such as should be in most requeste, as more numerous and better qualified in both action and extraction, as in the north, the Neylls, Keyllies, and Mac Mahons, beinge the flower of all the present forces of that province; and in Conaght the Kellyes onely now in the fiede there; in Monster Mortagh OBryan, the very seconde man there, in both fealtie and numerositie, David Roche, OSullivan, and others. You may be sure that all those were moste constante in loyall principles, and were all of the ancient Irish (except noble Dauid Roche, whom I beleue to be as true as any), and likly those alone in the respectiue prouinces did penn the former instructions with the foresaide limitation of power, viz., if not grannted (as aboue mentioned), and the comissioners of Parliament not authorized to grannte such, not to proceede further in the treatie. All which was the occasion of supressing theire names, and rendring them not considerable in the enemye eye, which discouers in them what hitherto we haue charged them with, viz., faction and treasone. Accordinge the purporte of those articles, the

1652.

937.

O madd people!

An illusive satisfaction.

Obscure this passadge.

938.

Authors of former instructions not nominated.

1652. Irish must giue hostages, who are Lewes Clanmaliry, Walter Bagnall, and Captains William Dungan, Sir Walter Dungans brother; but the Irish agents neuer desired any such from the enemy, for God did so infatuate theire understandinge and obdurat theire hearts, like unto Pharaο, to acte any thinge but mischiefe; like carued images had eyes but could not see, ears and could not heare; if not they might be confident of——
- Exod. 7 et 8.
Psalm 113.

CHAPTER IX.

939. PEACE and power are incompatible, they neuer dwell longe together, for Cæsar will suffer noe superior, and Pompey will admitt no peere; as therfore it is princely to grannte the vanquished enemy honorable estates, soe it is good policie to provide that those estates lye farr off, because it is a groase error to grannte him any one foote in that kingdome wherin he was formerly a competitor, and wherto he maye laye claime hereafter.
- Tacitus Hist.
l. 2.
Lucan l. i.

Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit.

Weare those treacherous comissioners soe blinde altogether, though they did not obsearue this much themselues; that they did not at leaste perswade themselues that the politicke enemy was not ignorant of this lesson, to grannte them theire estates, very well knowinge that they were both traitors, periurers, and competitors; noe, he neuer thought to be soe foolish and sottish, his engagment to mediat unto the Parliament notwithstandinge, pursuant unto the former axiome, if any estate he grannte, it wilbe either in S. Christophor, Barbados, etc. If this doe any thinge pinche you compatriott, be wise the next time, and followe your instructions, which will proue more beneficiall.

CHAPTER X.

940. CONTRACTS betweene States must be tyed by a Gordion knott, that nothinge but the sworde and fine force maye unloose them; else there lyes a waye open to the defeizance, and the aduantage once discouered, is as easily taken, wherfore the prouerbe, fast binde faste finde, is as necessarie a rule betweene states as betweene man and man.
- Suet. fol. 189.
Adag. Erasmi.
Horat. Art.

Nunquam te fallant animi, sub vulpe latentes.

- The instructions of those perfidious agents from the respectiue provinces did imply noe lesse, desiringe in theire conditions, forts, theire armes still in theire custodie, and hostages from the enemy, as well as giue it him; by this the contracte (what euer it were, was sure and certaine, and withoute this the agents, accordinge the saide instructions, were not authorised to conclude, but they like themselues, enemies of God, kinge, and religion; nay, of all censeritie, unmindfull of all tyes of such ministers intrusted by a whole nation, neither regardinge worth or honor, nor
- 1 Mach. 6, 7,
9, 10, 11, 12,
13, 15, 16.

feared God's wrath and indignation, powred on the heads of traytors, did surrender 1652.
all unto theemie, both liues, armes, and goods, neuer desiringe as much as a
scroule of paper under their hands to secure those same illusorie concessions, as
they haue don in that their estate. Is this a Gordion knott to faste binde and
faste finde? and notwithstandinge they will saye pax, pax, peace say I; and be
yow hanged.

Obsearue what God Almighty saith unto you, by Jeremie the prophet, dicentes 941.
pax et non est pax. Confusi sunt, quia abominationem fecerunt: quinimo confusione Jerem. 8.
non sunt confusi, et erubescere nescierunt: idcirco cadent inter corruentes, what
sayeth (saide God) the prostituts of religion anouncinge peace where there is none
at all; they are confused because they acted abomination, but by meere confusion
they are sensible of it, neither is there soe much Christianitie in them as to blush
once for shame; what then wilbe come of them? They shall perish (said God),
they shall ignominiously die. Verbum Domini proiecerunt et sapientia nulla est
in eis, such as disclaime in God's worde, in his preachers and ministers, haue noe
feelinge, noe remorse of conscience, is indued with neither wisdome or policie, in
proper sense; those may saye of themselues, as the prophet Isaye speaketh of others Isayæ 28.
in the like case, percussimus fœdus cum morte, et cum Inferno fecimus pactum, we
haue made treagues with death, and our conditions with hell; what remuneration
or fruite doe those expecte of their present acte? other then neuer languishinge
deathe, and the sempiternall horror of hell fire? Yeldinge unto anemie of
God, kinge, and nation, all that was deere unto a whole kingdome.

Wee reade in holy writte that the godlye king, Ezechias, miraculously recoueringe 942.
of his sicknesse, Merodoch, kinge of Babilon, did send his ambassadors unto
him with greate presents and donaries, congratulatinge his recouery, whoe made
as much of them as by such maye be expected; after all courtesies used, as a further Isayæ 39.
tryall of his acceptation of their masters friendship and beneuolence, he shewed
them all his treasure, in both church, pallace, and elsewhere, which was inestimable;
God, beinge displeased at this extraordinarie intertainment, did send the prophet
Isaye, whoe tould Ezechias that God was offended for shewinge his treasure
and houshold goods unto the sworneemie of his nation. In punishment thereof,
I tell you from God, saide the prophet, that the same people of Babilon will
thither hence transporte all that was acquired by you and your predecessors; naye,
your owne proper descente and the fruite of your loines, to be their slaues.
Rigorous punishment for onely shewinge his magnificence unto strangers. But
what thinke you, how would God punish this man (though otherwise soe deere unto
him), if he did bestowe them the saide treasure? As those our agents haue don
unto these enemies of both God, our kinge, and nation. If God did soe rigorously
punishe his speciall friende and deuoute seruant, Ezechias, for onely shewinge his
treasure unto a suposedemie, apeeringe into him under the vizarde of unfained
amitie (though intimate enough with the diuine clemencie, that he might truly Isayæ 38.
saye unto God, as he did, I beseeche you, good Lord, call to minde how I haue
walked in your sight, with a true, censure hearte, and haue onely acted all that was
pleasinge unto you. If this extremitie was used unto such a flourishinge tree, in
all thinges else conformable to Gods will, what thinke those withered ones, with-

1652. out fruite or flower, seuerally excommunicated, periured, and against Gods holy decrees in all theire actions, disobedient and contumaxe, will waite on them and theire posteritie, si in viridi fronde hæc fient, quid erit in sicco? If nothinge were surrendred unto the enemie by those agents, other then the libertie, not of all the nation as they pretende, but of one sole man, it is more pretious, in the estimatione of all well understandinge witts, then all they could otherwise giue, as maye hence apeere.

CHAPTER XI.

943. NONIUS choose rather to loose all his honors and fortunes then to quitt his opall ringe to Anthony; of such a price, butt a farr fairer jewell is libertie, a thinge soe sweete and precious, as it desearues the sellinge of all wee haue, and runninge into any hazarde, yett not in equitie to be attempted against a lawfull soueraigne, or in reason wheare the possibilitie to hould it is not soe greate, as the meanes to gett it.

Claudianus.

Nunquam libertas gratior extat

Quam sub rege pio.

This precious iewell did those agents passe ouer unto the enemie, not of one man, but of a whole nation, and rendered them slaues for euer; if God of His bountie will not worke otherwise, if to a lawfull soueraigne, or to any monarche, it were lesse sinsible and more tollerable, or if the possibilitie to houlde it were probably such as would controuayle the meanes to gett it, were in some sorte excusable; but none of those circumstances apeeringe in the present treacherous agreement, therfore noe man can excuse the actors from periurie, treasone, disloyaltie, perfidie, and mistruste, when the verie enemie (as I am fully perswaded) will deeme and neuer trust them, but for theire proper auayle.

944. Concludinge, therfore, this tragicall scene, and perfectinge the foresaide articles interchangably, as aboue mentioned, were mightie merry that night in Kilkeny. Next morninge, gratulatorie embraces and reciprocall valedictions finished, departed the citty, leauinge behinde the saide pledges as hostages; arriued to the Kings county, wheare scarce they sett foote, when the chiefe house of the Viscounte Clanmaliry was manned for the enemie, himself in restraints, as already mentioned, though peace proclaimed in Kilkeny before the saide agents departed thence. Noe sooner the Bishope of Laghline, vice-Metropolitan of Linster, was herof certified (though scarce did therto giue credit), then did send his summons to all the clergie of the province whom it concerned, to apeere fourthwith in a congregation in Belladrohide, in Clanmaliry, whoe, pursuant to the dispatche, pretended with mighty labour and danger of life, conuened such as were capable of iorney, and such as did not apeere, did authorize others, by theire authentick instruments, to be there theire proctors, and act what in person the proprietors might doe. Hauinge the copie of the foresaide articles by a freindly hande (chiefe secretarie of both assembly and agents of the instant treatie, of whose fidelitie and censeritie herin you may not doubt) from Kilkeny, communicatinge the contents unto eache other, obseruinge in what a poore takinge was all the clergie of the kingdome, and all the nation,

Daniell Carroll.

how betrayed by their owne supposed freinds, and left now to the mercilesse doome of a proude insultingeemie, either must tender their necks unto the axe-man, or act somewhat (as their duty required) to stopp those wilfull proceedings, or at leaste to giue a rubb unto for a while, till they be certified of the acceptation or reluctancie of other provinces, where wee leaue them consulting herof for a while, and treat of other affaires at this time hapninge.

1652.
Congregation
of Linster.

CHAPTER XII.

ALL morallists hold nothinge profitable that is not honest; some politticks haue inuerted this order, and peruerted the sense by transposing the tearmes in the proposition, houldinge nothinge honest that is not profitable. Howsoeuer those former may seeme too straight laced, these surely are too loose, for, there is a midle way betweene both, which a right statsman must take.

945.
Cicer. Off.
lib. 2.
Seneca.
. . .

Lucrum id esse existima, quod ubicunque tantum honesta dominanti licent precari.

From the n°. 893 unto the n°. 898 inclusive wee haue made mention exactly of the continuall and dayly prosperitie and felix successe of the well affected in Linster, and specially of Colonell Grace and his adherents, whose the 12 of May, the very same daye that this peace was concluded, did inter the towne of Birr, burned and pilladged all, killed any as offered its rescue, and demolished the mill, which onely had beene of high preiudice unto the garrison. This Grace was soe feared and honored there, that both comannder and souldier, if not crubbed by higher power, would desert the place, and would not continue there at any tearmes, but that by stronge parties they were still reliued by both men and prouision, whose were mightie willinge to giue Grace contribution out of Birr, if any waye induced to accept of it, whose smellinge such was soe generous would neuer condescende. It was reported that Colonell Abbott, gouernor of Birr, did often vowe that he would moue unto comissioners of Parliament to be pleased to giue Grace the towne of Birr, and thereby to drawe him to conformitie. The peace published, as aforesaide, in Kilkenye, in regarde of the dayly incursions of Grace, and by his now last seruice there, was fourthwith thither transmitted and published.

Graces
seruice
in Birr.

This gentle warrior, not well brookinge to be idle, on the 15th of this instant May, roade with his partie, horse and foote, through the towne of Birr, tooke as many cattle as there founde, and killed some men, marchinge forward (this beinge not his present designe), the gouernor did comannde a trumpeter after to enforme him of the publication of peace, desiringe to returne by the bearer, his acceptation therof, that he may hereafter salute him as a freinde; the trumpeter deliueringe what he had in charge, Grace onely answered that he must walke with him alonge that night, and at his returne would answer his message; whose designe was at instante for Nenagh, in Upper Ormond, where next morninge he arriued 5 or 6 troupes, with 150 foote, his partie; one Laghlin OMorra, a braue souldier if the factionists did giue waye that he should make tryall therof, and himself, as the paralyticus of the Piscina saide, *hominem non habeo*, had fewe followers, was

946.
Grace with
his enemie
trumpeter.

Joan. v. 7.

1652.
Loughlin
O'Morra.

The skirmishe
of Nenagh
by Grace.

Colonell
Gawlyes
courage.

leadinge the foote at present. Two troupes, for a forlorne hope, was comannded to the towne, which accordinge theire intelligence might proue sufficient, the rest remaininge in a vally from the castle sight; the forlorne hope marchinge forward, without feare of any danger, unaxpe[n]ded they see My Lord Crumwells life-guarde, the matter of 200 horse and dragunes, all readie mounted in theire campe, pointe-blanke for service. The Irish must fight, forward they could not goe, to fall backe was dangerous, theire proper partie beinge a distant off. Both fell to it mightie coragious, the enimie more numerous, and on proper ground, and theire horse freshe, must haue the aduantage, if not soone reliued. Colonell Thibott Gawly, an exceedinge good horseman, perceauinge by all militarie inductions the fight to be already comenced, roade with his troupe on a hight where he might discover the veritie of his former opinion. Now obsearuinge how matters were caried, and that his comrads might receaue a foile by retarding a reliefe, comannded a horse to giue notice unto the rest, and himself did gallope awaye post haste, and arriuinge within a muskett-shott unto the fiede, founde his saide forlorne hope readie to shewe his horse-hoope unto the enimie. The valiant colonell, charginge the aduerse partie in the flanke, gaue him therby to understande that he had to deale with more then he was aware off. In that charge he tumbled some to the ground, not expectinge the courtesie of stiroppe, nor usinge soe much humanitie as once biddinge the world adieu, though theire last it had beene. The Irish forlorne hope, herby encouraged, resuminge theire strenght, rallied themselues (as I beleuee was necessarie); Colonell Grace now with the remaine of his horse arriuinge, with the bloudie and warlike sound of a trumpett (blowen by the enimie trumpeter in Grace his company, as already mentioned).

947.

Now the fight began in good earnest. The enimie must giue ground, the Irish soe roughly charginge, must abandon his riche campe, and to saue his life must disorderedly run under the shelter of the forte, whether the Irish could not followe, the garrison playinge soe freshe against them; nay, a greate number of musketires, issuing fourth, placinge themselues upon banks and other sconces, pretendinge to defende the campe and inuiron the Irish betwixt them and the aduerse horse; the Irish foote all this interim did not arriue, but the Irish horse, beinge masters of the enimie campe, some wherof began to bestirr themselues in riflinge and plunderinge the same. The enimie, now ralliinge his men, gaue a freshe charge upon the Irish, but fiercly opposed and more manly then was expected, both fought brauely for the victorie, in the heate wherof the enimie, obsearuinge the Irish foote marchinge towards the fiede, was therby mightie encoraged, as assuredly certaine to be some of his partie, but was soone perswaded of the contrary by the leadinge of the foote comannder, whoe soe neattly and dexter brought the infanterie to service, that such of the enimie as had the leasure to viewe and consider the passadge did meruayle. The comannder did passe by the combatants without salutinge them once with a bullet, his aime beinge to come betweene them and the forte, the rather that he perceaued the enimie foote to issue from the castle. The enimie, obsearuinge the infanterie comannders drift, both horse and foote forsooke theire respectiue poastes, the one the fiede, and the other retiringe unto the very gate of his castle, and such as kept sconces (as aboue mentioned), betooke themselues to

Loughlin
O'Morras
dexteritie.

The contin-
uance of the
skirmishe.

theire forte. By this stratageme our valiant comannder, Loughlin O Morra, was pre- 1652.
 uented of his souldier-like intention, notwithstandinge puttinge himself in such
 a posture that none of the enemie durste stirr himself for any purpose, though
 before his face his riche campe was rifled. In this bloudie pastime they continued
 for 8 howers, since 10 alocke in the morninge, the 17th of May, untill six in the
 afternoone. At lenght the Irish had the honour of the field, did kill 24 of the
 enemie, tooke 8 prisoners, gott all the pilladge of the campe, many tents, and a world
 of goods; eache enemie was founde with £25 in his pocketts. Those men were
 neuer faced in Irland before this daye, beinge My Lord Cromwells life-guarde, all
 major officers, seuerally taken prisoners in battles and defeates against the kinge,
 whoe vowed to haue neuer seene, for soe many, better souldiers then these Irish.

The Irish were
 victorious.
 24 killed of
 the enemie, and
 8 prisoners
 taken.

From hence this party marched to Killmore, in Ossory, seuerally inuited thither 948.
 by Captain Bryan Fitz Patricke, but now likly did recant his former censeritie, for
 hearinge of the saide parties aproache, did sende worde unto all the neighbouringe
 keraghts, within the distance of 12 miles to that place, that they should retire to
 places of saftie, for Grace and his partie (saide he) came to this country, all which
 was most prejudicious unto the intended seruice of this partie, and must therby
 quitt the country, and turne to theire proper homes, but caried Captain Fitz
 Patricke in the nature of a prisoner, and remitted him to Inishlogheurha, where he
 continued untill purged by a councell of warr, and did sweare this Confederacie (as
 hereafter more at large). The trumpeter from Birr (as aboue mentioned) all this
 while kept with Grace, to returne answeare of his message, whoe now uppon his
 returne tould him he would not accept of that peace, as prejudicious to his religion
 and nation, and concluded by factious comissioners noe waye authorized therto.
 With this resulte the trumpeter was dispatched to his proper home.

Grace his
 answeare to the
 trumpeter.

CHAPTER XIII.

It were better not to make lawes against the abuses of the times, or corruption 949.
 of mens manners, than beinge made and broken not to putt them in execution, for
 this maketh every privat mans offence the sin of the publicke. Because to omitt
 the punishment therof is to committ it. Wherefore direction for suppressinge a con-
 spiracie and punishinge the offender accordinge to lawe is not onely fruitlesse but
 dangerous, when the execution both of the one and the other proceedes not speedily;
 beinge misled by a credulous negligence and miscaried by a foolish lenitie; for
 there is a crueltie in some kinde of mercie, though therbe noe mercie in crueltie.

Senec. Suas.
 Tacit. Hist. 2.
 Cic. ad Brut.
 Salust. Catil.
 Seneca de Ira.

Supplicium de ijs sumendum non tam ut ipsi pereant, quam ut alios pereundo deterreant.

Interim those things were in agitation. Lieutenant-colonell Richard Duyne,
 resident in his natiue country, Iregan, dayly waitinge on neighbouringe enemie
 garrisons, enformed of the saide agents returne from Kilkeny, and what there don,
 as many of the clergie as conferred with him did both disclaime in the acte and
 authors therof, wherby edged this yonge warrior on to worke some memorable

Westmeath
 and 3 more
 of these
 peacemakers in
 restraints with
 Lieutenant-
 colonell
 Richard
 Duyne.

1652.

The Bishop of
Drumores
misinformation
to Duyne.

Poliearpus ad
Marcionem in
Legend :

The agents
enlarged to
the dishonor
of Duyne.

deede, as was thought ; hauinge receaued intelligence of their lodgings in Castlebracke, in Iregan aforesaide, thither takinge his course, arriued at the dawninge of the daye, where findinge Westmeath, Sir Robert Thalbott, Sir Richard Barnewall, and Thomas Tyrrell the lawyer, on whom he layed hands, and caried them in the nature of prisoners to places of saftie, which was most gratfull to all well affected, where they continued for 48 howers. Interim his owne Colonell, Lewes Moore, one of the saide agents, came to him in company of Oliuer Darcy, bishope of Drumore (the Cayphas of this tragedie), the one and other incessantly aduiced the lieutenant-colonell not to intermedle in those affaires, as transcendent unto his capacitie, don, (saide the bishope) by the free and comon consent of all the kingdome ; naye swearinge many greate oathes (as practitioner therin) by the aduice, inducement, and consent of the Bishope of Laghlin, the vice-metropolitan of Linster, and was in serious discourse with those agents since they came from Kilkenny, mightie ioconde, allowinge, ratifyinge, and confirminge what was conceaued by them in the behalfe of this peace : And I assure you (said this first begotten of Belsebub), all things therin don are farr better then they apeere publickly, for matters of state must not brooke a rough handlinge, as not to be subiecte to the partiall censure of all meane understandinge. Therefore, upon my worde and honor (what if it did seuerally hertofore cracke), all this is true, and soe you may be pleased to enlarge those gentlemen, and doe take yourselfe to wittnesse, you will aproue hearafter what I saye now to be true, otherwise not to beleue me, as an honest man. What (saide he) would you thinke of me, hauinge so much intrest in the busines, as another of my ranke and qualitie may challenge, that if matters were caried, as you presuppose, that I should not be as forward in the pretence of their punishment in the highest degree as any other whomsoeuer, the matter concerninge me as neere as any other. All those and other such deliuered then by this anti-prelate, were both deceitfull, forged, treacherous and untrue, notwithstandinge did win therby the consent of that yong gentleman, and enlarged the saide agents, to the mightie preiudice of the cause, the greefe of all well affected, and the proper blemish of the Lieutenant-colonell himself, for farr more honorable it had bene not to touche them at all, upon a suspition of misdemeanor and by a foolish lenitie to retarde the execution of soe heynous an offence, and shewe his crueltie unto a whole nation under the vizarde of mercie, enlarginge a fewe obnoxious of all crime, by the credulous intimation of one-never-faithfull-attestator. Sure if Grace had bene then in the contry, those agents would not be soone dismissed ; at leaste some did suffer for it.

950.

The mischief
of these agents
now at libertie.

The agents, now at libertie, post haste eache dispatched to their proper homes, leauinge orders to all and singular their adherents to followe them, and addresse themselves pursuant to the aboue articles, for surrender and layinge downe of armes. He thought himself hapie that was the first that did accomplish that shamfull acte, leaste the clergie, sittinge yett in congregation (as aforesaide), did issue any thinge to the contrary, and therby hinder the compliace of their engagment ; euery one contested to be foremost. Colonell Lewes Moore did aduice his owne Lieutenant-colonell to goe in hande presently with layinge downe his armes, as neere home, Mariborough, the place assigned him for that purpose. The Lieutenant-colonell,

neither respectinge the Colonell (as cedinge from his principles), nor willinge to doe such a base acte, without further tryall or precedent, answared negatiuely, which caused rent and diuision in his men, for, such as embraced the resulte of their Colonell, as those of Leise, followed him, and such as adhered the Lieutenant, as Iregan men, obeyed him in the intente aforesaide. Tremittstowne troupe, Captain Edward Dalton's troupe, and Captain Charles Dillon, son and heire to Costtlagh (himself hurt in the skirmishe of Nenagh), with onely three horse, by the surmises of the agents, stole awaye from Grace, in verie good equipage: euery man with two or three horse, two swords, gould, and money plentie enough, though sworne seuerally to continue, notwithstandinge went awaye, as alreadie mentioned. The Barnewalls went to Mollingare to laye downe armes there, accordinge assignation; Captain Dalton went to the countie of Longforde (as he bruted), to ioine with Lieutenant-generall Fferrall, but soone after lost his horses by the enemie, and returned himself in a poore posture to Grace againe, and Charles Dillon to his proper home; howeuer, broke sudainely this hopfull partie, and all in disparagment of the clergie.

1652.

Such as stole
away from
Grace.

The clergie, all this while sittinge in congregation (as aboue touched), a-musinge upon this subjecte, the danger and consequence of it, whoe expected the resulte of other provinces, not onely of the clergie, but laitie, and leaste to be thought too rash in issuinge their censures against people that haue made it a habitt of prooffe, as those zeudo-Catholicks did tearme themselues, excommunication-prooffe, that they made noe scruple of it: At lenght receauinge true intelligence of all the well affected in the respectiue provinces, of the high disgust they conceaued of this wicked peace, and the treacherous proceedings of the agents, and that they were unanimously intended neuer to comply with, as not authorized by them to conclude in that nature, and wished the clergie of Linster, as more interested in the busines, to issue their censures against the conthriuers, defenders, and abettors therof; not onely this, but Clanricarde himself, did by an authenticke instrument shewe his disguste and auersion therefrom, disclaiminge against the same as not authorized by him (though this was as false as Judas is a saincte), but pursuant to his other actions notwithstandinge; all which was grounde sufficient for the clergie of Linster to issue their excommunications, as aforesaide, which they haue don, in hæc verba:

951.

Linster congre-
gation sittinge.

Clanricards
disclaime
against this
peace.

CHAPTER XIV.

ACTA CONGREGATIONIS UTRIVSQUE CLERI PROVINCIÆ LAGENIÆ, 25 MAII, ANNO 1652. 952.

Cum iam compertum habemus contra intentionem non solum Prouinciæ Lageniæ, sed etiam totius regni maioris et sanioris partis cleri, populi et militiæ Catholicorum, die 12 instantis Maij iniquissimam pacem, per aliquos patriæ proditores, et nostræ associationis detestabiles ministros, necnon citra voluntatem et publicam intentionem Domini Marchionis de Clanricardo, suæ Maiestatis in hoc regno Præregis, inter Catholicos et Parlamentum Anglicanum conclusam fuisse. In qua omnes et singuli articuli prius ab omnibus nobis simul congregatis mature ac dilligenter discussi, et tanquam iniuste et inique per nos die 25 prædicti mensis (nemine excepto) damna-

The Congrega-
tion Acte
against those
Agents.

1652.

ut religioni Catholicæ, nationis libertati, Dei Omnipotentis gloriæ, Regis Magnæ Britaniæ prærogatiuis, et inocentis populi prosperitati destructiuam, censientes. Nos igitur infra scripti sub pœna excommunicationis ipso facto incurrendæ omnibus, et quibuscunque tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus, in quacunque dignitate vel præ-eminentia constitutis præcipimus et mandamus, ne supradictam pacem quocunque modo per se uel per alios, directe uel indirecte, consilio, auxilio, uel fauore, faueant, defendant uel acceptent. Nec non sub eadem pœna præcipimus omnibus et singulis Generalibus, Colonellis, ducibus, officialibus, militibus, et quibusuis alijs nominibus nominatis et functis existentibus uel futuris, et quibuscunque alijs Catholicis, ne cum dicto Parlamento uel eiusdem ministris, sub prætextu supradictæ iniquissimæ pacis se iungere, aut quouis alio modo ex superius enarratis eidem uel eisdem adhærere præsumant, aut audeant arma sumere contra exercitus Catholicos dictam iniquam pacem impugnaturus. Cui etiam pœnæ omnes et singulos subiacere volumus est decernimus qui supra-dictam iniquam pacem acceptarunt uel acceptari faciunt (etiam authores) si infra nouem dies ab harum publicatione in castris uel castro non resipiscant, si ipsam ulterius quoquo modo sectentur. Districte præcipiendo mandamus omnibus presbyteris et religiosis cuiuscunque dignitatis, ordinis aut præ-eminentiæ existentibus sub eadem pœna ne præsumant aut audeant missas celebrare, eucharistiam ministrare, confessiones supradictorum (nisi in mortis articulo) audire. Vltimo præcipiendo præcipimus sub eisdem pœnis ut hanc nostram ordinationem, inhibitionem et mandatum inter missarum solemnias sacerdotes et religiosi publicare faciant. Quicunque autem ausu temerario contrarium huius nostræ ordinationis, iussionis, intentionis, et præcepti insinuare præsumperint maledictionem Omnipotentis Dei et nostram se nouerint incursuros.

Datum in loco nostri refugij die 25 Maij, anno 1652.

Edmondus Laghlensis Episcopus, Vic: Dublinensis
et Præses Congregationis; et alij, etc.

Copia vera: Ita testatur Fr. Bonauentura Mellaghlin, Cancellarius Congregationis.

Which in English is thus :

953.

The former
acte in
Englishe.

Beinge truely and faithfully enformed that on the 12th of this instant May a most uniust and wicked peace haue beene concluded betweene the confederat Catholics of this kingdome and the Parliament of Englande, contrary to the reall intention, not onely of the province of Linster, the most parte and soundest witts, as well ecclesiasticke, laitie and Catholicke militia of both kingdome and province, as allsoe contrary to the knowen pleasure and publicke intention of the Most Excellent Lord Marquesse of Clanricarde, his Majesties Deputie-generall in this kingdome of Irelande: by some detestable ministers, treacherous and disloyall to both nation and sacred association. Hauinge maturely and seriously examined all and singular the articles therof, on the 25 of the foresaid May, haue unanimously abiured and condemned them, as most uniust and wicked, deeming and iudginge them destructive to Catholicke religion, the nation libertie, the honor of the Almighty, his Maiesties iust prerogatiues, and the innocent and harmlesse people,

prosperitie, and fortune. Wee, therefore, the undernamed, doe herby straightly 1652.
 charge and comannde all and singular the Catholicks of this province, as well
 ecclesiasticke as laytie, of what [rank] or preheminencie soeuer they be, uppon pane
 of dyrefull curses, anathems, and excommunication to be actually incurred, not to accept,
 defende, or fauor, by any maner of waye or pretence, the saide ungodly and wicked
 peace, either by themselues or others, directly or indirectly, defende, fauor, or accept
 off, by aduice, assistance, power, countenance, or otherwise. Wee likewise, under the
 high penaltie of the foresaide censures, will and comannde all and singular the
 Generalls, chief comannders, colonells, lieutenant-colonells, officers, officialls, souldiers,
 and others, of what callinge or degree soeuer, of the militia existinge, or for the
 future to existe, and other Catholicks whatsoeuer, upon pretence of the forementioned
 wicked peace, not to ioine with the saide Parliament or any its members in any
 maner of waye, as aboue specified, nor presume to ioine with the Parliament or Par-
 liament ministers, or take armes in their defence against the Catholicke forces, endea-
 vouringe to oppose the saide iniurious and wicked peace. Wee allsoe will, declare, and
 decree all and singular to incur the saide censures, as already embraced and ac-
 cepted the foresaide wicked peace, or cause others to accept therof (though authors
 and conthriuers), if in any wise they obsearue or obeye the same, and not within
 nine daies from the publication herof in all or one of our Catholicke campos doe
 fall backe and recante. Wee allsoe straightly charge and comannde all priests and
 religious persons, of what dignitie, order, or preheminencie soeuer they be, under
 paine of the aforesaide censures, that they presume not to celebrate Masse,*minister
 the holy sacrament of Euchariste, or here the confessions of the fore mentioned
 transgressors, except it be in the article of death. Lastly, wee straightly charge and
 comannde, under the same censures, that both secular and regular priestes, doe
 publish, and cause to be published, this our ordination, inhibition, and mandat.
 Whoesoeuer by rash attempte will presume or otherwise surmishe to infuse into
 Catholicke eares the contrary of this our ordination, etc., lett him be sure to incur
 the terrible execrations and curses of Allmightie God and ours.

Dated, in our place of refuge, the 25 of May, 1652.

Signed, ut supra and attested.

Colonell Grace and his partie was soe forward in opposinge this wicked peace, 954.
 as sensible of the consequence therof, that notwithstandinge a considerable number
 of his partie did flenche from him dayly, thought to preuent, by a proper declaration
 and oathe, the clergie decree, as dilatorie, and in his opinion, remisse, the matter
 concerneinge him soe neere. The clergie, acquainted of his intentions, was mightie
 acceptable, but desired his forbearance, untill the publication of the foresaide decree,
 and then to goe in hande with both together; this condescended unto, the Bishope of
 Laghlin, the Vicar-generall of Meath, and other prelates, accordinge assignation,
 conuened in the campe at Dinry. All the comannders and souldiers of that partie
 apeeringe, as by orders appointed, some speeche was deliuered by one of the prelates
 conducent to the action intended, which finished, the clergie decree, as aforesaide,
 was published with greate alacritie and acceptation of all then presente; which don,
 Colonell Richarde Grace was nominated by the clergie there conuened, and voted

Grace his
 censeritic.

1652.

of all the comannders chiefe comannder of that partie, wherupon his Declaration was allsoe publickly notified, which is as followeth :

COLONELL RICHARD GRACE HIS DECLARATION AND OATHE OF CONFEDERACIE.

955.

Grace his
Declaration.

Whereas the Catholicks of Irelande haue taken armes against the Parliament of Englande, in defence of Catholicke religion, the just prerogatiues of his Majestie, and the free libertie of the nation, whose destruction and meere extirpation was intended by the saide Parliament, as observable unto all Europe, by their sinister proceedings since those comotions. They haue, therefore, to enable themselues, in this godly taske, united themselues unto Confederacie, by the iust tye of the oathe of association, importinge neuer to swarue from their saide principles, and not to admitt, embrace or desire any particular conditions, either for conntie, prouince, or person; nay, not for the whole kingdome, of peace or cessation, without the sense of a Generall Assembly and clergie congregation. This soe solemn and publicke protestation notwithstandinge, the deuill, father of disention, haue too often infused disunion, faction, and self-treacherie unto the hearts of seuerall members of the saide Confederacie, infrenchinge the saide oathe, to the noe small preiudice of the rest, their fellowe Confederats. And though imployed by seuerall assemblies, for the publicke behoofe of the kingdome, with particular instructions (with another oathe pursuant to the former), not to acte naught else other then what their instructions implied, all which, from time to time, haue they maliciously without any remorse of conscience, transgressed, violated, and infrenched, as any may obsearue by the first cessation and peace with Ormond, the cessation with the Lord Baron of Insichuyne, and the last peace with the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, wherin the respectiue Comissioners or Agents apointed for those afaires neuer obsearued either oathe or instructions. The selfe same members or their broode soe often relapsinge, haue beene of late by faction apointed to apply themselues to the Commander in chiefe and other Comissioners from the Parliament in this kingdome, for settlment betweene them and the saide Catholicks, with sounde and reasonable instructions from the well affected of other the respectiue provinces, and specially of the province of Linster, sworne as at other times to acte onely accordingly. But, o periurie and treason! they haue concluded the basest peace that amonge Christians was euer hearde off, to surrender their armes upon a peremptorie daye (beinge the onely barister to pleade the iustice of their cause), the liues of both clergie and laytie exposed to the mercilesse doome of their enemye, noe estate assured, religion abolished, his Majesties authoritie contemned, all things deere unto the nation, mentioned in their saide instructions, forgotten, villipended, and sett at naught by those supercilious ministers of iniquitie. Wherefore wee, the undernamed, beinge herof most sensible in pursuance of our saide oathe of union and association, doe disclaime in the saide iuste and unlawfull peace, as destructiue to our holy religion, his Majesties authoritie ouer us his subiects, and the free libertie of this our nation, doe declare against the same and the conthriuers, as pernicious, treacherous, disloyall, and distructiue to our Catholicke intentions, as aforesaide. Wherby wee deeme ourselues necessitated to take the ensuinge oathe of union at

instante, pursuant to our former oathe of association, to preuent a vissible distruction 1652.
to the natiues of this Linster province, incident to rent, diuision, and particular applications. And doe herby proteste and declare that wee shall prosecute any of the saide province whoe shall refuse to take the saide oathe, as by the Comissioners to be instituted for the province gouernment, or the colonells of the armie, shalbe comann'ded by any penaltie to be inflicted, as enemies upon such transgressors, either by plunder, pilladge, or otherwise; which plunder or pilladge is to be turned to the publicke use, as the saide Comissioners of the province, colonells, or any three of them, shal thinke fitt, which by this our declaration wee publish.

The clergie
decree was
published
this same day.

Dated the 27 of May, 1652.

THE OATHE :

I, A. B., doe sweare, proteste, and vowe, before God and his angells, that I will 956.
upholde the Romaine Catholicke Religion, his Majesties just prerogatiues, and the libertie of my nation, to the hazarde of my life and fortunes, and that I shall not, either by myself in person, or any other, directly or indirectly, priuat or publicly, propose, make, or receaue any conditions from the enemye, but by the consent and approbation of Edmond, Lord Bishoppe of Laghlin, and such others as his Lordship shall aproue off and call to his asistance; that I will obeye the comann'der choosen by the same partie to comann'de them in all things tendinge to the preseruauion of religion, Kinge, and countrie. And that I shall not obeye any of those that haue comann'ded formerly and submitted to the enemye as comann'der ouer us, see helpe me God and the contents of this Goshpell. Amen.

An oathe
sworne by
the comann'ders
of this partie.

Dated, ut supra.

Richard Duyne.	Frances Molloye.	Terence Conon.	Richard Grace.
Patricke Heuerin.	James Dillon.	Gerrott Coghlan.	Charles Molloye.
Art Molloye.	James Dempsie.	Barthowloe Molloye.	Thibott Gawlye.
Donogh Coghlan.	James Dalton.	Stephen Molloye.	Mellaghlin OMorra.
Charles Coghlan.	Barnaby Fitz Gerald.	Bryan Fitz Patricke.	Daniell Carroll.
Thomas Kenedye.	Arthur Fox.	Terence Fitz Patricke.	Teige Conon.
Thomas Gawlye.	Huigh Geoghegan.	Robert Fox.	Callogh Mellaghlin.
William Duyne.	Charles Geoghegan.	Iames Fox.	Teige Molloye.
	Terlagh OBruyne.	Adam Molloye.	Neyl Morishe.
	Morgan Dowlinge.	Donogh OMolloye.	Edmond Dillon.
	Redmond OBruyne.	Iohn Molloye.	Art Molloye.
	Frances mcRedmond.	Terence Molloye.	James Dempsie.

Those were the same men that should signe into the aboue declaration, but goinge together as they doe, I thought it sufficient, to incerte theire names here onely, signinge and swearinge the former oathe. You see how willinge they haue beene to further this union in its now ebbing; verily this gentleman (I meane Grace) was as earnest in it as any could be, but his now recent associats will soone periure themselves, as hearafter more at large.

1652.

CHAPTER XV.

957.

Tacit. Hist. 1.
Sence. in fine.

WHEN a prince begineth once to be hated of his subiects, and in declination of his fortunes, be it well or ill that he doth, all is ill taken ; for reformations are noe remedies except they be in season, as phisicke ministred out of due time rather poisoneth then preserueth the bodie.

Ovid.

Opprime dum noua sunt subiti mala semina morbi.

How willinge
is Lewes
Moore to
breake square
with loyaltie,

The inhumani-
tie of those
peacable men.

Clanricards
recantation.

958.

Lowe Linster
men stedfaste.

The cause
of Daniell
Keuanaghs
surrender.

Noe sooner this malignant partie was enformed of the publication of both excommunication, declaration, and oathe, then in all haste addressed themselues to laye downe armes in the respectiue places assigned them for that purpose, neuer soe earnest since those comotions, to doe seruice in the behalfe of their Confederats, and compliyanee of their ductie, as now theye were to withdrawe themselues and their adherents from the sweete yoke of their quondam mother, the Catholicke Church, and its ministers decree; they will not expecte the daies appointed for that taske, accordinge couenant. Lewes Moore was the very first to indeere himself to that recent state in Mariborough, gaue the presedent unto all the rest. My lord of Clanmaliries son and heire (the lord himself in hostadge of compliyanee), and Maior Barnaby Dempsie in Kildare; Westmeath, and Sir Walter Dungan did the like in other places. All those left their armes in the enemie custodie, and with cugles in their hands, like heardes, gyred by the aduerse parte were cessed upon the poore natiues already impouerished by them, were mightie busie in perswadinge such as were constant to playe the same note and upon the same stringe; nay, accompanied the enemie, whoe now issued fourth in seuerall maine bodies, distroyinge the countries where any of those that held out did resorte; our newe peace makers did guide the enemie to all the places of saftie, wherunto those poore men did frequente, asistinge their newe benefactors in this scene, not onely as spies, but actors. If those miscreants were reformed when in restraints with Leutenant-colonell Duyne, and lessned by the heades for their treason and faction, sure they did not ouerliue to acte soe many mischiefes. Then was the seasonable time for such phisicke, but now is growen rank and predominant, and poysoneth rather then cureth. Clanricarde allsoe that shewed his disguste against this treacherous peace (as aboue mentioned) now enformed of the clergie decree, and of the oathe sworne by the militia, did write unto the Bishop of Laghlin; and Grace, taxinge both of simplicitie, and inconsiderat in the saide acte, seriously aduicinge them to recant, and canere pallinodiam (whose letters in that behalf did not come to my hands, as miscaried from them, ad quos), wherby his intentions was discouered.

The ancient Irish of Lowe Linster, Keuanaghs, Byrnes, and Tuhills, did not accept of that peace, rather adhered unto the clergie. Daniell Oge Keuenagh was dubious what to doe, not that he was not loyall and constante in his Catholicke principles, but that his brother, Charles Keuanagh, was at presence in durance, and not to be enlarged other then by his saide brothers submission unto that peace (as by the 9th article thereof may apeere), whoe yett held himself neuter, neither pro or contra, or actinge nothings in its preiudice, trying whether his saide brother could be

enlarged, upon the score of Sir Walter Dungans laying downe of armes, the saide 1652.
Charles beinge his major. But obscuringe how matters were caried, contrary to
his expectation, he sued My Lord of Laghlin to dispense with him for submitinge
unto that wicked peace, as forced therto for the saftie of his brother, his intentions
well knowne unto the bishope, was wincked at and forborne; wherupon apointinge
a daye to laye downe armes in Katarlagh, which was accordingly don, though fewe
of his men did apeere, rather ioined with Bryan Mc Phelim (likly by proper appoint-
ment), howeuer gott his brother out, beinge the onely obiecte of his desire.

About this time, the sixt of June, the worthy of all praise for his constancie, 959
Bryan Mc Phelim, with his partie, marched within 2 miles to Dublin, and caried
awaye 4 score horse loades of wheate and other corne from thence to his place of
refuge, which mightie reliued his men, for they indured greate scarcitie of prouision
at presente. Art Mc Dermott Keuanagh, a Cide in armes, captain of horse, and a
cossen german to Daniell Oge Keuanagh and Charles, notwithstandinge the sub-
mission of his saide cossens, beinge of the same partie, did not followe their example
herin, rather stoode out to auenge his quarrell (if possible) on the bodie of that
false and periured traytor, Sir Walter Dungan, his quondam colonell and comis-
sarie-generall of the Linster horse. Hauinge, therefore, true intelligence of his
resorte unto a certaine place in the countie of Kildare, thither marched with his
troupe, whoc soe well thriued, that arriuinge thither, Sir Walter hauinge some
incklinge of his aproache, made a hapie escape, but left his horses behinde (I
meane such as was allowed him by the capitulation), with all their furniture. The
captain missinge the chiefe of his game, seased upon the horse, whiped them awaye,
leauinge Dungan stickinge to a paire of bad heeles, but certainly sure, if he did
but fall unto the captains hands (as the horses haue don) he would bestowe him
one that would searue his turne all his life time.

Bryan Mc.
Phelims.
censericie.

Art Keuanaghs
intention and
acte.

CHAPTER XVI.

THERE is nothinge soe dangerous in a greate affaire as irresolution and tergiuersa- 960.
tion, especialye in that prince whose goode fortunes are come to their last period,
and his whole estate sett upon one cast. But destruction decreede cannot be
resisted, for the obiecte destined herunto looseth himself in the intricate maze of
his owne perplexities, by undoinge what he hath don to his own undoinge.

Mac. disp. 2.
Herod. l. 9.
Virg. Eneid. 2.
Lucan. lib. 7.

Hoc placet, o Superi, cum vobis vertere cuncta
Propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen.
Cladibus irruimus, nosciturque poscimus arma.

Colonell Grace and his partie, abandoned and forsaken by the horse, n°. 950
touched, Barnewalle and Dalton in regarde wherof was now too weake in horse,
and was not of abilitie to acte anythinge considerable abroad in the enemie
quarters as formerly, now keepinge close in woodds and boggs, and by dayly and
stronge incursions of the enemie, coulde not attempte any where to be reliued,

The poore
posture of
Grace his
partie.

1652.

which caused greate scarcitie of provision in his campe, soe that they were forced to run in loose-companies, expectinge better times.

Birr plundered
and demolished
by Grace.

One Christopher Kelly, a Conaght man, a captain of foote, one of the best of this partie (though libertine) seeinge the extremitie of the times, tooke his course for his natiue countrie, under pretence to bringe reliefe unto the campe, but neuer returned, though not adhered unto the enemye, but was of a small partie mightie cumbersome unto him, still runinge a particular score. Others of the same partie haue don the like, to the disservice of this newe Confederacie. Colonell Grace, obseruinge the irregular behauiour of the souldier, occasioned by the saide extenuitie, proclaimed by a publicke meetinge to leade them unto a plentifull country. The towne and mill of Birr, on the 12 of May last demolished by this same partie, was now reedified. Thither did Grace with his partie aduance, did burne and pilladge both towne and mill on the 9th of June, and killed as many of the garrison militia as came in their waye, which mightie encouraged the faintinge spirits of the souldier.

961.

Grace and his
partie goen to
Conaght.

The Kellyes and other parties in Conaght, inuitinge Grace thither, promisinge to ioine with him, then upon sight, in pursuance herof, Grace, Colonell Thibott Gawly, Colonell Charles Molloy, Colonell Daniell Carroll, and Mellaghlin OMorra, and their respectiue parties marched ouer the Shanon, arriuinge to Portdumny, did burne and pilladge the same. Loghreagh and others were searued alike, and would ouer run the whole countrie in that nature (as noe opposition giuen) but that Colonell Thibott Bourke (whoe of all Conaght men, their assurance unto the contrarie notwithstandinge, came to them) aduiced our Linster comannders to accept of contribution, either of money or prouision or both, as best computinge their now condition, more sutable to the humanity of men sworne to Catholicke Confederacie, and more gratfull unto the inhabitants, which resulte was embraced; the contributors thereby well pleased, whoe dayly flocked to the campe, with their baggs of money and beefes. In this pleasant behauiour and ioyfull demeanour they spent the matter of 10 or 11 dayes, expectinge still the coniunction of other members, though against the sense of some of the comannders (as better preuidinge what after hapned), gatheringe necessarie ominous inductions of former premisses. The enemye all this interim addressed himself for the destruction of those, as the hopfullest partie of Linster or Conaght, raised men in all the garrisons of Linster, of the counties of Limbricke, Waterforde, Typrarie, beside what number he had from Athlone and Conaght upon this score, made upwards 1500 horse and soe many dragunes, which was soe priuatly acted, with soe extraordinary dispatche, that the Irish neuer dreamed of such a busines, other then by a flyinge reporte (as they were pleased to tearme it), did heare that an enemye armie did gather into Athlone, which (though true) they did not feare. The 19th of June Colonell Grace was enformed by a speciall freinde that a greate bodie of the enemye armie was at instante within 5 miles to his campe, and seriously aduiced him to retire himself unto a place of saftie, and thereby frustrate the enemies presente designe, and by that likly (said he) will despaire to meete such another occasion this long while. He is stronge in both horse and foote, treble your number; take the aduice of a freinde in time, without delaie or dispute, etc. This soe sure and

The enemye
preparations.

A letter of
intelligence
to Grace.

The Irish
demeanour.

true intelligence, cominge into the hands of Grace, did shewe it to his comannders (onely suppressinge the parties name), euery one aboundinge in his proper sense. Diuerse were their opinions, extrauagant their censures, and their verdict dissonant. Some saide it was false, and forged by the contributors; others that they did not much care, the place was aduantageous and stronge. Colonell Thibott Bourke did auerr this intelligence to be onely patronized by the now contributors as wearie of our neighbourhoode, who econfirmed this intimation by seuerall protestations and oathes, as for reason alleadinge that if any such had beene he might haue as true a relation of it as any other. Though Grace and Gawlye (as better experimented then the rest) did conceaue it noe wisdome or policie not to receaue as truth such an intelligence, cominge from a disinterested person, euer yett reputed a freinde of the cause, and a man spotlesse in his conuersation and behauour, notwithstandinge ouervoted by foolish and inconsiderate multitude, did smuther the busines, leaste to be charactered with the ugly staine of cowards in the conceite of non-souldiers.

1652.

Diuersitie of
opinions did
marr the
busines.

Next morninge, another more pressinge intelligence, either from the former or another such, that sure and certaine the enemie marched directly towards them, but the foolish credulitie those men had of proper iudgment, did soe intoxicat their understandinge, that they will beleue this neither; of this sense was a lumpe of fleshe, that should more then any other, for proper aduantage to borowe time, chaunge grounde; but whoe can tell but he had industriously don this to betraye this partie, as in the very last disposition to become one of Judas his traine? Mellaghlin OMorra did seriously aduice them at leaste to chaunge grounde. Grace and Gawly, aprouinge the same, made themselues readie. Now marchinge from thence but halfe a mile, when such as disproued the former intelligence as truth, might now, to their confusion, sweare the contrarie, as obsearuinge the enemie scout and himself in two or three grose bodies neere hande, wherupon Mellaghlin, comannder of the foote for that expedition, was interposed by Colonell Carroll, woulde neither obeye him or staye for orders, but disorderedly ran to the brim of a bogge, wheare he obsearued the enemie attemptinge to wade ouer to oppose him; the enemie, sensible of the danger, comannded the dragunes to light and make good the passage; now Carroll did wishe himself farr off, which Morra obsearuinge, comannded Colonell Molloye to relieue him; the relieuer founde him shewinge the enemie a paire of heeles. The horse could not helpe the foote on either side; three seuerall times the Irish foote did beate the enemie dragoniers out of the bogge into the continente.

962.

Another letter
of intelligence.

Colonell
Danicell
Carroll.

The enemie
apeeringe.

Colonell
Carrolls
flight.

Mellaghlin OMorra, as a good souldier, preuidinge by the circumstances of affaires how matters were likely to succede, aduiced Grace to look to the saftie of his horse, and retire in time from the fiede, for you cannott, saide he, helpe the foote, and if the enemie will once possesse himself of the passage you are not of abilitie to face him, therefore make use of time while it is offered; the leaste of euills is to be choosen, that some of us perish rather then the whole exposed to distruction; the foote will make the passage good untill you be out of sight, then wee haue the bogge ourselues. But Colonell Grace would not, to sawe himself, abandon his foote, unto the uttermost tryall. But the enemie, gaininge the passage, rushed as a wherlewinde amonge the Irish horse, whoe for the double number coragiously behaued

963.

Mellaghlin
OMorra's
aduice.

The skirmishe
of [blank]
neere
Loghbreagh.

1652.

Gawly and
Bourke killed.Thomas
Geoghegan
slaine.Daniell
Carroll
submitted.

themselves, but the multitude preuaylinge, still reliued by freshe supplies and re-searues. Grace, now too late, hauinge had noe indifferencie in the field, with onely 10 horse did gallope awaye, as not able to helpe the rest in theire now extremitie, left them engaged, unto the uttermost tryall; where Colonell Gawly, Colonell Thibott Bourke (the one behauinge himself mightie valiant, as in such actions his custome euer had beene), and seuerall other horse haue perished, and others taken prisoners, whoe within 3 daies were enlarged for exchange of others upon paroall this longe while. Amonge the rest was taken prisoner Fr. Iohn Tyrrell, Guardian of Kildare, remitted to Limbricke, and from thence to Spaine. The Irish lost the most parte of theire horse, though not soe many men, as of such a sudaine attempte may be expected; fewe foote miscaried, for keepinge still the bogg, onely of note in defence of the passadge was killed one Thomas Oge Mc Thomas Mc Huigh Geoghegan, aparant heire of Ballintober in Kinaliagh. This skirmish haue beene acted the 20th of June this yeare, to the noe small discouragment of the Catholicke partie in all Irelande. Colonell Daniel Carroll and his men directed his course from thence to Ormonde, and without delaye intertaind a parleye with the enemie, and sendinge for Iohn Fitz Patricke, his former colonell, to mediat for him, in order of conditions and layinge downe armes to the enemie comissioners, which he had don mightie well and thriued, though many letters and dispatches were by Colonell Grace transmitted unto him by Father Thomas Kenedye, perswadinge the contrary, puttinge him in minde of his former recente oathe, alleadinge to be euer characterized with the impious and ungodly staine of publicke periurie, by all men and writters. All which is not of possibilitie to impede this man to run the same score of treacherie with others, pursuant therto, did lay downe armes in Nenagh in vertue of Kilkenny articles. Now was Colonell Grace stickinge onely to Colonell Molloye, Lieutenant-colonell Dwyne, and fewe of Carrolls men that adhered unto him. What-euer Grace had hitherto don, is by proper tergiuersation now undon, himself and his partie, to verifie our Aphorisme, this distruction was decreede by higher power, therefore not resistable. Those wee leaue for a while to giue waye to nature, to vente saltrie teares in punishment of proper error, and turne to his Excellencie the Lord Marquesse of Clanricarde.

CHAPTER XVII.

964.

Dion. lib. 4.
Lip. Pol. l. 5.
Laert. l. 6.
Veget. l. 9.
Petron. Sat.

It sufficeth not to the strenght of the armes to haue fleshe, bloude, and bones, unlesse they haue allsoe sinewes to streatche out or pull in for defence of the bodie; soe an armie, consistinge of many valiant men, and furnished with all other warrlike habillements, is but lame and usclesse, and unable to moue itself without moneyes, the sinewes of war.

Quisquis habet nummos securo nauiget aura.

This prime obiecte of this our present chapter is Deputie Clanricarde, of whose addresses unto the province of Vlster, containinge many braue recent resolutions of newe union and Confederacie, to continue unto the uttermost hazard of both life and fortune wee touched (n^o. 903 and forward), and haue noted n^o. 910, the cause that

moues him to insinuat himself thus farr unto the Vlstermen, verily for noe other end then to bringe them upon the stage, to cause them run the same race of treacherie with him. If they did understande this much (as they should if many experiences of the like consequence did harbour in their rememoratiue facultie, they would proue more wise than they haue don at present.) But captiuated their owne understandinge, and joined with him, as desired (by the surmishes of fewe anti-politicians whose names I forbear), contrarie to the 9th Acte, conceaued by the Clergie Congregation of the prouince of Ardmagh, in Cloghwater, concerninge the concesssion of Generall Owen Oneylles desire (of hapie memorie), in the capitulation with Ormond and his Comissioners (n^o 575), and contrarie to the sense of the dellegats of the saide prouince, and signed as a proper acte of the same congregation (as n^o. 767), and lastly contrarie to My Lord Primats desire, in his addresse unto the gentry of Vlster, and their proper answere unto his Grace (as n^o 791 and 792 may apeare), against all experience, practice, and those seuerall actes, doe embrace his motion, and drawes towards him towards the county of Letrim (though their intentions were good and reall, yett were not wise, and, saluo meliori iudicio, obnoxious of the former acts. Before this newe Generalls arriuall Dowaltagh *Cuoch* and some other Conaghtmen, that would not adhere unto Clanricard other then under the shelter* of the Vlster forces, did joine with Vlster, now together comanded a partie to Hameltowne, a stronge and comodious place, in the barony of Rosscloghar, in Dartrimaglantie, which was surprised. The garrison, hapninge to be all abroade, the partie cominge betweene them and home, killed them, intred the same, riche and plentifull of both prouision and amunition, couered with leade, a most necessarie ware for that armie, made hauocke of all, rifled the house, and demolished two or three garrisons the tooke in them parts before his Excellencie arriued, with noe losse or labour and greate profit, that it was thought to be a prosperous begininge, and the end would proue nolesse.

Clanricarde now apeeringe, not in the posture promised in his letters, forcing a passage, as not of that abilitie, weakly accompanied, with two small regiments at the most, both purse and traine more capable of receauing a subsidium charitatum then yelde any; howeuer, musteringe his now armie, was founde to be in the heade (as he speakes himselfe) of 9000 able men, mightie desirous to shewe themselves in the fieelde against their enemie, and specially in Conaght. And though seuerally invited thither by his Excellencie, now against the sense of eache comander and other, did not admitt any such motion, as well knowinge it to be more conducible to the generall good, as too weake against this armie, and before any relife could apeare, this present armie (if not crubbed by him) might ouer runn the greatest parte of the countrie. And in case the enemie was reliued, the countrie, stronge of mountaines, woodds, boggs, and inaccessible places, the armie might easily retire to saftie, where at instant they are, all which though moued, was denied, but must goe to the conntie of Tyrconell, where marchinge, none there opposed or shewed his face in the fieelde against them, which the Generall obsearuinge, stormed the castle of Bellashany, tooke it by the losse of some men (and though taken by maine force), against the lawe of armes and the enemies usuall proceedings, gaue all the garrison quarter of their liues, leauinge there the matter of 300 men, marched away the

1652.

The foolish credulitie of the province of Vlster.

They are obnoxious off, etc.

Hameltowne surprised by the Vlster forces.

965.

The composition of Clanricards armie in Vlster 9000.

Clanricards drift for destruction. Bellashany taken.

1652. matter of 30 miles, without actinge any service, either killinge, preyinge, takinge garrisons, or forcinge contribution, and by importunat perswasions gaue waye to the souldier to gett his onely dayly prouision from the enemye.
966. Sir Charles Coote, resident in Conaght, enformed of the Vlster armies composure and strenght, was dubious what best to doe, as not of abilitie to meete them in the fiede, not aboue three thousande, both horse and foote, and bringinge soe many would leaue his garrisons subiecte unto the mercie of the meanest Torie. But re-
 ceauinge further intelligence of his cossen Clanricards progresse, was assured of his humanitie. Wherefore, resoluinge to followe him, gathered his armie unto a bodie, and marched towards Tyrconell, and arriuinge to Bellashana, stormed the castle, which, after 3 daies sieged not reliued, was surrendered upon quarter of life, which, though authentickly grannted was not obsearued, for all were putt to the sworde; by this onely acte, the Vlster armie lost all theire labour, and the liues of 500 of theire men since they came under the commande of Clanricarde, which he might easily preuente if soe disposed, demolishinge the castle of Bellashana aforesaide, or builde a forte in that straight passadge betweene the counties of Letrim and Tyrconell, and take the other garrisons there abouts, and soe cleere that conntie and impede the enemye incursions that waye, an easie busines for a comannder of his condition then. But to take that onely castle in the heart of a stronge enemye, without securinge as much as one passadge, and goinge with soe braue an armie soe farr into the conntie, without actinge the leaste service, therby gaue ample waye unto eache meane understandinge for all misconstructions, that wittingly did expose the one and other for distruction. Other enemye forces arriued unto the countie of Cauan, under the leadinge of Venables, to repaire the castle of Bellanacargie, Phillipe Mc Huigh OReyllies house, which he neuer attempted untill he sawe the Vlstermen, under Clanricards commande. Intelligence cominge to the Irish campe, that Venables arriued to the conntie of Cauan aforesaide: the comannders of Vlster did supplicat his Excellencie to be pleased to marche towards the saide countie to oppose the enemye proceedings; after many serious ouertures, with much adoe and greate deliberation gaue waye thereto; thither arriuinge, seated himself in Therbert, 5 miles from Bellanacargie, where he continued upwards of 3 weekes, while the enemye builded the castle, beinge not aboue 2500 stronge, and his Excellencie hearde upon 9000 soe neere home all this interime, did not giue the enemye the leaste interruption all the while; noe, not as much as one false alarum, though too often and vehemently solicited to the contrary by all the multitude, comannder and souldier, and specially by those of greatest intreste therin. The shallowest witts may without impeachment unto any, howe indifferent soeuer, giue uerditt against those actions and theire author, to be noe waye for service or preservation, rather for extirpation and distruction. The worke finished by the enemye, left a garrison there under this greate warriors nose, and ran to the buildinge of other demolished forts, upon straights and passadges, as he sawe cause, and that without interruption, for the Irish were closely kept in the campe, none permitted to leaue it, either for forage, prouision, or service against the enemye or enemye quarter; now and then did comannde parties to the keraghts, that depended on themselues, to force beefes to maintaine the armie, though this was in high preiudice unto the poore (with the
- Sir Charles Coote, 3000 men stronge.
- Bellashany regained by Coote.
- The willfull omission of Clanricarde.
967. Venables repaired the castle of Bellanacargie.
- Clanricarde, continuinge in Therbert all the while, with 9000 and the enemye with onely 2500 stronge.

curses and banes of widowes and orphans, and others of both secular and regular clergimen, as without respecte of qualitie or sex impouerished), and in greate quantitie (as upwards of 3000 beefes spent in this maner, exacted from the poore aforesaide), came too shorte to the multitude, in soe much that they starued, though stronge and in a plentifull countrie, noe redresse apceered by the Generall, other then biddinge them to eate all their owne unto the last cowe, and not to spare any. The exclamations of the councell of warr, the supplications of experimented comanners, the howlerly moanes and cries of the poore, nor the momentarie addresses of the interested, was not of force to moue Clanricarde either to pittie or alter this ungodly course, rather followed the dictamen of proper braine and passion, without regarde or respecte to ciuilitie, humanitie, or godlinesse, wherein shewed neither wisdome or policie, rather treacherie and faction, as here observable.

1652.

3000 beefes
did Clanricarde
eate from the
keraghts.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE greatest assurance of an armie is in the prudent gouernment of the comanner, the greatest weakninge therof is by disorder and want of discipline, the greatest cause of disorder is want of paye, for paye is the poore souldiers aquavitæ; but want is such an aquafortis that it eates through the iron doores of discipline, for the enemie sworde and forraigne force doe not soe easily breake the squadrons of an armie and put all to route as the steely headed weapon of this home-brede mutiner. That prince, therefore, whoe would be well serued and obeyed in what he comannedeth, must take heede that he suffer not a greater power in the campe then his owne. This powerful comanner is necessitie:

968.

Senec. Troa.

Fulg. l. 7.

Cardan.

Comic. Græc.

Agath.

Prudentia manuum viribus præpollet.

Our present Generall used the theoricke of this politicke lesson, otherwise would not assume all managment unto himself onely, lettinge loose the raines of his passion, yeldinge most credit unto them, reiectinge the prudent resulte of graue counsellours. By whose wisdome and sage application in, before and after the time of Generall Owen Oneylle, of hapie memorie, haue aproued by longe experience their faithfull and censure service, in behalf of the comon goode; such, in matters of consequence (as the present, no lesse then the losse of a kingdome), should haue the greatest stroke, whose aduice in this behalfe neuer tended either to soothe his humors, or for any particular auayle, rather meerly for the publicke behoofe; all his practise was opposite unto those former auxioms, for the militia could neuer haue any assurance in the gouernment of such a man, deuoid of all prudence, whereby moate-eaten-necessitie did soe swaye in the campe, that discipline was cleane forgotten, disorder introduced, and the souldiers aquavitæ banished, whereby our Generall did render himself deseruedlie to all misconstructions of either realitie of intention, loyaltie in action, censeritie in proceedings, fidelitie in promise, or prosperitie in the issue of affaires, which punishment was worthy implied on Vlster armie, for their prodigall belife in giuinge credence unto such a man, noted in all Europe

The gentry of
Vlster.

Clanricards
character.

1652. (for the most parte) of all misbeleefe, periurie and disloyaltie to both God and man.

969. The militia now, though late (better late then neuer), doe reflecte upon the busi-
 nes, and consider themselves to haue lost the maine by the bargaine. Beside the
 dishartninge and discouragment of the militia, their miscariage and death by
 famen and otherwise, their scatteringe away for want of prouision, the beggeringe
 of their poore followers and churchmen, by slaughteringe their cowes without
 remorse or scruple, and allsoe the onely countie untill then in their possession
 untouched, as a sure bulwarke for their saftie, is at present in their owne sight
 manned and fortified by a farr weaker enimie then they, and all now destined to
 fate and distructione, all which by the disservice of the now Generall: By this and
 other apprehensions of affaires the campe dayly defluxed and decreased, soe that
 publickly some companies did marche awaye, none daringe or offeringe to hinder
 them; naye, the very Conaght men forsooke their colours, and went awaye to
 relieue themselves. Clanricard, obsearuinge this obstruction, remoued his campe, as
 too neere the enimie, or rather to giue him waye to build a forte in Therberte (as
 he had don in other places in the county), leaste the Irish should offer to hould the
 same with Cloghwater for their future saftie. Noe sooner did Clanricarde deserthe
 Therbert then the enemy arriued thither, and made the same defensible, soe that
 this Peere-Generall did onely searue there to encourage the enimie to builde forts in
 the countie of Cauan, and crubb the Irish natiues (whoe alias could neuer brooke
 such a base acte), leaste they giue a rubb or hinderance therto, which I leaue to God
 to vendicat, mihi vendicta et ego retribuam.

970. Clanricard, obseruinge by the defluxion of his armie, and incontestable and hapie
 progression of the enimie affaires, his proper haruest to be at hande: wherfore
 addressed himself for journey to Conaght, passinge his time in Vlster, as aforesaide,
 the matter of 9 or 10 weekes, whom Dowaltagh *caoch* (as acquainted with his
 impious pranks) did not accompanye, and though meanelly accompanied, did not feare
 the enimie, tooke his course for Corrabuguin, Macanauas house, onely (as was
 bruted) to inuite the enimie to take and man that stronge place, which he had don
 in his uerie sight; his Excellencie tooke his course from then, not fearinge any enimie
 garrison, and noe meruayle, as prouinge in this his former comannde and journey
 their reall and best benefactor; noe sooner arriued unto his place of saftie (if any
 such might be had in Conaght then), in the countie of Mayo, or its confines and
 bonds with Galwaye, then with all possible speede did send unto the enimie,
 desiringe him to accept of his submission, which fourthwith was grannted. Scarce
 did any belieue that he could possibly arriue to the county of Mayo; nay, Sligo
 (consideringe the difficultie and danger of the passadges); when publickly bruted
 that he made his conditions, none in the Vlster armie at leaste did beleue this in
 soe shorte a time, unlesse he had it in his budghett before he parted Vlster; it was
 impossible to receaue and send dispatches to and fro since his Excellencie tooke his
 journey for Conaght unto the daye of that intimation, in case there were noe dispute,
 pro uel contra; notwithstandinge any the former reasons, the relation was true, had
 his conditions made the same time and hower that Galwaye; whether his were
 particulars or the same wee leaue disputable. If the same with Galwaye, he did

The considera-
 tion of the
 Vlster armie at
 Therbert.

Clanricarde is
 the enimie
 harbinger.

Clanricards
 continuance
 in Vlster and
 now deserts it.

Clanricards
 extraordinarie
 dispatche in
 submittinge.

Whoe had
 onely Galwaye
 conditions.

improue them since, in that his disseruice in Vlster, wheare verily he desearued 1652.
verie well of the enemie there. If particular, wee neuer had a sight of them, before
or after his saide submission, though too earnest for it.

It is worthy obsearuation, that this braue Peere shoulde render an attentie care 971.
unto the threats and menaces that God allmightie, by his holy Prophett Isayas, Isayæ. 22.
e. 22, did thunder at Sebna, which, ad literam, doe compite Clanricarde, si dimittetur
iniquitas hæc vobis donec moriamini? Doe you thinke (saide God) that this your
iniquitie is pardonable duringe life? Quid tu hic? Coronans, coronabit te
Dominus tribulatione, quasi pilam mittet te in terram latam et spatiosam: ibi
mories, et ibi erit currus gloriæ tuæ, ignominia domus Domini tui. What doe you
here? to deceaue my poor people, circumuent and surprise? I will crowne you,
saide the Lord, with tribulation, and packe you hence, like a tenish-ball, unto a large
and spacious contry; there you shall die, and the coche of your triumphe shalbe
earued with the ignominie of the house of God, caused by you in this kingdome
to be in domo luctus, in mourninge weede. Beware, beware Clanricarde; I doe
veryly beleue you desearue this punishment more then Sebna, against whom
imediately was pronounced. Many treacheries and mistrusts haue I euer reade,
as well in holy writte as prophane histories, but such as Clanricards I haue neuer Genes. 37.
yett seene or reade to the best of my knowledge. In Genesis wee reade that the
brothers of Ioseph betrayed and sould him unto the Madianit passengers. The
posteritie of this saide Ioseph, storminge the citty of Lusca, in Iudca, meetinge
one of the natiues of that place, promised him particuler conditions, and directe
them where they might without danger enter, wherunto he condescended, and was
performed, with Dauid flyinge from Kinge Saule, persecutinge him to deathe, the
Sypheis came and enformed his Majestie where Dauid frequented, and promised to
conducte the kinge, where he might lay hands on him. Symon, of the tribe of
Benjamin, betrayed the church treasure unto Apollonius, gouernor of Cœlesiria. 2 Mach. 3.
Jason, brother to the high prieste Onias, betrayed the truste his saide holy brother
reposed in him, and bought from the pagan kinge, Antiochus, the non-venable prieste-
hoode. Menelaus betrayed this same Jason (*mas feall filfethar*) in both his trust, 2 Mach. 4.
priesthoode, and siluer. Judas betrayed his owne master, our Sauour, for a thinge
of nothinge, to his proper distruction. ibidem.
Math. 26.

If wee compare any of those, nay, all simul sumptis, except the sellinge and betray- 972.
inge of our Sauour (which transcendeth all humaine capacitie) unto Clanricards
acte, wee shall see it to surmounte all. The first treacherie here mentioned, was
soe apointed by God as the true type of His onely Sonn incarnated. The citty of
Lusca was by Gods apointment allotted unto the sons of Ioseph. In all the rest is
founde onely the betrayinge of one man, or tendinge to the use of one man. But
Clanricards acte was really the betrayinge of a whole nation, a whole kingdome,
the three dearest intrests of rationall creatures, religion, liues, and best fortunes.
And doe agrauat not onely in circustance but in substance his acte, that all those
haue been intrusted unto him by bothe Kinge and Countrie. And not onely
betrayinge those in a meane and moderate waye, but by extraordinarie inuentions, by
periurie, perfidie, crafte, deceite, and faction, for proote wherof you may seriously
peruse what wee and other authors haue, in all this discouerie writen of him: and
Apply to
Clanricarde.

1652. —
Obsearue his
deceites.

withall call to minde his extrauagant and maliciose proceedings, in concluding the peace of Galwaye, in imployinge Dowdall, agent to Dublin. In edginge on the comissioners of Linster to run the same score (all which as sure as death), and after all this, without shame or honor, disclaiminge in theire actes as offended for those treacherous surrenders (as he tearmes them), faininge to quitt the kingdome; and again takes a freshe resolution to continue his authoritie for the now distruction onely of Vlster, as observable by any indifferent judge, by his actions there, bringinge the armie there to rent and diuision; which don (his onely obiecte embraced the peace of Galwaye, neuer makeinge mention in his conditions of those poore men that foolishly adhered unto him, and haue beene in a high measure soe farr beyonde reckoninge (as aforesaide), the Vlstermen, I meane, and Dowaltagh *caoch*, whom he neuer inuited to submission, rather left them all upon the last tripp of all fate; neither spoke a worde of clergimen, other then such anti-diuienes as still adhered unto him in his former faction, as Tuaime, Killfinora, Killalla, Kilmachoe, and the rest of Conaght clergie (except Clonferte, Dr. Egan, and Dr. Kellye) that ran the same race, were included, mentioned, and comprehended in his conditions. Such as obeyed My Lord Nuncios censures, or haue beene well affected towards the generall cause, are now excepted against, and must either goe for Spaine to Inishbofinie or to Vlster, or perish.

Ex operibus
eorum cognos-
cetis eos.

973.
Clanricards
encomies in
Scripture.
See what they
imply.

It is very strange what patience God Allmightie doe use towards this Accaron of beleefe and vertue, Amon of a whole Catholicke nation, Amorrhæus of kingly scepter, Babell of Irelands warr, Bela of the comon-wealthe, Cozby of all honestie, Doeg of distruction, Horeb of holy religion, Horma of all ecclesiasticall censures, Jebus of church imunities, Jeroboam of christian people, Joas of Gods asistance, Isboseth of all confederacie, Iscariotes of murder and massacre, Pharao of all natiue intreste, and Pharisæus of godly union and association. Greate and extraordinarie I conceaue the patience of the rightfull judge towards this man, or rather monstrum naturæ, to whose actions doe compite all that is genuine unto the former names; and when the Omnipotence of God could not brooke the exorbitancie of either the respectiue persons here particularized without high punishment (as the curious reader may obsearue) in holy write. Why then, I saye, doe His Diuine Majestie forbear with this man, in whom are coupled and disciphered, as exemplare, all the malice, mischief, crueltie, and inhumanitie of the former alreadie mentioned. If Core, Dathan and Abiron, with 250 more, theire wives, children, tabernacles, and gods were absorpted and swallowed unto the bottomlesse pitt of hell, and burnt aliue by fire sent from heauen to that effecte, onely for contestinge with Moyses and Aaron in the behalfe of theire authoritie and power; and next daye for makinge a challenge onely unto Moyses and Aaron of the mortalitie aforesaide, as actors therof, 14,000 and 700 was deuowered by heauenly fire; what, thinke you, doe Clanricarde expecte at the hands of the same righteous Judge, soe often prouoked unto high indignation for persecutinge (not the figure) as Moyses and Aaron, but whom the figure did represente, the reallitie therof), the Popes Nuncio, and sellinge him unto the towne of Galwaye for £3000, and banished him; kept in durance, Fr. Thomas Mc Kyernan, Prouinciall of the Friers Minors; used Walter Linche, Bishope of Clonferte, noe better; laye, to his power, in waite, to spill

Numer. 26.

Whom did
Clanricarde
persecute?

the bloude of inoocent Father Anthony Geoghegan, Vicar-generall of Meathe, and missionarie of the Sacred Congregation of Cardinalls de Propaganda Fide. If Sainete Paule (when persecutor of holy church) was hurled headlonge from his horse to the earthe, mightie crushed and made blinde for 3 daies and soe many nights, onely for caryinge letters from the ciuill magistrate, to attatche and aprehende the bodies of all Christians resident in the city of Damasco, what doe Clanricarde expecte, that tendered the necks of all the Catholicks of Irelande (nay, and of other nations) upon a bloudie scaffold of a mercilesse enemie? All the penns in Europe had enough to doe to write on this subiecte; but untill God doe awake him unto seuerer judgment, and giue him the jornall due to iniquitie, wee leaue him addressinge himself in Dublin for Englande, where his lady is this twel-monthe with the Parliament in greate requeste, desiringe his now attendance there, brings with him his owne prelate, Oliuer Darcy, bishope of Drumore (seuerally spoken of hertofore) to indeere him unto the Parliament, for his reallitie towards that gouernment hactenus. Lett us now turne to Linster.

1652.

Acts 9.

Wee leaue
him now
goinge for
Englande,
and Drumore
in his company.

CHAPTER XIX.

ACTIONS once resolued, like fixed starrs should hould one and the same station of firmenesse; they should not be subiecte to irregular and retrograde motions, for the vacillation and irresolution of a prince, whose thoughts are whirled aboute the voluble sphere of seuerall perswasions, and neuer fixed in one center of resolued constancie, turnes to his dishonor, and preiudice of the affaire in hande. He must therefore not resolue, or goe through with his resolution.

974.

Lip. Pol. 4.

Tacit. Hist.

lib. 3.

Claud. Pan. 2.

Esto animus tibi
Rerumque prudens, et secundis
Temporibus dubijsque rectus.

Hor. 4. Od. 9.

In Lowe-Linster was noe man in armes other then what depended of Bryan Mc Phelim Byrne, his brother Huigh, and other fewe that belonged to Luke Towhill, chiefe of that name; many bickerings they had with the enemie, and still thriued. Wherefore, gatheringe the bodie of an armie from both Monster and Linster, 7000 stronge, with a numerous heape of sheathes and other instruments to cutt and mowe corne, beinge of opinion to be mightie difficulte, either to vanquishe or route these men, as longe as they enjoye any competencie of corne or beefes. Pursuant to this resulte, the enemie intends to preuente their harueste, and cutt all their corne before its season, and cutt, to burne all in the felde; by this stratageme to inuite the peasants and other such as had not bene souldiers, to call for conditions; all which was punctually acted by the enemie. All the corne in the whole countie of Wickloe was demolished; wherupon a proclamation was published in the aduerse campe, that such of the natiues (of what condition soeuer) as were willinge to come to champion grounde from them montaines, with their keraghts and goods, to be fourthwith protected in both liues and goods, wherupon

The enemie
stratageme in
the county of
Wickloe.

1652. ?
Edmond
Reylly and
Fr. Laurence
Birne ceciner-
unt palino-
diam.

Væ vobis per
quos scanda-
lum venit.

The character
of those
members.

Huigh
Mc Phelim for
Spaine, and
Bryan Mc
Phelim for
Inishbofiny.

many stole awaye with their keraghts; naye, all the clergie of that countie (except one, Franncis Gaffneye, a fryer of the Order of Minors), haue runned the same race; and the very Vicar-generall of Dublin, by name Edmonde Reyllye, a man censer and upright, hertofore reputed. And allsoe Fr. Laurence Byrne, Guardian of the Fryers of Ballinabarny, and brother to Bryan Mc Phelim aforesaide. The seculars, obsearuinge the clergie to flenche awaye from the comon cause, in vertue of the aboue mentioned proclamation, was motiue enough to followe that example, nowe in heapes did render obersance unto the same edicte, in soe much that fewe of the militia did continue with Bryan Mc Phelim and Huigh; nay, were dayly in danger to be betrayed by their proper followers, bad members of the comonwealthe, and speciallie by Donogh Mc Sheane Mc Mortagh, of the descente of Gowlanakirkie, whoe pretends to issue from that noble familie of the Towhills, but is truely and really of baser extraction, by name Fowly, Edmonde Byrne, of Ballinaniruny, Richard Mc Cormacke OQuin, of Monignasruill, Teige Mc Daniell of Ballinarabin, in Sillela, all which are of the countie of Wickloe, the scumm and froathe of all honest and censere dealings, the encendaries of them parts, spies for the enemye against those poore men, sellinge their proper soules for a paltrie litle gaine, and the liues of their best benefactors for nothinge. Another comrade of those Anti-Christians, one Thibott Walshe, of Culluan, in the countie of Kildare, a seducer of all impietie, the chiefe Mercurie of Belsebub, a prime promotor against religious and devout men, a spie for the enemye in the counties of Kildare, Wickloe, Katarlogh, and Wexforde; by those specially were the former gentlemen in mightie danger of their liues euery daie, but that they kept a good watche, sleepinge still in places remote from others, and not frequented by any. The huntinge of those hell-hounds in pursuite of these innocent soules did totally breake their necks, for if inclined to call for conditions, none would the enemye grannte, rather use them with the extremitie of the lawe; soe tossed for a longe time, still expectinge foraigne reliefe. But when all fayled, and they mightie impouerished, Lieutenant-generall Huigh Byrne, in the nature of a poore comon souldier, went to shoare, gott shipinge, transported himself for some Catholicke countrie; as for Bryan he ventured through all danger, to take his course for the North of Irelande, to liue and dye there with the poore Vlstermen, wheare he arriued with saftie, and within a shorte time his carde styred him to Inishbofiny. These resolutions once thought upon, were extempore putt in execution, whom wee leaue for a while, and speake of Monster forces.

CHAPTER XX.

1652.

It is hearde for a man soe warily to walke in any condition of charge or seruice as that he dash not his foote against the stone of offence, especially in that of comannde, wheare he must use his authoritie sparingly that woulde keepe it longe. Wherfore that Generall which bindes not himself within the limitts of his comission, nor useth the aduice of his counsell of warr, shall neuer want secret enemies, amonge these he hath neglected, to urge his transgression and worke his confusion.

975.

Tacit. An. 11.

Salust. Cat.

Terent. Adel.

Commin. l. 1^o.

Memini regem Lodouicum mecum sic loqui : ut diceret ; fieri aliquando ut operæ nauatæ laudabiliter minus pretium sit ; id que culpa eorum qui nauassent : dum elati quadam confidentia insolenter et proterue se gererent.

I have seuerally hertofore spoken of Muskryes faction, which was noted and obsearued by all the well affected in the whole kingdome ; notwithstandinge the province of Monster, in theire nowe ebbing, did apointe him Generall of the Catholicke forces there, both he and the rest of that province, sittinge in a provincially assembly, did sweare a newe confederacie ; notwithstandinge which, and that he dashed his foote seuerally hertofore against the stone of offence, was neuer so politickly giuen as to use this his recent authoritie sparingly (though intendinge to keepe it longe), bindinge himself within the limitts of his comission : neither usinge the aduice of his counsell of warr, or abettors, rather behauinge himself most peremptorie, bould, insolent, and peruerse, with a self conceite of omnimoda potestas, apointinge agents to the assemblye of Linster, Colonell Power, Colonell Duyne, and Patricke Bryan, for a newe Confederacie and association, se solo, without the sense or priuitie of the saide Monster assemblye (as n^o 852 unto the n^o 856 inclusiue mentioned), where is touched many meetings and ouertures betweene him and Sir Walter Dungan, this by the authoritie of Linster assemblye, that by the mediation of Colonell Power (aforesaide), joininge themselues priuatly in union and confederacie ; and the assemblye of Monster, both nobilitie, gentry, and clergie, mightie earnest, by theire publicke and authenticke instruments, desiringe the same, could neuer obtaine from Linster-pseudo-assemblye as much as one worde in returne thereof, and now are uerie busie to haue conference with Muskrye (though it be by the mediation of his horse boye) ; what woulde any man judge of such extrauagant proceedings, but that those are of one and the same sense, and the assemblye of Monster reall and faithfull ? And if euer dubious of the veritie herof, you maye be easily perswaded off nowe, for as soone as Muskrye was enformed of Linster submission, and of Clanrickards intentions, he apointed seuerall meetings betweene himself and the enemie, and did not admitt any whom he suspected loyall to accompany him, or imparte to either counsell of warr or priuat comannder what he intended, till all was don ; and contrarie to the expectation of all the well affected, invited the enemie to come unawares unto the walls of Rosse, wheare he, then with his armie, resided, promisinge to giue intrance, which was don, accordinge couenante.

Muskryes
treacherie.

When noble Mortagh OBryan obsearued the passadge, neuer expectinge such 976.

1652.

Mortagh
OBryans
behaviour and
flight.

Epistola
Catholica
Judæ
Apost.

treacherie, addressed himself to Muskrye, desiringe Con * whoe answered that it was then too late, that his conditions were already * querelant, in soe peremptorie a time could not expostulate any further, as to know what did they importe (for the enemy was already partlie within doores), ran furthe, and by much adoe hapily had the leasure to call onely for a 100 men of his proper partie, and passed the other side of the towne, and directed his course for the mountaine. The rest of the commanders that had bene well affected, as not as warie as Mortagh, were sudainely surprized, and must either submitt upon Muskries conditions or suffer, whose conditions had bene in effecte the same that the Linster comissioners had obtained. Thus did Muskrye both betraye his proper armie, and ran one and the same score with the abortiue Linster agents, without treatie or capitulation in the clergie behalfe, other then what his exemplars had don; such of his comannders as were loyall and true were mightie pensiue, but now could not helpe it. I will not rayle at this gentlman, rather leaue him to Gods seuerer punishment, whom I hope, ere longe, will haue a tragicall trial therof. Imperat tibi Deus.

CHAPTER XXI.†

977.

An. in Tacit.
1.

Plin. Ep. 8.

Cicer. Philip.
3.

Hom. Iliad. 9.

Claud. Pan.

THERE is noe such fortresse for the saftie of a state as the breasts of subiects armed with loyaltie and loue to their prince and countrie. On the other side, nothinge more endangereth it then their perfidious and rebellious reuolte: which rebells seldome want succours from the foraigne enemy: not in loue to them or care of their cause, but upon some other gainefull or reuengefull purpose.

Peragit tranquilla potestas
Quod violenta nequit, mandataque fortius urget
Imperiosus amor.

Wee left Colonell Grace (n° 963) bemoaninge his losse in Conaght, by proper error, in that unhapie skirmishe, stickinge now onely to Colonell Molloye and fewe others, whoe proued in this extenuitie of affaires mightie base; for the enemy, now encouraged by his late victorie in Conaght, and hauinge to doe, or any to feare in either Linster or Monster, other then this poore partie, makinge a greate bodie of an armie, marched towards Ferkall, in the Kings countie, used seuerall and daylye incursions there, killinge poore people, burninge all corne, in both hagarde and field. Grace, in this interim, and his partie was scattered in woodds and boggs, in loose companies, as not of abilitie together either to enconnter the enemy or relieue themselves for want of prouision. The enemy, enformed of the disabilite, poore and weake composure of the saide partie, fearing noe rubb, satt downe before Insiloghurha (the onely houlte in all Linster for the Irish); many obsearuinge their abiecte condition, studied all waies possible how to saue their proper liues, not

* MS. torn.

† This chapter is numbered xxiii. in the MS., which is apparently a clerical error for xxi., as there is no break in the volume between the end of Chapter xx. and the commencement of this chapter, there numbered xxiii. This erroneous numeration is also corrected in the headings of the succeeding chapters to their end in the present volume.

regarding either honor or conscience; by the said resolution at a stake, occasioned 1652. by the insoluble tye of their former oathe sworne to the contrary. Colonell Molloyes Major, Teige Conor, was the verie first that ran this perfidious race, submitinge unto the enemie, upon a particular score, whose example Captain Terlagh Conor, Captain Adam Molloye, Captain Edward Molloye, and Captain Andrewe Briscoe did followe, with their respectiue parties. Art Mc Huigh OMolloye, cornett of Grace his troupe, a man most intimat and deere unto him, leadinge the horse towards Sliane-Blomae, as not careinge to continue in champion grounde for feare of the enemie, was too often there chased and hunted by the aduersarie, and this by the treacherie of one Mulruna OCarroll, captain of foote, a runawaye from Daniell CCarrolls regiment, upon the saide Daniells reuoltinge submission; and though this captain was highly reputed loyalle for the saide acte, now secretly became a member of the enemie (though in shewe for the Irish), a spie to betraye his colonells horse. The coronett, understandinge the danger, without the priuitie of his colonell, submitted unto the enemie; naye (which is worste), he and others of the same troupe joininge hearts and hands together, to indeere themselues unto the enemie, promised to acte a bloudie scene on the bodie of their quondam deere colonell, to tender his bodie or heade unto their present reconciled freinds. All the remaine of this partie was scattered, as aforesaide, and upon any comannde would not apeere, though seuerally solicited therto, to relieue Inishlogheura.

Grace, herby mightie pensiue and perplexed in minde, went himself in person, 978. in a boate, maugre all danger and opposition. . . . * encouraginge, and giuinge orders for resistance to the defendants to his power for * iecte to all fate, tooke his leaue and came out, and inuitinge such of his partie as was in notionall places to come to him a peremptorie hower, tellinge that the night followinge, he did intende to beate a quarter of the enemie campe; an easie matter, saide he, as beinge too farr from reliefe, and inaccessible by horse: by the onely attempte wee will both relieue our friends and endamage our foe. To this soe honorable, easie, and reasonable motion, noe obedience was yelded, wherby the gentleman acquainted the bishope of Laghline of all the proceedings, desiringe his Lordship may be pleased to grante his licence to make his conditions in time, while somewhat considerable, seeinge noe other remedie did apeere at present. His Lordship at the first, not consideringe the danger as really it had beene, returned noe satisfactorie answere; but Grace, mindfull of his former oathe, and withall obsearuinge his eminent hazarde of both life and fortune, with the impossibilitie (accordinge humane inductions) of subsistinge, did further expostulate with his Lordship, for the granntinge his benediction, makinge a full intimation in his addresse of all the circumstances, inducinge him unto this unexpected relaxation of the aforesaide oathe, which his Lordship seriously consideringe, pittyinge his case, comitted the managment therof unto his owne discretion; upon receipte of this resulte, beinge soe scarce of men, and specially of any whom he may with reason truste to make conditions for him; he writes unto the comannders of the enemie armie to grannte him and twell[ve] more of his partie at his proper choice a safe-conducte with their horse and armes to waite on them in their campe at a peremptorie daye and hower

* MS. torn.

1652.

in order to make conditions, which was upon sight without debate grannted. But alas, the poore colonell had not soe many horse furniture, neither soe many men in posture to appeere before a proud enimie. Wherefore thought more conuenient, and more sutable to his now ebbingge fate, to sue the enimie the seconde time, for a passe to himself and 12 musketires to waite upon him, which noe sooner desired then grannted. But, O miserable state of humaine frailtie, could not make up soe many musketires in any ciuill faction, or honorable deoportment, as such an occasion desired, but must selecte out soe many officers and comannders of both horse and foote, and gathered amonge them 12 fusies, which was sutable and allowable by his saide passe. This don he marched before them to the enimie campe, whom the enimie kindly saluted, honored and esteemed more than he maye expecte in the now ebbingge of his fortune; all ciuill behaiour finished, then they began to treat of peace conditions, proclaiminge in the campe cessation of armes for 3 daies, which had beene the peremptorie time of this treatie, in the interim agreed and concluded as followeth:

979.

Articles of agreement made, concluded, and agreed upon at the leager before Insi logh curhae, this 14th daie of August, 1652, betweene Colonell Jerome Sanchye, Comannder-in-chiefe of the Parliament forces in the county of Typrary, etc., and Colonell Richard Grace, Comannder-in-chiefe of the Irish forces in these quarters, as followeth:

1. In primis, that Captain Teige Carroll, gouernor of the Inshy, shall deliuer up the garrison of the Inshy, with all the armes, amunition, and store of warr, at or before Twesdaye next, beinge the 17th of this month, to Colonell Jerom Sanchye, or to whom he shall apointe for the seruice of the Parliament of the Comonwealth of Englande.
2. The forces under the comannde of Colonell Richard Grace shall deliuer up to Colonell Sanchye, or whome he shall apointe, for the seruice of the Parliament as aforesaide, all their horses and armes (except what is mentioned in the 4th article), on the 26 of this instante, at Birr.
3. That Colonell Grace and the officers and souldiers that submitts now with him, to the authoritie of the Parliament aforesaide, shall haue securitie for life and personall estates, and libertie to recouer their due debts, and shalbe freed from all rest or impleadings, for any contribution or free quarters, or hostile persecution of whatsoever sorte duringe this warr.
4. That the officers shalbe allowed, with such a proportion of horses and armes, as is provided in the articles of Kilkeny in the behalf of the forces of Linster.
5. That they shall haue the like benefitt, as to their reall estates that be held fourth, as others of the like qualification by the Parliament of the Comonwealth of Englande, and pertake of what fauour or priuiledges that shalbe held fourth by them, to the people of this nation.
6. That such whoe bringe in their horses, shall haue libertie to sell them, at the best rate they can, to any officers or souldiers in the Parliament armie: or haue them apraised and sould, as two of Colonell Sanchyes apointment and two of Colonell Grace shall thinke fitt; and the vmperage of the one halfe by those appointed by Colonell Sanchye, and the other halfe by Grace.



*The pourtraiture of Collonell Richard Grace now
utterly routed by the coragious Coll: Sanckey.*

Are to be sould by I. Smith in Back layne 1652.

From an engraving in the British Museum.

J A Burt Lith.

That such of them as will transporte them beyonde seas, to any State in amitie 1652.
to the State of England, shall haue foure monthes time ; a quarter after . . . *
the rest shall haue libertie to liue under the Parliament protection, conforminge 7.
themselves to be subiecte to all acts and ordinance of Parliament; and those that
desires to be transported shalbe freedde to haue the like benefitt of shippinge and
other conueniencies, in order to their transportation, as other parties haue had, or
for the future may be afforded ; and such others as desires to goe alonge with them,
that are not excepted persons, shall haue the like libertie.

That such of the clergie, whoe comes in upon those articles, shall haue the like 8.
time to transporte themselves beyonde seas, with their personall estate, and in the
meane time, liue in the protected quarters unmolested, they actinge nothinge prej-
udiciall unto the State of England : And such of them, that either by sicknesse or
want of shippinge cannot be transported in that time, shall haue such further
additionall allowance of time grannted them, as the Comannnder-in-chiefe of the
Parliament forces of Ireland, or the Comissioners of Parliament shall think fitt.

That the officers and souldiers shall haue a monthes meanes, accordinge to
summers establishment, upon the layinge downe of armes, out of such of their 9
quarters which were assigned unto them, and from whence they receaued contribu-
tion in Maye last, or within seauen monthes before or otherwise, when Colonell
Sanchy shall see conuenient to charge it, in the defecte of the assignation mentioned.
Provided that any of those extende not to the exemptinge of any that had a hand in
any murther or massacre duringe the firste yeare of the warr, from beinge, accord-
inge the due course of lawe, or any that weare guiltie of murther or massacre since,
or any of the Parliament partie that deserted their colours since the Lord-generall
Cromwells first cominge to Ireland.

That noe horseman shall embeazell his horse or armes, or foote souldier his 10.
armes, upon penaltie to be deprived of the benefitt of those articles.

That those of Colonell Grace his partie that are prisoners, shalbe released upon 11.
their layinge downe of their armes, of the parties whoe shall either haue libertie
to goe beyonde seas, or liue in protection, giuinge in securitie not to acte any-
thinge preiudiciall to the Parliament.

Lastly, that hostages shalbe deliuered to Colonell Sanchy for the surrender of 12.
the forte.

Signed : Jerome Sanchy, for the Parliament.

Richard Grace, for the Irish.

Beinge presente at the signinge, scalinge, and deliuey herof, the daye and yeare
aboue mentioned.

Donogh Abbott.
Richard Lehaut.
Owen Molloye.

Copia vera : Ita testor Owen Molloy, Secretarie.

1652.

Additions.

980.

I doe herby engage to provide quarter for such as comes in upon those articles, after their disbandinge, that shalbe free to engage for foraigne service, accordinge to the libertie giuen to them, for foure monthes mentioned, if shippinge be readie sooner in suche places where there maye be most conueniencie, both in order to shippinge and comodation.

Dated at the Leager of Inishloghcurhye, this 14th of August, 1652.

Signed : Jerome Sanchye.

Whearas there may be a scruple made of some officers and souldiers that latly revolted from their subiection to the authoritie of the Parliament, hauing come in and submitted upon the Linster articles, made at Kilkenye, or those made with Colonell Fitz-Patricke, or Colonell ODuyre : that they shall not now be receaued on those articles, but be capable of beinge questioned or otherwise troubled for their aforementioned reuolt. To preuent and remoue the aforementioned scruple, I doe herby declare that I shall not question them for their afore mentioned reuolte, or bringe them unto further trouble ; but they shall quietly and peacably enjoye the protection mentioned in the articles, and such other priuiledges as other the protected partie of the nation, if they continue here or otherwise haue the like freedome of transportation. And those likewise that reuolted from Colonell Carroll shall likewise be receaued to protection upon those articles ; they or any of them beinge to expecte the like fauour for the future, if they shall hear-after decline their protection.

Dated at the campe neere the Inshy, this 14th of August, 1652.

Signed : Jerome Sanchye.

Copia vera : Ita testor Owen Molloye.

CHAPTER XXII.

981.

Petrarch.

Dion. Halyc.

Plini. Paneg.

Livi. l. 4.

SCARRS in a souldiers face are the marks of honor, and wounds in his weake bodie are stronge pleaders for rewarde. Such, therefore, as shall loose any limbe in their countries service, and be disabled for other imployments, are by lawe and their right to be maintained at the countries charges, for rewarde is as stronge a supporter of the State as punishment. Wherefore they whoe actually performe what such lawes justly provide, desearue the sworde of a souldier to be drawn for them in their neede, and be inrolled in the register of fame for euer.

Juven. Sat. 10.

—Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam
Præmia si tollis ?

It is a world of pittie that this gentlman was soe weake in this occasion ; sure if he had such a comanninge power as Westmeath and Dungan (as the list of

winter quarter did sett out) 7500 foote and 2200 horse, he would either force 1652.
honorablen conditions, or not submitte, wheareas hauinge at present, that obeyed him
to any purpose, not upwards of a 100 men, did obtaine farr better, and in a tran-
scendent degree more honorable then the former comannders of Linster haue don ;
to him is allowed 4 monthes quarter, without defalcation, they in their Linster or
Kilkeny articles doe come shorte of one monthe, and what is allowed them is by
deduction of quarters, preyes, pillage, etc. ; as for any condition for the clergie in
Kilkeny articles, you obsearued what they came to ; they are not permitted either
to continue or be transported. But in Colonell Grace his articles, the clergie haue as
good conditions as any others, 4 monthes either to continue or goe where they liste
beyond seas, in the interim to liue unmolested either in bodie or goods in the
Parliament quarters. Is not this faire that a lone man did force such braue
conditions for his religion ? a thinge soe hars[h]e to be onely moued unto Parliament
ministers (as our Linster pzeudo-agents haue bruted), and a whole kingdome
dependinge on Kilkeny submission, had not obtained one daye for the clergie,
neither Muskrye in Monster, nor our greate Deputie Clanricarde in Conaght did
speake one worde in the clergie behalfe, though comannders of greate armies ; but
left Gods busines to this Gedeon, purgans triticum, as more scarce of men and better
tryed, for none of those greate peeres did euer expecte the enemie in the field, or
durst once looke him in the face, offended to force submission, rather voluntarily
presented him a scroule of paper containinge an abiecte and base tender of both
liues and fortunes to become his perpetuall slaues. But Grace, as longe as he had
foure to waite on his heele, prouinge loyall, did continue the field, wheare, like a
souldier, was forced by both treacherie and armes to yelde, and then alone gott
better conditions in a high measure then those respectiue peeres. Strange, but
Gods acte, because reall, adhered unto the clergie, was mindfull of his oathe sworne
in that behalfe, and honorably intended, and whosoeuer will proue thus will thriue,
as witnesse this gentleman (insteede of thowsands, wee maye as prooffe herof produce),
whoe was esteemed by the verie enemie more than all the rest, both peeres and
comannders, as observable in his transportation, which was out of hand, with the
matter of 2000 men, that did submitt upon his score, gott his meanes accordinge
couenant, and it from the very enemie in one bulke, himself stickinge to the as-
signation, and such as were excepted against, were without question or examina-
tion, without securitie or bonds, whether bounde (as Kilkeny articles did importe)
with him embarked ; allsoe the prelates that haue been chiefe sticklers of religion
in Linster province, and as sure as deathe to be impeached, accordinge Kilkeny
articles (which I beleue was the maine scope of the contriuers) were transported,
in vertue of Grace his articles. Naye, this in such an honorable degree, that he
procured an instrument from the enemie in their respectiue names for that end.
What sayeth our Linster agents, Monster and Conaght, peacable peeres, to this ?
Are they any thinge sensible of their treacherie herin, or ashamed for their mis-
demeanor ? Noe, because they haue acted accordinge their principles, whose
prime obiecte haue beene the distruction of both religion, nation, and disinthroninge
of royaltie, which by their respectiue submission haue brought to that lamentable
fate wherin at present it standes, they therfore blamlesse for——

Edmonde
Dempsey, :
bishops of
Laghlins, and
Anthony
Geoghegan,
bishops of
Clonmacnoise.

1652.

CHAPTER XXIII.

982.

Aristoteles,
Eth. 1. 1.Fab. apud
Livi. 1. 27.

EVERY action tendeth to his end, by which wee judge whether it be vertuous or dishonest, worthy or base; wherfore of all causes the finall is the most noble, and as the efficient giues motion and the formal giues essence to the matter, soe the finall giues the true judgment and appellation of all things. His claime is therfore best to the title of victorie and honor of the daye: not that killeth mo[r]e enemies, or taketh mo[r]e prisoners; but that by the battle obtaineth his end, for which he fought.

Vici ego Hanibalem dum vincere prohibui, ut a vobis quorum vigent nunc vires etiam vinci potest.

Our present peeres and agents haue beene victors in both these respectes, for they haue killed and vanquished the nation, and in case noe bloude was drawn either at home or abroade, hauinge obtained (though without blowes) the end for which they soe much sweated heartofore, are victors. By which ungodly end, though now achievved, you maye be perswaded of the dishonestie, unworthynesse and basenesse of both acte and agents, which shall surueiue to future ages, as a monument and memoriall testimonie, or in Irish, *fabuil*, of treasonable faction, that their bones rotten in graues (if any such can haue), and their posteritie (if the diuine clemencie will permit any to be) shalbe subiecte to all deepe censure of infamie and reproache, and to Gods seuer and just indignation, stamped with the indelible character of deformed and ugly staine of both murther, treason, and periurie, whose further tryall wee remitt unto the All Seeing Power, to be dealt with accordinge their deserts. *Secundum opera eorum tribue illis, redde retributionem eorum ipsis.*

983.

The three provinces, Linster, Monster, and Conaght, are now quiet under theemie comannde, without any opposition; for what partie did sticke to Bryan Mc Phelim in Linster are goen for the North, as aboue mentioned; fewe did adhere in Conaght to Dowaltagh *caoch*, and Christopher Kelly, and Mortagh OBryan in Monster, all Tories, as theemie nowadays tearmes all the Irish. The comonemie haue nothinge to doe in the foresaide prouinces, other then executions, all marshallsies full of people to be tryed, all men founde guiltie of death, that haue beene accessorie of the death of any Englishman or English adherente, upon this score, notwithstandinge this now peace. Our hostages, for compliance of Kilkeny articles (n^o 938 mentioned) are now arraigned, pursuant to the 7th article of their proper acte, and the 4th resolute (n^o 930). With much adoe Viscounte Clanmalir was reprimed (after longe indurance) untill further time; but Colonell Bagnall, a prime gentelman, and a great pillar of faction, was condemned of death for hanginge an English boore, upon presumption of beinge a spie, the first yeare of this comotion. When Bagnall saw how the world went with him, was mightie penitent for what he had formerly acted, ingeniously acknowledginge his irreparable ouersight, aduicing the multitude standinge by to beware that they taste not the same cup that he now brinds unto them, assuringe them that he is worthily searued; cursinge and baninge all such as occasioned his hauling in soe iuste a cause. Many other things to this tunc haue this gentelman uttered; many sharpe and shooewe

reprehensions he gaue the enemie, but desired to be bulletted alieue like a souldier, and not hanged (as his sentence implied) like a malefactor, which was grannted; verily, if not misleade, this gentlman had verie good parts; he was bould, audacious, couragious, well bred, fluent in deliuerie, liberall and well descended; but was spitfull, arrogant, presumptuous, and enuious (which God forgiue him), after all his pleadings was shott to death.

1652.

Bagnall
executed.

Henry Dempsy, brother to My Lord of Clanmalirye, and Major Barnaby, a cossen german to both, were arraigned, liuing in the countrie, were mighty obseruant of the now peace. The Major, to indeere himself unto the gouernor of Clunagauny, bestowed him his proper lacky or squire, as acquainted in the countrie, and the gouernor a stranger, which acte was subiecte to many misconstructions, and whether right or wronge, was comonly bruted, that the major gaue the gouernor and his garrison all possible intelligence of the intente and behaiour of Colonell Grace his partie, wherby seuerall his designes haue beene made frustrate. But all such seruices now not regarded, was remitted in the nature of a prisoner to Kilkenye and there brought to his triall; the sentence prouinge fatall, was deliuered to be hanged, whoe offeringe a tedious intimation of all his former seruice to the enemie, and in his behalfe for prooofe herof produced seuerall enemie comannders then in place, as wittnesses of his censeritie that waye. Some did apeere and confirmed (by his proper addresses unto them for that busines transmitted) what the querelant did auerr, all which will not auayle; he must suffer. The judge tould him publicly that it were a world of miserie to pardon such a traytor against his proper nation, and that the State of England would neuer trust such a one; thus saide, the former sentence was put in execution, the major and his cossen, Henry Dempsie, were hanged, with seuerall other, whom God forgiue them theire error.

984.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CREATURES are cherished onely for the use wee haue of them. When the jade can worke noe longer, wee take his skin; when the silke-worme hath wouen her webb, wee let her flye or die. As people deale with brute beasts, soe deale Princes with that brutishe and beastly sorte of people that betraye theire Prince or countrie to them: they cherish them but for theire ends, they loue the treason but not the traytor, whose surest and sorest scourge is his owne conscience.

985.

Flor. 1. 1°.

Sen.

Lip. Pol. 1. 4.

Plutarch de
Phil.

Proditiones, non proditores amo.

Seuerall of the gentrie and comons of Monster weare searued with the same capias, to be executed in Clonmell, in the countie of Typrary. Amonge the rest was Thibott Buttler of Killoshahaine, Donogh ODuyre, elder brother to Colonell Duyre, and Maior Ffennell, the arch-traytor that betrayed Huigh Oneylle, in both Clonmell and Limbricke (as n° 822 mentioned), was now (notwithstandinge his former seruices) putt to his tryall with the rest, upon the same Kilkeny articles and resolute, and founde guiltie of death and was executed, all which haue beene of the faction, and specially this Ffennell haue now receaued the jornall of such practice, and

1652.

would Grady and Colonell Macnamarra that haue beene his associats, in the treacherous yeldinge of Limbricke, haue receaued the like, if they suruiued at instant, which God had preuented by a sudaine and unexpected deathe, not knowen how; onely were soe founde un-interred in biviame roade, and none durst moue theire karcasses thence, not onely for the scent it yelded, which was extraordinarie deuillish, as alsoe by the English inhibition, affirminge it to be contagious, soe that none could ancere them. Gods wrath haue beene soe manifeste and publicke towards those bloude suckers, that he will not expecte the just doome of his creatures against such execrable members, but will take the sworde of justice himself imediately to punish them that haue beene the occasion of the effusion of much innocent bloude, must now perish by the verditt of both Creator and creature. Whereby you see our auxiome uerified, that though treason is loued, the traitor is hated, a world of men brought in, in the saide three prouinces upon the same score; My Lord of Mayo executed in Galwaye. And most that suffered undesearuedly, for aught apeareed in theire pleadings (whose particulars wee omitt for breuities sake) onely that God would haue it soe, as highly effendinge His Diuine Majestie in theire faction, disobedience and treacherie, accordinge (as by the very enemie bruted) seuerall inductions. This onely now imployment of the enemie, execution, was some what suspended for a while, and used more lenitie in the behalfe of this tragedie, onely fearinge to giue a rubb unto the Vlster mens future submission. I know none that submitted in vertue of Kilkeny articles (that was of any standinge forces,) can laye any claime unto any reall estate in the foresaide three prouinces, except Bryan Mc Phelim in Linster, Mortagh OBryan in Monster, and some Kellyes in Conaght.

CHAPTER XXV.

986.

Plut. de mor.

Theognis.

Eschilus.

Ulyss. Aiaci.

Ouid. Met.

STATESMEN must not alwayss be fixed in one center of resolution, but moued with the turninge sphere of theire comonwealthe, caried alwayes to that pointe of the circle in theire present occurrents, wherein theire publicke profit and saftie chiefly consisteth.

Tu vires sine mente geris: mihi cura futuri est.
 Tu pugnare potes: pugnandi tempora mecum
 Eligit Atrides. Tu tantum corpore prodes;
 Nos animo. Quantoque ratem qui temperat, anteit
 Remigis officium; quanto est dux milite maior;
 Tanto ego te supero.

All this interim the province of Vlster haue beene spectator onely of those tragicall scenes, but in armes the best posture possible, maninge seuerall ilands in the respectiue countie. Nothinge was bruted from the enemie in the fore-mentioned prouinces, other then executions, contribution, transportation, and persecution of clergie; though this was noe baite to inuite rationall men to submission unto the actors and ministers of such a graine, rather in the opinion of any honorable minde) an occasion to hazarde theire liues in the field (as the Machabeyes in such another occasion haue don, then to expose theire proper necks unto the bloudie axe

of partiall judges. Notwithstandinge, some men are soe peeuishe, soe farr freinds 1652.
 of proper ease, that to acquire the same will venture all hazarde, which if for
 honor, or honorable actions pursuant to their callinge, is comendable and prayse
 worthy. A man of a shallowe understandinge might conceaue that after the dis-
 seruice of Clanricarde in Vlster (as above mentioned), and the seuerall and true
 intelligences had from the enemye proceedings, the Vlster armie and comannders
 therof did proue more wise, as obsearuinge the fier in their neighbours house,
 should offer to quenche it in their owne, by unitinge themselues by a undis-
 soluble knott of union and association, knowinge by wofull experience that rent
 and diuision brought all those disasters upon this nation, and withall to be mind-
 full of their oathe of association, which admitts not particular conditions, leaste
 to be directly traduced unto the predicament of periurie, wherby wee character the
 factious partie, our quondam associats. But, alas! I see you hitherto cleere from
 these encomies, and now upon the last tripe to shake hands with the same, wee
 taxe others onely by your disunion amonge your selues.

Richard Fferrall, Lieutenant-generall of that prouince, doe now alone capitulat 987.
 with the enemye in proper behalfe, and Colonell Meyldes Reylylly Mc Edmond that
 for particular conditions; but this haue bene apointed by the whole province to
 capitulat for treatie, to haue safe conductes for comissioners to goe through, if
 honorable conditions were grannted, to condescende; if otherwise, the leaste they
 might gaine by it was to borowe time. The Lieutenant-generall, in vertue of his
 application, gott a monthes quarter assignation for his regiment, interim to make
 his conditions. Colonell Reylylly, pursuant to his province intention, in treatie
 about this busines by his addresses with Comissarie-generall Iohn Reynolds, whoe
 was protected to come before him, and make his intimation. The Colonell apeer-
 inge, succinctly related the province desire; the Comissarie-generall answered
 that he was not of power to grannte what the province did desire, and therefore
 wished him to goe alonge with him to Kilkeny, where captain-generall, the
 master-stone of their authoritie, had his residence at instante. Upon this result
 the Colonell did write unto the provincially councell of all the proceedings with
 Reynolds, desiringe them to be pleased to remitte him their instructions to
 Kilkeny; takinge his jorneye as aforesaide, the instructions, as desired, were sent
 after, which imported the very same matter as the others sent unto the Linster
 agents. The Colonell arriuinge to Kilkeny, the warie enemye, desirous to know
 what errands were caried to and fro, kept a vigilante eye towards the north, and
 hapily hitte upon the saide instructions, and were intercepted and kepte in clossets,
 subiecte onely to aduerse construction, onely the colonell to whom were sent could
 not haue a sight of them, whoe was in a poore takinge; his safe-conducte did
 importe that he arriued to Kilkeny to make conditions for the province of Vlster,
 his time was neere spent, his instructions wantinge, must either goe through, or
 stande lyable to proper punishment, now doe choose the leaste of euills, in his
 opinion, which had bene to haue his libertie, and leaue the whole province as
 engaged by his ouersight, he concludes the same the Linster conditions implied, but
 hauinge noe pledges or hostadges, must remaine himself for compliance. All things 988.
 now perfected, his instructions sent by the province did now apeere, conceauinge how

1652.

matters were caried, was the poorest man in Irelande, mightie pensive, but could not helpe it, though before could preuent; he sees himself now, like our first parent Adam in Paradize, after comittinge the sin of disobedience, without peace, libertie, or thanks in restrainte, but whether by proper suite or enemie policie, was remitted to Fyana with a troupe of horse to garde him as was thought to be neere the province, where by his neighborhoode with the prouinciall councell, the compli-
 ance of his engagment, which was the leaste of theire thoughtes, as nothinge by theire authoritic don. Beinge some daies there, was some what distempered in bodie, was in some favor with the then gouernor (upon what score was not soe publicke), onely was admitted by him to resorte now and then to the towne and fields to take the aire; the gouernors humanite still augmentinge, gaue him libertie with some of the garrison horse to hunte. In this pastime, one daye, by the courtesie of his keeper, gott the oportunitie to write a letter unto some of his owne horse, wishinge 50 horse to be in such a place a peremptorie daye and hower in ambushe, and that he would come to them, which was punctually obsearued. He and his garde passinge unto the saide place of ambushe, the Irish horse rushinge out into theire encounter, tooke hould of the Englishe troupers before they were aware, doinge them noe hurte, and poasted with both colonell and enemie troupers to places of saftie, and next daye remitted those to theire proper garrison. Thus was Colonell Meyldes acquitted from his former engagment, whoe with many asseuerations attested willingly neuer to come under the enemie lurche againe. Aduicinge Lieutenant-generall Fferrall of all this, and the tiranicall intentions of the Parliament ministers, whose men were yett with proper weapon, notwithstandinge will not be perswaded, but layed downe armes upon the same score that Linster haue don, onely that as many of the clergie as was to be transported with him was allowable; in vertue wherof his regiment and seuerall churchmen marched towards Kinsale in Monster, where they were to embarke. The Lieutenant-generall takinge his waye for Dublin, was there araigned in the behalfe of the death of Sir John Piggott (whoe was killed at the takinge of Deserte in Leyse), but acquitted; interim his partie was contermanned to directe his course for Dublin, where arriuinge, were embarked for Spaine in Clontarfe.

CHAPTER XXVI.

989.

Livi. l. 25.

Lip. Pol. 4.

Livi. l. 32.

SMALL matters haue greate effectes in all humane actions, but greatest in those of warr, for one onely worde misunderstoode ouerthroweth many times bothe the action and actors. Wherefore a wise generall should accustome his souldiers to this discipline, neuer to take alarme or apprehension of sudaine danger from what other doe or saye, but from his owne imediate officer, or them in place aboue him.

Curt. l. 8.

Sæpe quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinet.

Wee have noted in the n^o 986 that the poore remaine of the Vlster forces were onely in Ireland spectators of the cruell and bloudie tragedies acted on the

sanguinean theater of this languishing kingdome; hauinge brought the matter to 1652.
 such a poore issue, that they are at instante soe farr forsaken of theire former
 confederats, themselues disunited, that euerie one doe looke to proper intrest, and
 none actinge anythinge worthy relation, onely shiftinge to borow time, and pro-
 longe banishment, which eminently did hange over theire heades. The enemie
 hauinge nothinge to acte of any consequence for the recooper of the whole king-
 dome, other then followe those scatteringe parties with fire and sworde; to which
 intente Comissarie Iohn Reynolds, comissarie-generall of the enemie horse, was
 thither comannded with an armie, impowred allsoe to article for settlment confined
 onely to Kilkeny articles, or under the same degree.

Phillip Mc Huigh OReyllye, a prime member of that province, a wise and 990.
 politieke man, and at present of more considerable partie and followers, weighing
 in the scales of his intellectuie power, and preuidinge in the rememoratiue of his pia
 mater, by former inductions, the future destruction and desolation of all the
 countrie, if not timely preuented in order to some quiet. Dispatchinge his
 Mercury with his addresses implyinge that much to his fellow-co prouinciall-
 consellours, makinge a full intimation as well of theire eminent danger, as of the
 enemie composure and strenght, noe waye to be faced, other then by agents of
 treatie, whom he desired to nominate; and to seclude all jealousies in the respectiue
 families of that province in the behalfe of the election and apointment of those
 agents, to proceede therein as neere indifferencie as might be, soe they be such as
 we maye expecte a reciprocation of action, and a tender zeale of our contry desola-
 tion. Upon receipt of this resulte, a comettee was apointed to assiste with Phillip
 for this busines, whose joininge heades and hands together, canuassing the matter
 to and fro, agreed to Phillips sense as formerly, and then elected comissioners for
 that treatie Meylds Mc Edmond Reylly, colonell of horse, Colonell Swauny,
 Terlagh Oneylle, and Huigh Mc Mahon, which election (as it seemes) was industri-
 ously to crubb all jealousyes in the respectiue families, as aforesaide, wherupon
 motion was made unto the enemie comannder, whose without tergiuersation did
 both assigne a place of meetinge (which was Therbert), and apointed soe many
 more from the state of England, as he tearmed, sends them a heape of comforte,
 with an inticeinge speeche, alluringe language, and a mercifull comisseration
 towards them (as he alleadged) whose had beene soe many and vehemente, that it
 made theire moaninge hearts to vente some staggishe teares for joye, that all
 conuened did conceiue such unfained freindshipe in this comanndinge enemie (as
 ignorant of the fallible rules of blinde humane policie), that such was not want-
 inge, that whispered, to haue left all unto his owne breste. O poore!

But obsearue this Colonell Mullmory Mc Swaunny (heare impowred agent for 991.
 the present treatie) existinge in Conaght with his foote regiment, with some other
 of the Vlster forces, as n° 685 mentioned, was seuerally bruted that he was not as
 reall in the cause as one of his place and encumbencie desired, rather a temporizer,
 or sworne freinde unto Clanricarde, the Iscariotes of all Christian censeritie, the
 gronnde of this surmishe, that he continued in his winter quarter in Conaght when
 the rest his patriotts were cunningly transmoued unto Linster, upon a false
 intimation of associats and seruice (as in the saide n°, and others specified), gott

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his proportion of the meanes and amunition promised, and they nothinge but disaster, labour, trauayle, slauerie, and deathe, as wittnesse the takinge of Fyana, n^o 700 and 701, which I beleeeue was the onely motiue of their transmission unto Linster; however, Colonell Swauny was highly traduced and branded with that ugly endemnitie and character of meere temporizer, this great structure, the reputation and honor of soe qualified a persone, was blowne to naught by the onely blaste of this shoootherly winde houeringe ouer the bills of some raueninge-callagh-like fellowe; but whether true or false (though unto this most inclininge), in the present action giues large testimonie to the contrary, as by the ensuinge obseyable.

CHAPTER XXVII.

902.

Bod. Rep. 1. 4.

Homer. Il. 9.

Ariost. Can. 1.

If it be lawfull to capitulate and couenant with the enemie, it is unlawfull and unjust not to keepe touche upon the accorde. If faith be not to be kept with such, why then doest thou capitulate? In contracts, therefore, of truce or peace, take heede how thou trust him in any thinge whoe is readie to yelde to euery thinge, for he that speaketh much more than he thinketh, performeth alwaies much lesse than he speaketh.

Polyd. 1. 19.

Cum induciæ nondum exissent, turpe fuisset victori Anglo violare inducias.

Of three seuerall comissions or treaties the Vlster did hould with the enemie in relation to conditions of settlement, this in Therberte was the firste; wheare conueninge, reciprocally, uncashinge the cause of their presente meetinge and power, a conuenient roome for such a purpose was assigned by the comanndinge enemie, there then extant himself, but their impowringe comission reade. Scarce could they finish an easie tayles courtesie towards their respectiue seates, when a stronge garde did apeare at their elbowe, by Comissarie Reynolds apointment, to assure the Irish Comissioners continuance till agreed, which had beene in plaine language to force conditions, or rather submission. The comannder was desired to contramande the saide garde, that by all the lawes, diuine or humaine, armes or of nation, such comissioners, as well as ambashadours, had free libertie to speake, treat, and conclude accordinge instructions of their missioneeres. Those and many other sounde and conuencinge reasons not preuailinge, Colonell Mulmorie Mc Swaunny, mightie sensible of such illegall proceeding in the embrion of their comission, coulde not bridle his passion, nor use more courteous demeanour then alreadie had don, spoke gallantly to the hearinge of all circumstants, that all the force and violence that they could on him inflicte, was not of capacitie to wreste the leaste sillable from him or his co-comissioners in relation to any condition, or warr, other then accordinge instructions. If therefore, saide he, the freedome inherent unto our incumbencie be admitted, wee are pleased to deliuer our sense, in defaulte whereof will, in uertue of the same, returne, wee hope, in saftie to the place from whence wee came. O gallant speeche of an undannted courage amidst his enemie, hauinge noe freindly armie in the fielde to reuenge his wronge, if

further offered. Sure if this gentlman had beene of the comissioners of Kilkeny upon the treatie n^o 924 touched, and backed with an armie of 7500 foote, and 2200 horse (n^o 843 mentioned), he woulde not winke at the discourtesie formerly ministred. But alas! none haue wee euer founde unto this very man that shewed the leaste semblance of courage in such an occasion; wherfore (in case) the former information against this gentlmans reputation was true (which I doe not beleeeue), did now in the present action giue condigne satisfaction to both God and the world. I haue made this small digression from the scope of the matter intended, onely for the calefication of the present gentlman. The comissioners, in vertue of the former speeche at libertie, theire respectiue proposalls not suitinge, could not agree; wherupon the Irish tooke theire leaue. Apply yourself our aphorisme to the former passadge.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

AN awarde betweene states in difference is like phisicke ministred to a bodie wherin is a hott liuer and a cold stomocke, what helpeth the one, comonly hurteth the other; soe this seldome contenteth any of the parties, and often displeaseth all. Wherfore as these are carefull that there be strict cautions and obligations for abidinge the awarde, soe should he be well aduised before he undertake the charge; for it is better to sitt still then be employed in a busines where a man is in noe hope of gettinge any thinge to himself, but in danger of loosinge both his paines and his freinds.

993.
Galen de Sub-
sanitate.
Sucton. Octau.
fol. 91.
Bod. l. 3
Virg. Eglo.

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites.

In the former chapter and number wee haue treated of the first comission of the Vlster forces with the enemie in relation to settlment helde in Therbert; in this present are to handle the seconde helde in Lisnaskehy this same yeare, the 8 of September, beinge comissioners apointed by the Irish for the saide effecte, Meyldes Reyllye Mc Edmond, colonell of horse, Lisagh or Lewes Fferrall, a captain of horse, and a brother, Lieutenant-generall Fferrall, Huigh Magenis, and Phillip Roe OReyllye. Those foure, with as many more of the enemie, sittinge as afore-saide, could not agree; but Meyldes, assuminge more authoritie unto himself then his comission warranted, or one of his ranke and degree compited, applyed himself unto Commissarie Reynolds (whether his cocomissioners were priue or noe to those his new intentiones, is more then wee haue beene enformed. How ever, the busines was soe caried, that in vertue of his present comission, intertained a conference with the commissarie-generall, wherupon engaged himself to repaire unto Kilkeny to conclude there, se solo, before captain-generall, and there acted as you reade, n^o 987, which should be here inserted.

The n^o 987
should be here
placed.

The clergie, sittinge at the stearne of this fluctuatinge shipe, obsearuinge the infatuat behaiour of this pilot, not styninge accordinge his earde, or to the pointe intended, rather takinge a wronge course, not warrantable either by theoricke or practice of any skilfull in the arte nauticall, destructive to both containinge and contained; wherfore, unanimously conueniue together, deliuered theire opinions

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in his misfauour, that herin was guiltie of all crime, and worthy to be anathe-matized, and reputed a withered member of all Catholicke societie; pursuant unto which verdict (to render him sensible of his ouersight at present, and cautious for the future), did unsheathe that tremblinge and thunderinge blade of excomunica-tion against him and his adherents. You see, reader, that this braue gentlman, alias, was not well aduised in this busines before he soe childishly engaged himself in a matter of this graine, not impowred; for it was farr better to sitt still, with his fellow comissioners, or turne home in theire companie, then voluntarily to offer his imployment in a busines wherein he might be acertaind to gaine nothinge for himself other then danger, trauayle, labour, the losse of both paines and freinds, as here observable. The third and last comission of the Vlster forces wee referr to its genuine place and time; but obsearue.

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This Lisnasketian comission soe ill thriuinge, did discourage many a soule, and had beene the motiue of Lieutenant-generall Fferralls particular application, as n° 987 touched, in a maner preuidinge the scatteringe forces of that province to be in danger, by the dayly accesse of greate enemie armies, to be hemmed up, before they agreed in any thinge conducent to saftie, and goinge through with proper capitulation, all agreed upon must giue hostages for compliace, whoe sent his brother Lisagh or Lewes (aboue mentioned comissioner for the former treatie) unto Kilkeny, where he continued untill the Lieutenant-generall and his regiment did lay downe armes, and then was dismissed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

996.

Aristoteles.

Pol. 4.

Tacit. Hist. 1.

Lucan lib. 2.

SOME states haue gott more upon theire neighbours by treaties then by the sworde, through theire serious consultations and slowe resolutions, for euery thinge is don soone enough that is well enough don. Wherfore greate actions require greate deliberation, and if once resolued, speedie execution. All * in this case are dangerous, especially such as are upon triviall and * occasions, for they both preiudice the successe of the affaire in hande, and blemishe the honor of the undertaker. A prince, therefore, once embarked into an action of this nature, must not saye and staye, but saye and doe.

Tolle moras, semper nocuit differre paratis.

Inishbofny, the onely hauen or harbour in Ireland now for the Irish, kept for the Duke of Lorraine, whoe furnished the same with all things conducent unto its defence, prouision, and amunition for two yeares sledge, extraordinarie good workes with abundance of greate ordinance, beside a worlde of armes that belonged unto that forte, six hundred cases of pistells, and 600 barrells of powder was sent unto the kingdome by his Highnesse, which, for the most parte, had beene at present at the same ilande. In this braue posture of defence did stande this machine; many Irish, both ecclesiasticke and laitie, did thither flocke, some for

* MS. torn.

saftie, others for loyaltie, to see things well caried, and others contrarie. Amonge 1652.
the rest that soe thither retired was the Bishope of Clonferte, Roger Moore and Donogh Oflahertye. This forte was an itche in the enemye arme, makinge, therfore, all the shewe possible with shippes and otherwise to leager the ilande, though well perswaded, consideringe the posure and strenght therof, to be in vaine, unlesse a waye was founde to corrupt the comannder by inticinge angells, which was an easie taske in the opinion of seuerall witts, as beinge one George Cussacke, leutenant-colonell to late Generall Preston, and one of his hatchinge, which the enemye began thus :

About the first of December this yeare, Charles Fleetwoode, Chiefe Gouvernor for 997.
the State of England in Ireland, did send his addresse of pressinge dispatche unto one Christophor Cussacke of Dunore, neere the riuer Boyne, in the county of Meath, a brother to the saide Leutenant-colonell, that fourthwith should repaire unto Dublin, and conferr with him about serious occasions; the gentlman there apereinge accordinge orders, the maine of his busines was to take his journey out of hande towards his saide brother, to the Iland of Insibofiny, and there to perswade with all the vehemencie possible to surrender the iland unto Comissarie Iohn Reynolds, then comannder, in sight of the said iland on the continent betweene both Galwaye and Mayo counties, and for his particular shalbe considered for. This Mercury with the like dispatche departed, tooke his iorneye, and arriued, where deliueringe what he had in charge to the neuer faithfull Leutenant-colonell, his brother, the one mightie desirous to please Deputie Fleetwoode in soe disloyall a peece of service, though tendinge to the destruction of his nation, proued a most earnest sutor; the other, practiced in the arte of failing in his trust, mightie capable of such impressions, easily condescended unto the motion. The enemye aduiced of a parley, which freely admitted articles agreeede upon, the couenant indorsed, the forte was surrendreed, such of the deffendants as were picked out by the treacherous Leutenant-colonell, were pardoned for life, and permitted to be transported unto Spaine or Low-Countries, the rest were left to the enemye mercie. £3000 sterling was giuen the Leutenant in readie coine, all his portatill armes, one of the forts ships was apointed him for transportation; the Bishope of Clonferte, Leutenant-colonell Roger Moore, and Donogh Oflaherty were assigned one vessell, which they indifferently did furnish with all necessaries for such a voyage. All things now readie, the Bishope and Leutenant-colonell did boorde the shippe, and industriously comannded the pilot to hoise saile, which was don incontinent, the two other gentlmen, their suposed now fellow-trauayllers, and their quondam associats cryinge and howlinge in sight, but in vaine. These bloudie tigers, and human-bloud-sucker-whaspes, will shewe noe comisseration to these poore soules, rather left them (I beleeeue as prime parte of their couenant) unchristianly upon the strande to the enemye mercie, whoe, makinge the best shift they could to shune that furie incident unto a cruell enemye armie in such an occasion. But, O fate, Flaherty was soone surprised and beheaded, the other accidentally meetinge one Con ORuairke, hapily escaped, and passinge and enduringe all extremitie of both danger, labour, toyle, hunger, and thirst; after those miseries in a high measure sustained, arriued to the north of Irelande, where

1652. for a time framed themselues fishers with their wanes, and other befittinge instruments in a clownishe arraye, and was bruted tooke a boate, and feried ouer unto Scotland. See unto what a world of calamitie this Pigmeyan prelate and his treacherous Doeg did expose these poore men.

998. In the n^o 714 wee haue noted this prelate of duplicitie (væ duplici corde) in whom My Lord Nuncio reposed greates trust, but his Lordship out of this kingdome began to tune his instrument for a contrarie note, and specially in the pzeudo-congregation of Galwaye, where he shewed litle braine, and lesse decorum unto the congregation of Cardinalls and their minister, Father Anthony Geoghegan, as in the saide number obsearued. Wee haue allsoe obsearued in n^o 835, that when Clanricarde and his cabinet grand-councell did apointe one Shea agent unto the Duke of Lorraine, to disanull the transactions already perfected by the former agents; to giue a rubb unto this dismall and treacherous action, the clergie of Vlster, as more tender of the kingdome saftie, did nominat a proper Mercury, one Fr. Francis Gruairke, a Franciscan fryer, a dilligent and earnest sutor in such a loyall busines, whom this our present prelate did oppose, viribus et posse, onely to apointe some Conatian comett, more chargable, lesse laborious, and altogether disaffected to the cause. My Lord Primat herof certified, was mightie sensible of this mans retrograde behaiour, as suposinge him still to be in the predicament of well affected, but by this actions his lethargie was soone displayed; wherupon My Lord Primat did dispatche his pinching addresses unto him, carpinge him of inconstancie in his principles, and disformitie unto the reall proceedings of the well affected clergie; whoe to vendicat his reputation, and to excuse his former error in proper defence, did write a spurious and ill handled apologie unto My Lord Primat, which rather fomented motiue unto eache-meane understandinge witt of misconstructions, foperie, and illusion, then any waye of grounded or settled resolution or satisfaction. And to crowne all these (be it saide without disparagement of his myter) knauish trickes of Walter Linche, did comence that bloudie tragedie in the strande of Inisbofinny about the 15th of December this yeare, as he thought, on the bodies of Roger Moore and Donogh Oflahertye, as aboue mentioned.

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A STATE lately lost by the crueltie and oppression of the prince, beinge newly conquered, is preserued by the contrarie meanes, and better kept by loue then by force; the victor prince must thinke that he is as well the states, as the state his, and therefore he ought to be well aduiced, not onely how he gouerne himself amonge these newe subiects, but allsoe in his absence what gouernor he substitute to keepe them in obedience, leaste what he gott by the ounce, he loose by the pounce, and with more dishonor in the depriuation then he had glorie by the purchase :

—Vrbi pater est, vrbiq; maritus :
Iustitiæ cultor, rigidi seruator honesti :
In commune bonus.

Lucan. lib. 2.

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[The remainder of this page of the manuscript is illegible from decay, and with it ends

“THE APHORISMICAL DISCOVERY OF TREASONABLE FACTION.”]

APPENDIX.

I. MILITARY OPERATIONS IN ULSTER.—SIR CHARLES COOTE TO HENRY IRETON, LORD DEPUTY IN IRELAND.

Right Hon.,

On the 14th of April I marched forth with the strength I could make in this country, and intended to have attempted Eniskillen, but Sir George Munroe, and those in that garrison, Terence Mac-Gragh and Maurice Hamilton, sent one to treat with me for the surrender of those places, which for £500, and other trivial things, were given up to me, and having secured them for the State, I advanced to [the rendezvouz] near Charlemount, with a resolution to besiege the same, when Colonel Venables met me with the forces of that part of the country. But that very night advertisement was brought unto me that Toom, a hold of ours in the water, was surprised by the rebels, through the neglect of the officers who commanded there, which left such a gap open for the enemy to fall into our quarters, that I was forced to return. Colonel Venables with his party of foot, and some horse, went back again to redress that place, which, within fourteen days after he effected: In the mean time, being betwixt him and the enemy, with the horse and foot with me, and then the weather having been extremely bad, I drew homeward to refresh our men and victual ourselves, our provisions being allspent.

It having pleased Almighty God to bless your armies in Munster and Leinster with such wonderful success as that no enemy could stand before them, the Irish rebels had no other refuge for their preservation but to endeavour the gaining of some footings in the province of Ulster; and to encourage them in this enterprise, no doubt they had very strong arguments, both in respect of their own, and the fortresses of this country, to lengthen out a war, by reason of the forces of this province were dispersed into several parts of the country, far distant from one another for the defence and preservation of it; in performance of which enterprise, the rebels, being about four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, under the command of [Emer Mac Mahon] the Irish Bishop of Clogher, fell down into our quarters about the end of last month, and immediately took by storm, on the frontiers of this county, a place called Dongeven, where was only placed twenty warders, with Lieutenant-colonel Mark Bedisford, whose estate lay there; all they found in arms they put to the sword, except the Lieutenant-colonel himself, whom they wounded and sent prisoner to Charlemont; from thence they marched to Ballycastle, which without any opposition was speedily surrendered by the treachery

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of some therein. In the meanwhile all the forces in this part of Ulster, commonly called the Laggan, except Colonel Hunks's regiment of foot, which were all placed in Londonderry and Eniskillen for defence of those two garrisons, being of great importance, together with two hundred horse of Colonel Richard Coote's regiment, were quartered likewise at Eniskillen for defence of that part of the country, amounted to about six hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, which I had drawn together near Lifford for defence of that part of the country.

This success of the rebels, as it exceedingly puffed them up, so it as much terrified the country-people, notwithstanding they were assured by many declarations scattered up and down the country, under all the chief officers hands, that they had no intention to prejudice any Scotch man that would submit to the King's authority and come under contribution to them.

At this same time I dispatched letters to Colonel Venables to let him know our condition, and to desire him to hasten towards us with relief as soon as he possibly could, we being here not only in great want of men, but likewise of money and provisions, in regard all the stores of Ulster were at Carnickfergus and Belfast, and the enemy too well knowing our condition, marched up towards us on the 2d of this instant, and encamped themselves on a bog within two musket-shot of our league, where they continued about fourteen hours, but at length began to draw off from their ground with most of their forces over a pass, which I perceiving, called the officers together, and it was thought fit to charge them in the rear with about two hundred horse, keeping our foot and the rest of our horse intire. Our horse fell on with a great deal of bravery, and charged through two divisions of foot, but their horse being drawn quite behind their foot, finding our horse in some disorder, fell on them and forced them to retreat; whereupon Colonel Richard Coote, advancing with part of his regiment to relieve our men, the enemy's horse faced about and were beaten back again into their main body. We lost only in this conflict Captain Taylor, who died most gallantly in the midst of the enemy's pikes, and seven troopers; but had prisoner a Captain of Horse, and killed at least six for one.

After this encounter we faced one another at least two hours; afterwards they made a pass over a bog with some faggots, not daring to make their retreat the same way which formerly they attempted, and so drew off, leaving us the ground, and retired to another pass about a mile behind them. I beg your Lordship's pardon in being so tedious in this particular, but, believe it, God's wonderful providence and mercy towards us was as remarkable in this day's delivery, as ever it was since I served the Parliament; for had it not pleased God to blind the enemy, as that they had neither courage nor prudence to attempt that, which according to human reason they might have done, we had been in great hazard of being totally cut off.

After this I sent out orders to the country-people to remove both themselves and their stocks into Ennischone, an island adjoining to Londonderry, our soldiers in the mean time securing the passes betwixt them and their enemy, till such time as the forces out of Clanneboys could come up to us, which I was in daily expectation of. On Tuesday the 18th instant, Colonel Fenwick, with about one

thousand foot, came up to our assistance, but without any manner of provisions either for themselves or for those here; however it pleased Almighty God to give such zeal and courage to our soldiers, that on the 21st instant we marched up towards the enemy, who lay near Letterkenny, where upon sight of our party, they then being encamped on this side of a mountain, inaccessible to either horse or foot, they drew forth into a part of ground which though extreme bad, yet it pleased God to put it into our hearts to advance towards them, where we presently engaged them, and by the blessing of God, after an hour's hot dispute with great resolution on both sides, we wholly routed them, many of them were killed on the place, and the execution was followed ten or eleven miles several ways that night; what numbers were slain I cannot positively yet say, the country-people as well as the soldiers eagerly pursuing and killing them for two days after; but with modesty I may assure your Lordship, there cannot be less than two thousand slain, together with their Major-general, five Colonels, and one Bishop, with almost all their officers, their Lieutenant-general OFarrel likewise, as we are informed, both by their own officers, which were taken prisoners, and the Irish in the country, though his body be not yet discovered. They lost likewise all their arms, colours and baggage, with most of their horse, so that there is much ground and hope that they can never be able to rally any considerable number again in this country; and which makes the mercy of God the more eminent, we lost in this service only Captain Sloper, of Colonel Venables' regiment, about eleven or twelve private soldiers, Colonel Fenwick, Major Gore, Captain Gore, and an Ensign, with some few soldiers hurt and wounded. So that I may truly say, It is God's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. And truly, My Lord, it is worthy observation, that these barbarous rebels who first began the rebellion in this country, and where they exercised most cruelty and inhumanity, should be reserved for God's vengeance to be poured out upon them in this place, and that God might have the glory to himself, he hath been pleased to make a poor despised party the executioners of his judgment upon them. To his name therefore be the whole glory ascribed.

As soon as I have a little refreshed our men, and that all the parties are come in, and our arms fixed, which are wonderfully out of order, I shall, by the blessing of God, advance to Charlemont, and endeavour the reducement thereof; but I want gunners, and fire-men for the mortar-pieces, shells and powder, which I beg your Lordship I may be supplied with from Dublin, for the place is very strong, and till that place be reduced, Ulster will never be at quiet.

Now that the affairs in Munster and Leinster are in so happy a condition, it is my humble opinion clearly, that all endeavours be employed to finish the work here, which if your Lordship shall think fit to order your forces about Dublin to join with us in taking of Charlemont, then we may carry on the work in Connaught together; there being a great many considerable holds in that country, and several mountainous parts which will require many hands, and if shipping be not appointed to attend us both for the transporting ordnance, ammunition and bread, it will not be possible to do any effectual service there: I dare assure your Lordship, that the whole strength the rebels have in the whole island being now

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there, unless we have a good strength, and be well accommodated and attended in that service, we cannot expect success; but if your Lordship shall think fit to command me any other service, I shall be most ready to obey your commands, who am,

Your Lordship's humble servant,
Charles Coote.

Londonderry, July 2d, 1650.

P.S. Since the signing hereof I have received a letter from Major King, who hath killed two or three hundred rogues, and taken the Bishop of Clogher, their General, and several other officers, prisoners.

A List of the officers killed and taken prisoners the 21st June, at the field of Scarfollis near Litterkenny, and upon the pursuit; together with the number of the soldiers slain, being under the conduct of the Irish Bishop of Clogher. Killed, the Lord Enniskillen, the Bishop of Down, Shane O'Neal, Major-General Henry Roe O'Neal, General Neal's son, Colonel of Horse, Neal Mac Colkittagh, Colonel, Hugh Mac Quire, Colonel, Phelim Mac Tool O'Neal, Colonel, Hugh Mac Mahon, Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonels Terlough O'Boyle, Shane Mac Doniel, James O'Donelly, Turlagh O'Neal, Adjutant-General; Majors Phelim O'Neal, Daniel O'Neal, Emer Mac Eulen, John Mac Guire; Captains of Horse, Art Oge O'Neal, Captain, Colonel Mac Mahon, Captain Mulhallon, Captain O'Quin, Captain Farrel, Lieutenant-General; Captains of Foot, Captain Steward, Captain Fergus Farrel, Captain Bryan O'Neal, Captain Owen O'Quin, Captain George Russell, Captain Wogan Mac Gill, Captain Oge O'Quin, Captain Henry Reynolds, three priests and fryars prisoners, the Bishop of Clogher, General, Lieutenant-Colonel Shane O'Hogan, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry O'Neal, Quarter-master General Sexton, with several other field officers, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns which are not known, and three thousand private soldiers slain, with all their ammunition, colours, arms, bag and baggage taken.

II. EMER MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

[See Vol. II., pp. 70, 82, 84, 86-7, 390.]

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1. "In the letter formerly incerted from the Marquess [of Ormonde], about the beginning of May, to the Bishop and Commissioners assembled at Loghreah, it is said, that in persuance of the former agreement, he had granted a commission to the Bishop of Clogher, for the command of the province of Ulster, it will be therefore necessary to express, what that agreement was, and the proceedings thereupon.

Amongst the articles which had been made with General O'Neal, it was provided, that in case of Owen O'Neal's death, or removal by advancement, or otherwise,

1. The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland. By Edward, Earl of Clarendon. Dublin: 1719-20, pp. 133-37.

before any settlement in Parliament (to which all the Articles of Peace related), the nobility and gentry of the province of Ulster should have power to name one to the Lord Lieutenant, as chief Governour for his Majesty, to command in the place of the said Owen O'Neal, and the said command was to be conferred accordingly upon the person so to be named; and according to this power, Owen O'Neal being dead, the nobility, bishops, and principal gentry of that province, made choice of the Bishop of Clogher to succeed him in the charge, and having signify'd such their election under their hands to the Lord Lieutenant; about the middle of March he granted such a commission to him as he was obliged to do, and the Bishop with great activity proceeded in infesting the English rebels in that province, as much as was in his power, and having an army consisting of about 5000 men, foot and horse, about the 23rd of June, 1650 (when the Lord Lieutenant could not draw one thousand men together, or keep them, if together forty eight hours), he encountered not far from Londonderry with Sir Charles Coote, who commanded the English rebels in those quarters, and was then inferior in foot to the Bishop, though otherwise he had a great advantage of him, by having near triple the number of horse, notwithstanding which inequality, the Irish behav'd themselves with courage, but in the end were totally defeated, so that the Bishop was compell'd after he saw the day totally lost, to quit the field with a small party of horse that attended him, and the next day in his flight he had the misfortune, near Enniskilling, to meet with the Governour of that town, in the head of a party too strong for him, against which, however, the Bishop defended himself with notable courage, but after he had received many wounds, he was forc'd to become prisoner upon promise first that he should have fair quarter, contrary to which Sir Charles Coote, as soon as he knew he was a prisoner, caused him to be hang'd, with all the circumstances of contumely, reproach, and cruelty he could devise.

This was the end of that unfortunate Prelate, whom, since he bore so great a part in the troubles of Ireland, and was much superior in parts to any man of that party, it will not be impertinent, or uncharitable to mention some particular passages of his life, that thereby his nature and disposition may be the better collected, and indeed the spirit and temper of mind which those kind of men were possessed with, who had the greatest abilities to do hurt some few years before the rebellion.

This Ever Mac Mahon being an Irish priest, and residing for the most part in, or near, Dublin, repair'd to Sir George Radcliffe, who had a principal part in the managing of affairs in Ireland, and being admitted to his presence, desired to have some private conference with him, without the presence of any other; all attendance and strangers being withdrawn, he fell on his knees, and said he came to put his life into his hands, told him he had committed many treasons against the King, for which he felt that remorse of conscience, that he resolv'd rather to offer his life a sacrifice by confessing it, than endure the torment he felt by concealing it; that he was capable of no quiet of mind, but by disburthening himself, and if by the grace and mercy of the King he might obtain a pardon for what was past, he would in such manner apply himself to his Majesty's Service, that he would in some degree, merit the benefit: and then told him of several treaties which were abroad with foreign Princes, in order to the disturbance of the peace of the nation.

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Upon hearing him, and those great expressions of penitence, Sir George writes to one of the Secretaries of State in England, to inform his Majesty of all the particulars, who (according to the clemency of his nature) sent a warrant over for the preparing and passing his pardon, which shortly after Sir George delivered to him, who again falling on his knees, and magnifying the mercy of the King, said he had now peace of mind, desired nothing but to deserve the favour of so gracious a sovereign, that he would content himself with the evidence of his Majesty's goodness without making further use of it, or suing out his pardon according to the formalities and rules of law, which, though necessary for his own security, would (being that way made publick) disenable him from doing his Majesty that service he intended, since he should be admitted into those trusts, without which he could make no discoveries.

From hence forward, during the whole government of the Earl of Strafford, he gave frequent advertisements of some agitations, by obscure and unknown persons of that nation at Rome, and in France, and Spain, which were rather instances of murmuring, and seditious purposes, than (reasonably) like to produce any notable disturbance. From the beginning of the rebellion his power was very great with those that had been most (and he was of the least dissimulation) violently opposite to any reconciliation, upon the first and second conclusion of peace by the confederate Catholicks, and so he continu'd firm to the party which followed Owen O'Neal, or rather governed Owen O'Neal who commanded that party, and over and above those demands which concern'd religion (to which they seem'd to adhere with more than ordinary zeal, and thereby drew a depending of that clergy to them), they insisted upon the restitution of the great estates in Ulster, which was not in the power of the Crown, without violation of several Acts of Parliament, and defeating many descents and purchases which had passed without any interruption or claim for the space of one hundred and fifty years. This impossible expectation, kept Owen O'Neal and the Bishop of Clogher from concurring with the Confederate Catholicks, in the peace he made with his Majesty; and the animosity they contracted against the Confederates, inclined them to relieve Derry, when (as it is remember'd before) it was even ready to be reduc'd by his Majesty's forces, rather than submit to the peace made by them with the Lord Lieutenant. After they had found it necessary to make that agreement with the Marquess, it must be acknowledg'd that the Bishop perform'd, and observ'd very justly (as he was punctual in what he promis'd), and apply'd himself with all dexterity and industry to the advancement of his Majesty's interest, so that during his time he retain'd the clergy in all their Assemblys, from making any acts which might discourage the people from their obedience to the King's authority, and therefore how inconvenient soever his service had been to the peace and happiness of that nation, his death was very unseasonable, which was remarkable and notorious in these circumstances, that in less than a year after he had brought Owen O'Neal to relieve Sir Charles Coote in Derry (who must otherwise in a few days have deliver'd it up to the King), his army was defeated by the same Sir Charles Coote, and himself, after quarter and life promis'd, executed by the positive order and command of him whom he had thus preserved."

2. "Longo post hunc intervallo, anno scilicet 1645, vel 1646, Episcopatum hunc Emerus Mathæus, Hibernice Mac Mahon, inivit, qui studiis theologicis Duaci percursis, Seminarii Lovaniensis Hibernici præfecturam et aliquandiu post vicariatum Apostolicum Clochorensem adeptus, in patriam rediit, ubi, tantisper moratus, in suspicionem clandestini consilii cum Cardinali de Richelieu de Hibernia bello intestandâ initi Supremo Hiberniæ magistratui venit, qui proinde Hugonem Reillium, Catholicum Hiberniæ Primatem (qui molitionum istarum conscius esse putabatur) ad suum tribunal acciri et in carcerem conjici curavit; sed ubi Primas deprehensus est fuisse alter Nathanael ac vere Israelita in quo dolus non erat uterque genio eodem præditus fuisse putatus. Post memorabilem in carcere moram dimissus est; sed Emerus, perspicatissimi vir ingenii, è tenuibus indiciis, tanquam è carbonibus cineri doloso suppositis scintillæ prodeuntes ignem latere docent, mala quæ nuper passi sumus nobis eventura longe ante prospexit quam in apicem educta sunt.

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Nam fama primum obscure spargebatur nos armis adigendos vel veterem fidem novâ, vel vitam morte mutare: eundem rumorem in Anglia nostri negotiatores auditione acceperunt.

Hanc etiam famam plures Angli optimates Ministri et Nobiles Catholicorum, quibus arctiori amicitia jungebantur, auribus occinentes confirmabant, suadentes ut mutatione religionis salutis incolumitati et fortunarum indemnitati consulere non dubitarent, humanitatem amicorum erga Eleazarum imitati ita ut Emerus vel his documentis innata sagacitate opitulante consiliorum hostilium adyta rimatus extima ab his nationi parari compertum habuerit. Quare suis author fuit ut hostium consilia spectantes, non facta expectantes, ante se ad propugnandum apparent. Itaque nonnunquam ordines ipse duxit ad moles et munimenta disjicienda vel igne corrumpebunda ne in iis præsidia collocarentur, quæ hosti robur adferrent, suis auferrent; militibus neminem ex interceptis nece nisi obluctantes multantibus, sed deditas quo voluerunt ire sospites permittentibus, hinc primus impetus bellici turbo in Ultoniâ detonuit, unde in cæteras Hiberniæ regiones, prout quæque mali contagionem sibi aut viciniæ propius appropinquare sensit, pedetentim serpsit. Omnes igitur commune discrimen communibus consiliis et armis propulsare, et mutuo se fœdere munire statuerunt. Primis vero tumultibus rite pauatis et regendi normâ institutâ, Emerus inter Supremi Concilii Senatores cooptatus est, in qua dignitate dum Confœderati rerum summâ potiebantur, immotus permansit; ab eodem interim Concilio Dunensis et Clochorensis Episcopus designatur, Clochorensis (à Pontifice ipso forsan Episcopatus illius administrationem cui assuescebat malente) renunciatus est, alio diœcesi suæ moderandæ ut plurimum admoto, quod eum vel Comitibus Generalibus, vel Supremo Concilio assiduo se sistere oportuerit in eo enim fere uno negotiorum Ultoniæ cardo vertebatur. Quapropter a Comitibus electus ut apud Pontificem Confœderatorum nomine legationem abiret. Electioni assentiri vel ipse noluit vel a suis non permissus est, ne res Ultoniensium illo absente detrimentum paterentur; a concordia tamen cum Regiis ineundâ se alienum præbuit, primis enim induciis Siginstonæ peractis subscripsit quidem ut qui

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Supremo Concilio ascribebatur; sed cum Scarampo Summi Pontificis procuratore instantius egit ut se iis oponeret, à quo non assensum sed repulsum et reprehensionem retulit, et Supremi Concilii decreto de prima pace statuendâ et promulgandâ nomen apposuit (Comitiorum enim scite decretum est ut sanctioni a majori numero latæ dissidentes etiam subscriberent) Regis tamen Hispaniæ procuratorem acriter hortatus est, ut eam sui Regis nomine palam improbare, et D. Eugenium ad eam armis impugnandam invitum attraxit ad cujus copias D. Nuncium se recipere per emissarios persuasit, ipse denique Supremo se Concilio clam subducens ad easdem recessit; Secessu illo nationale bellum institui sagaciores crediderunt et ubi pars illa quæ secessit Parliamentariorum Catholicæ Religionis et Regis hostium societati se adjunxit, prorsus indicarunt, persuasi eos, qui secessionem fecerunt, ideo Parliamentariorum partes amplexas fuisse, quod sibi persuaderent collegas suos novos assiduis victoriis cumulos Hiberniam totam suæ ditioni tandem vindicatu-
ros, ac veteres Hibernos qui opem illis in bello tulerunt majorum possessiones restituturas, et Anglicæ originis Hibernis eas adepturos; Eâ distinctione malis avibus tum excitatâ, quam Comitiorum Generalium Supremi Concilii conventuum Ecclesiasticorum decreta sæpius abrogarunt et gravibus pœnis, mulctis, et censuris Ecclesiasticis plectendam esse sanxerunt, ubi autem Clochorensis Parliamentarios quos ex terminis faucibus Ultonienses copiæ subtraxerunt, fidem et promissa perfide fefellisse perspexit, ultra desipere nolens resipuit, politica consilia humanam astutiam redolentia infelici et fallaci plerumque fine terminari plane cernens Confœderatis serio reconciliatus suæ condemnationis telo memoratam distinctionem in Ecclesiastico conventu Cluanmacnosensi mense Decembri 1649 habito confixit.

Sed ut interrupti sermonis filum denuo texam Clochorensis, mutata sententiâ, S. Augustini monitis obsecutus est dicenti sicut laudabile est à verâ sententiâ nunquam amoveri, ita culpabile est persistere in falsâ quam nunquam tenere prima laus est, secunda mutare ut mutatâ falsa vera succedat, paulo post quam se Confœderatis aggregavit Ormonix, tunc Marchio post Dux, Regis in Hibernia Optio, martiam ejus indolem perspicens cum Ultoniensis militiæ supremum præfectum instituit, etenim (ut ait Odoardus Raynaldus, Episcopus) bella gerere si ecclesiæ viribus consulentes injuriam vi et armis cum opus sit prohibeant, veram laudem promereri et colligere omnino fatendum est, id enim prudentissimos æque ac sanctissimos præsules præstitisse cuilibet vel leviter in rerum ecclesiasticarum monumentis versato luce clarius apertum et conspicuum est.

Ad hoc ille militiæ fastigium elatus copias in aciem eduxit, quæ instructis ordinibus, incedentes, tria vel quatuor hostium munimenta expugnarunt, et orientalem et occidentalem Ultoniæ regionem ad tributa sibi conferenda coegerunt, unde hostes tanto terrore correpti fuerunt, ut e præsiidiis pedem efferre non auderent. Itaque magnâ exercitûs parte ad commeatum comparandum per varios tractus demissa, tres tantum peditum legiones et 500 equites in castris hæserunt quos duplo peditum et triplo majori equitum numero, Carolus Coote ex improvise cinxit cum quibus nostrates in pugnam non descendere poterant, ut qui erant in loco satis munito constituti. Sed Clochorensis pedites magno impetu ad signa conferenda ferri cernens, concilio bellico refragante, nullam pugnandi moram facere imperavit, sed certamine 21 Junii, 1650, ad Sulium, Tirconallix fluvium, non procul a

Littirgean, inito ex fuis peditibus 400 in acie ac totidem in fuga cecidisse dicuntur, equitatum vero fere omnem Clochorensis cladi subduxit, verum nefarius aliquid itineris ab equitatu ingrediendi conscius per viarum compendia Inniskellinam advolavit et illuc transiturum indicavit. Inniskillenses ergo præsidarii recentes et integri viam obsident et in bidui equitatione defatigatos ex insidiis irruunt, ac tandem post tres Clochorensis manu peremptas et alias ex hostibus in ea volitatione desideratas expugnarunt pedestrium avagis; tempus hi chronologici versus exprimunt:

Ad quintum decies à partu virginis annum,
 Sæcula cum fuerint lapsa bis octo prius,
 Junii et a prima decima bis luce, Suliui,
 Hei mihi, Catholica cæde tumebat aqua.

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Inniskellensis præsidii tum præfectus erat humanissimus heros D. King, hodie Kinstonæ vicecomes, et dignissimus Connaciæ præses, quem summa voluptate colloquia Clochorensis in præsidio detineretur, perfundebant, multa enim quæ in Hibernia et Anglia postea, evenerunt, præsagiebant. Tanta vero delictorum præteritæ vitæ pœnitentia Clochorensis exarsit ut præsentibus miserationem et admirationem summam moverit, unde præfectus tanto ejus studio tenebatur ut duobus decretis ad eum extremo supplicio afficiendum parere recusaverit. Sed ubi superiori potestati ulterius reniti non licuit præsidium ad tempus deserens alio concessit, ne tam funesto mortis aspectu oculos inquinaret. Interim crati Clochorensis impositus, ad patibulum vectus, genibus, femore confracto non impediende aliquamdiu uti voluit quam scalas ascenderet, gemitibus et suspiriis magnitudinem doloris ob Deum offensum exprimens. In scalis positus uberi oratione quæ illi familiaris erat, astantes ut in fidei Catholicæ professione firmi persisterent hortatus est. Tandem, contra fidem ei datam, strangulatus et capite plexus errati pœnas eo supplicio et meritorum præmia retulit, ac proinde merito martyr habetur; non secus ac S. Cyprianus de quo S. Augustinus ait, quod tanquam sermentum fructuosum si quid in eo fuerat emendandum purgavit Pater falce passionis. Quid Clochorensis eventurum esse præsagiverit ignoro; palam tamen constare scio nullam calamitatem præterite memoriæ tempus eâ funestiore extitisse, quæ nostra natio post Clochorensem è medio sublatum, experta est."

3. "1642. March 10. Emer Mattheus, or Heber MacMahon. In a Propaganda Congregation of the 14th of May, 1641, Emer Mattheus, then four years Vicar Apostolic of Clogher, was recommended by letters of the archbishop of Armagh, and the bishops of Meath and Kilmore. The congregation resolved 'Emerum Mattheum ad ecclesiam Dunen. et Connoren. etc., vac. per obitum bonæ memoriæ fratris Bonaventuræ Magnesii, etc., promovendum esse.' (Propaganda) 'Die 10^o Martii, 1642, referente Antonio Barberino, fuit provisa ecclesia Dunensis, etc.' Barberini. 'Die 10^o Februarii, 1642, Antonius Barberinus præconium fecit ecclesiæ Dunen. etc., per obitum R. P. D. Bonaventuræ Magnesii vacantis, pro R. D. Emerio Mattheo,

3. The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, A.D. 1400 to 1875. By W. Brady. Rome: 1876. Vol. I. pp. 270 and 255.

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presbytero Cloherensi, S. Theol. doctore.' *Barberini*. The following is the Processus :—

1642. Feb. 10. 'Ego Card. Ant. Barberini etc., præconium faciam ecclesiarum Dunen. et Connoren. in simul unitarum, vacantium per obitum R. F. Bonaventuræ Magnesii, et in sequenti referam statum ejusdem ecclesiarum et qualitates R. D. Emeri Matthei, presbyteri Clocoren., ad eas promovendi.'

Civitas Dunen. sita est in provincia Ultoniæ regni Hiberniæ. Extat in ea Cathedralis ecclesia, et suffragatur archiepiscopo Armacano.

Nonnulli in dicta civitate sunt Catholici, verum quia provincia ab hereticis gubernatur, et sacramenta fidelibus abscondite ministrantur, et ecclesiæ fructus ab eisdem hereticis occupantur, unde status ejus potius est deplorandus quam referendus.

Promovendus (ex legitimo matrimonio, nobilibus Catholicis parentibus) ortus est in terra Fiernia dioc. Clocoren. Annum 40 circiter agit, sacerdos, et S. Theologiæ doctor, munus Vicariatus Apostolici in dioc. Clocoren. per aliquot annos laudabiliter fructuose exercuit, vitæ integritate, doctrina ac morum probitate, spectabilis, cujus promotio valde utilis speratur. Fidei etc. Hæc omnia etc. Supplicatur etc. *Barberini*."

"1643. June 2. Emer Mattheus. 'Die 2^o Junii, 1643, referente Card. Ginetto, litteras prelatorum et Dominorum Regimini Hiberniæ præfectorum instantium R. P. D. Emerum Matheum electum Epis. ecclesiarum Dunen. et Conneren. etc. ad ecc. Clochoren. etc., transferi, ut ille possit facilius negotiis gravissimis Regni Hiberniæ, cum prædictis aliis prælatis et Dominis assistere. Sacra Congregatio censuit, si S^{mo} placuerit, quia negotia præfata moram non patiuntur, præfatum R. P. D. Emerum transferendum esse, ut petitur, et expeditionem factam per Breve etc."

An official request, as follows, for the promotion of Bishop Mac Mahon from Down and Connor to Clogher was, on the 8th December, 1642, included in the instructions from the Supreme Council at Kilkenny to Father Luke Wadding at Rome :

"Petatur nostro nomine a Sua Sanctitate ut Iberus [Emerus] Mac Mahon Dunnensis et Connerensis Episcopus sed nondum consecratus, qui bene de nostra causa meruit, quia illa dioecesis in inimicorum Puritanorum potestate totaliter remanet, transferatur ad Episcopatum Clogherensem, ubi natus fuit et in qua dioecesi per quatuordecim annos pie et multo cum fructu egit vicarium generalem Apostolicum, unde convenienter nostro supremo consilio, quorum unus est, poterit adesse."

The transfer of Bishop Mac Mahon to Clogher formed the subject of the following letter* from the Supreme Council to the Cardinal Protector :

"Eminentissime Domine,

"Placuit Beatissimo Patri ante sesquiannum promovere D. Emerum Matthaëum Vicarium Apostolicum jam tum in Dioecesi Clocherensi ad Episcopatum Dunensem et Connorensem. Et vero multae rationes movent nos ad supplicandum modo ut idem D. Emerus transferatur ex Dunensi et Connorensi ad Clocherensem Dioecesim.

* "Spicilegium Ossoriense." By Rt. Rev. P. F. Moran, D.D., Dublin : 1874, pp. 278, 281.

Atque inprimis praefatus Emerus ab initio nostrorum Communium Conventuum est membrum publicis occasionibus et conciliis apprime utile, ejus officiis et obsequiis uti non possemus ex Dioecesi Dunensi et Connorensi utpote in angulo Regni remotissimo sita : secundo Dioecesis Dunensis et Connorensis per Anglos et Scotos est totaliter vastata adeo quod perinde sit ibi Episcopum esse ac si esset apud Infideles titularis. Deinde supradictus Emerus oriundus est in Dioecesi Clocherensi et egit in ea Vicarium Generalem auctoritate Apostolica quindecim annis cum singulari sui commendatione unde et nobilitati et populo illius Dioecesis est omnino gratus et acceptus. Dioeceses etiam Dunensis et Connorensis et Clocherensis sunt Provinciae Armachanae et supradictus promotus ad Dunensem et Connorensem nondum est consecratus. Atque his et aliis de causis rogamus enixe Eminentiam Vestram ut aliis suis in nos beneficiis et favoribus adjiciat praefati D. Emeri translationem ad Diocesim Clocherensem.

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Kilkenniae, 9 Decemb., 1642.

Mountgarret.

Mauritius de Rupe et Fermoy.

Hugo, Ardmachanus.

Gormanstown.

Joannes, Episcopus Clonfertensis,

Etc., Etc."

III. ENGLISH OFFICIAL CHRONICLE OF IRISH WARS.

A History or brief Chronicle of the chief matters of the Irish Warres.

On Wednesday, August 1, 1649, was kept by Act of Parliament a publick fast throughout England and Wales, appointed to call upon God for a blessing upon the Lord Lieutenant Cromwel's forces against the Papists, and others the enemies of the Parliament of England, in Ireland, which hath had from God these returns following, viz.

Irish Wars,
1649.

1. The Lord Lieutenant being then in South Wales, found his forces come up to goe over with him with much union, notwithstanding the endeavours of the enemy to divert them.

2. There were 3000 of his forces safely arrived at Dublin, from Chester, Liverpoole, and other ports thereabouts, which made up Lieutenant generall Jones 8000 strong in Dublin, which was then blocked up by the Marquesse of Ormond, the Lord Inchequeen, and Major generall Preston, who had the whole command of all Ireland then in their power, except only that garison of Dublin in Leinster, and Londonderry in the north of Ireland, kept by Sir Charles Coot, which was then also blockt up, and the fort at the river mouth also of Derry taken by Sir Robert Stuart and Colonel Mervin, who commanded the forces in the siege at Derry.

3. Captaine Norway with a party of the horse from the Lord Lieutenant, and

III. A history or brief chronicle of the chief matters of the Irish warres. With a perfect table or list of all the victories obtained by the Lord Generall Cromwell, Governor Generall of Ireland, and the Parliaments forces under his command there. From Wednesday the first of August, 1649, to the twenty sixth of this present July, 1650. Published by authority. London : 1650.

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some additional horse of Dublin sallied out and killed 40 of Ormonds men, and took Mr. Eliot (who was afterwards hanged) and Cap. Baskerfield, with other prisoners.

4. August the 2, Lieutenant general Jones sallied out of Dublin, and took Baggotsrath from the Marquesse of Ormond.

5. Afterwards, the same day, he routed their whole body, saue onely some horse that were then gone with the Lord Inchequeen towards Munster. At which time 4000 of Ormonds men were slaine by two houres fight, and 2517 taken prisoners. There were also taken 8000 armes, 100 colours, 7 peece of ordnance, 200 draught oxen, 500 tents, divers carriages, coaches, boxes, trunks, great store of treasure and merchandise which was in their tents. And there were taken prisoners the Earle of Fingall, two Colonels, the Adjutant generall, 6 Lieutenant colonels, 8 Majors, 41 Captaines, 58 Lieutenants, 42 Ensignes, and divers knights, gentlemen, and inferiour officers.

6. On the 3 of August Lieutenant generall Jones reduced the garrison of Rathgar.

7. After that he took in Ramaines.

8. Then Rathfarnham also was taken by him.

9. The same week he took Manouth.

10. After that the garrison at the Naas.

11. Denabadle was then taken.

12. And Richardstoun also taken by him.

13. He took also the Phoenix, the strong house of the late Earle of Strafford, near the city of Dublin.

14. He reduced also the garrison of Drumconough.

15. And about the same time took the garison of Decabragh [Cabragh].

16. The 8 of August was kept a day of thanksgiving to the Lord, in the city of Dublin, for these and all other his great mercies to them.

17. Sir Charles Coot about the same time sallied out of Londonderry, and with the assistance of supplies raised the siege, forcing the enemy to retire.

18. Sir Charles Coot pursued Sir Robert Stuart and Col. Mervin 12 miles, and took two peece of ordnance and some prisoners.

19. The 13 of August the Lord Lieutenant, with his armado, being ready in South Wales, set out first him selfe to sea towards Ireland, with 32 ships from Milford hauen, leaving Major generall Ireton to follow with more.

20. The 16 of August Major general Ireton set out from thence with 42 sale of ships, all which, with some others, to the number in whole of about 100 arrived safe at Dublin about a week after they first set out.

21. In the interim, Sir Charles Coot in the north of Ireland took the new fort, and so relieved himselfe by sea.

22. He took also the Slagh Castle.

23. He took Mougavelin.

24. He reduced the garrison at Newbridge, and tooke divers prisoners.

25. On the 1 of September the Lord Lieutenant marched out of Dublin with his army, for the reducing of the countrey to the obedience of the Parliament of England, and divers came in to his Excellencie.

26. About a week after his Excellencie besieged Drogheda, where some disserted, and came to him.

27. On Septemb. 11 Drogheda was taken by storme by the Lord Lieutenant and his forces, who slew Sir Arthur Aston the governour, Sir Robert Hartlepoole, and some Irish young Lords, and 4 Colonels, 42 Captaines and Lieutenant colonels and Majors, 44 Lieutenants, 220 reformadoes and troopers, almost all the officers of 44 companies, and 2500 foot soldiers.

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28. On the 12 of Septemb. his Excellencie reduced the garrison of Trim.

29. He took also Dundalke.

30. That day Mr. Peters, the minister, came to Dublin from Milford, with the rest of the forces to joyne with his Excellencie.

31. In the interim, Col. Venables took Carlingford in the north of Ireland, with the three castles, and the fort belonging thereunto, and in them 40 barrels of gunpowder, 7 peece of ordnance, 1000 muskets, and 500 pikes.

32. Col. Venables took the garrison of the Newry.

33. Col. Venables afterwards routed 800 horse, commanded by Col. Mark Trever, killed and took divers, himsele and others of note hardly escaping.

34. The Lord Lieutenant in this month of September took Killingkerick.

35. His Excellencie also reduced the garrison at Arklow passage.

36. His Excellency took the strong garrison of Esmond house.

37. Afterwards his Excellency took the Castle of Fernes.

38. He took also the fort at Slane passage of great consequence.

39. Then his Excellency reduced the Castle of Enisscorfie, belonging to Mr. Wallop, where Ormond had put a garrison.

40. The 1 of October the Lord Lieutenant marched to Wexford and summoned it.

41. The 2 of October his Excellency took the fort which commands the harbour at Wexford.

42. A party of his Excellencies foot, by the help of some vessels, took the Earle of Antrim's frigot with 14 guns.

43. On the 11 of October his Excellency took Wexford by storme, and in it 51 peece of ordnance, besides those in ships, 40 vessels in the harbour, great store of plunder, 2000 were slaine of Ormonds souldiers in the town.

44. Col. Venables took Lisnegarvy garrison.

45. He reduced the garrison of Antrim.

46. Col. Venables took the Scots strong garrison of Belfast, with 15 peece of ordnance, and 12 barrels of gunpowder, and 800 Scots were afterwards turned out of the town, whither they had brought their wives and children to plant themselves there.

47. Sir Charles Coot took the garrison of Colraine, and put all in armes to the sword, and from thence marched to conjunction with Colonell Venables.

48. On the 18 of October the Lord Lieutenant reduced the strong garrison of Rosse, a place of great consequence, in which were store of ordnance and ammunition. And about this time Owen Ro Oneal, generall of the Irish rebels dyed, immediately after hee had entered into a conjunction with the Marquesse of Ormond.

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49. Upon the 1 of November Major Nelson routed 1600 horse and foot about 7 miles from Wexford, commanded by the Lord Inchiqueen, and took Inchequeen's own standard; and divers killed and taken, the pursuit being half a mile.

50. The 13 of November the Lord Lieutenant marched from Rosse with 4000 foot and 2000 horse, and forced Inchequeen to withdraw at a further distance.

51. His Excellency took Enisbrough garrison that was kept by 300 of the Marquesse of Ormond's foot.

52. His Excellency reduced the garrison of Tinterne.

53. His Excellency forced the enemy from Bandonbridge, and took it.

54. His Excellency also reduced the garrison of Dunbardy.

55. His Excellency proceeded on with success, and took the strong garrison and fort of Kingsale, from whence Prince Rupert and Maurice, with some of their ships were fled, onely three of their ships they had left behinde, which were taken for the use of the Parliament of England.

56. The Lord Lieutenant took the Castle of Carick.

57. His Excellency the 24 of November assaulted Waterford round, and slew near 500 of the defendants.

58. His Excellency took the Passage Fort.

59. On the 2 of December the Lord Lieutenant entred possession of the Castle of Kilmac Thomas.

60. The 3 of December the Lord Broghill reduced Dungarvon to the Parliament, with 1200 of Munster foot and horse, where he took 6 peece of ordnance, 16 barrels of powder, and great store of ammunition.

61. Col. Zanchy from the Lord Lieutenant fell on the reare of Lieutenant generall Farrell, who had marched out of Waterford, and slew 30 on the place, and killed and wounded divers in pursuit.

62. Col. Zanchy relieved Passage Fort, besiegd by Col. Woogan, a revolter, with 900 of Ormond's and Ulster foot, and there were slaine of the besiegers near 100 on the place, and Col. Zanchy took 350 prisoners, amongst which Major Oneale and most of the officers of 500 of the Ulster foot.

63. He forced Lieut. gen: Farrald to retreat back to Waterford, who was comming to have joyned with Col. Woogan.

64. The Lord Lieutenant took Castle Cape Cleare with the ordnance and ammunition.

65. Sir Charles Coot and Col. Venables being joyned, fought with the Lord Ards, and the Lord Claiduboyes and their forces, in the north of Ireland near Lisnegarvy, consisting of 2800 horse and foot, and slew 1000 on the place, and 400 in pursuit took all their foot arnes, and 500 horse, 8 barrels of powder, and all their baggage, Col. Hinderson, Col. Hambleton, and divers of note slaine.

66. After this Killileague was taken.

67. Major Stanley took Drumcree, a garrison of Ormond's.

68. He routed a small party neer Drum Castle.

69. About this time about 1500 recruits landed at Dublin, from Chester and Liverpoole.

70. They relieved Killummaccarick Castle, and forced the enemy to retreat.

71. On the 13 of December Sir Charles Coot took possession of Carickfergus, reducing it to the obedience of the Parliament, and turned out most of the Scots that had planted their families there.

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72. After this the Lord Clanduboy submitted to mercy.

73. Col. Hewson raised the enemy from before Arklow Castle, and relieved it with victuals and powder.

74. 800 of Duncannon and Ulster forces were slain, all but a few, in the leaguer at Passage Fort by 5 troops of the Lord Lieutenant horse. Col. Wougan made an escape.

75. Col. Sir Hardresse Waller with recruits from the west of England, landed at Kingsale, and from thence marched to joine with the Lord Lieutenant.

76. Col. Hewson took the garrison of Blackditch.

77. He also took Castle-Martin from the enemy with an onslaught.

78. On the 1 of January Col. Hewson marched into the county of Kildare with 700 horse, and relieved the country from the plundering enemy.

79. Col. Hewson took the garison of Rothdrid.

80. He took also a garrison called Pangers Grandge.

81. Col. Cook with Col. Jefford took from the Lord Inchequeen the garison of Ranous.

82. They took also Murrough garison.

83. They reduced Blorney.

84. They also took the Hold of Killigraham.

85. Baltimore garison was reduced to the Lord Lieutenant.

86. The garison at Castlehauen was surrendred to his Excellency.

87. His Excellency reduced Castle Mallow.

88. Mocollop was taken by his Excellency.

89. Caperqueen also was then taken.

90. His Excellency took Dromanosh.

91. A garison was put into the Castle of Deep which was taken from Ormond.

92. Kildare taken by Col. Hewson, Governor of Dublin.

93. Col. Hewson also took Hartwell.

94. And he possest himselfe of Cotlingstoune kept by Ormond's forces.

95. Divers come in to Sir Charles Coot in the north of Ireland.

96. Sir Hardresse Waller came up with his recruits to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

97. Some of the Lord Inchequeen's scattered horse taken by Colonel Cook.

98. Upon his Excellencie's march Ormond and Inchiqueen took a strong alarm.

99. Much of the prey which Ormond's men had taken from the county was retaken and restored to the people.

100. Dungarvon was also taken by his Excellency.

101. Captain Barrow sallyed out of Arklow, and slew divers of the Lord of Ormond's men that besieged it.

102. Sir Charles Coot took in Castle Doe a strong port.

103. The Lord Lieutenant marching in to Munster, Jan. 13. sent out 150 foot,

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and 220 horse, commanded by Captaine William Walker, who took Tymon Castle kept by Lieutenant Bryan.

104. The 22 of Jan. Cap. William Walker took Artcoman Castle, and all those that kept it prisoners, except one that was a Tory, who was slaine.

105. A party of the Lord Inchequeen's forces having retaken the Castle of Deep, Col. Cook, with Col. Shelburne marched thither, and retook it again on Jan. 25.

106. The Lord Lieutenant took Kilkenny Castle.

107. Cap. Heibotle, with Cap. Thomas Walker, took the Castle of Ballimore on the 1 day of Feb.

108. The Lord Lieutenant took Clogheen a strong garison.

109. On Feb. 2 his Excellency took Mac-mire Castle.

110. His Excellencie also took Raghill Castle, wherein were some Vlster foot, the Captaine whereof was taken prisoner before.

111. His Excellencie took some garisons of the White Knight.

112. His Excellency took other garrisons in Roche's count[r]y.

113. His Excellency reduced all from Moyallo to the Shewer side.

114. The Lord Broghill took Oldecastle town and garison.

115. His Lordship took also Sir Ed. Fits-harris Castle.

116. His Lordship tooke also Moyallo, and hanged six revolvers.

117. The Lord Lieutenant took Fethard a garison of Ormond.

118. Col. Cook reduced the Castle of Ballibock.

119. He reduced Enisscorfy that was betrayed to the enemy.

120. Col. Reynolds with a party of the Lord Lieutenant's forces, routed 100 of the Lord Ossorie's horse, and of the prisoners one revolter was hanged.

121. He reduced the garison at Butler's house.

122. He reduced two places more neer thereby, where 100 were slaine.

123. He took the garison of Knocktofer.

124. Col. Phair with a party of his Excellencies forces marched to Charick-mac, which a party of the Marquesse of Ormond's had taken, surprised 60 of them out of the garison, and caused them to surrender it to him.

125. Major-gen. Ireton took Arfinom, and slew 13 of Ormond's men in taking it.

126. He took a considerable passe over the Shewer.

127. His Excellencie settled the county of Tipperary all but 7 garisons, so that they were then to bring in 1500 pound a month contribution.

128. Col. Cook took Browne's Castle by storme, Feb. 16, where, by reason of two barrels of powder, blowne up by the enemy, there was a greater losse in the taking of it then in the taking of Wexford.

129. On Feb. 26, Col. Hewson with 2000 foot, and 100 horse took Fort Lease garison.

130. He took also Blackreath garison.

131. He then took Kilmaog garison.

132. Feb. 28, Col. Hewson took the strong garison of Balash-anon in the Bog of Allen.

133. He also took Athy a passe upon the Barrow.

134. About the beginning of March, the Lord Lieutenant took the strong Castle of Chace in the iland of Shewer. APPENDIX.

135. His Excellencie reduced also Kiltenton, a strong castle of the Lord Dunboyne's. Irish Wars, 1649-50.

136. His Excellency then also took the Castle of Goldenbridge upon Shewer.

137. Also he took the Castle of Dundrum.

138. Bellenokelly also then taken by his Excellency.

139. Divers holds also taken in the county of Limerick.

140. Col. Cromwell landed at Youghall from Milford-Haven with more recruits.

141. Divers slain at Clonmel, by the Lord Lieutenant's forces before it.

142. The Lord Broghill and Col. Henry Cromwell being joined with their forces defeated the Lord Inchequeen near Limericke, slew 160, took 120 prisoners, viz. Col. Thompson, Col. Jackson, and 3 Col. more, 4 Lieu. Col. and others, and took 300 gallant horse. The Lord Inchequeen himselfe narrowly escaped.

143. Col. Reynolds did beate the Earle of Castlehaven neare Laughlin.

144. Laughlin bridge taken by Col. Hewson, with 200 armes and 800 bushells of corne.

145. Thomas Town and Castle taken by storm.

146. Col. Hewson with 2000 foot and 1000 horse marched into the field, and diverted the Lord Castlehaven's whole army from disturbing his quarters about Dublin.

147. Dublin supplied with coales and corne from Milford Haven.

148. The Lord Lieut. reduced many places in Limbrick.

149. There came from Milford-Haven to Youghall in Ireland, 13 ships laden with oates, beanes, and pease for the supply of the army.

150. The enemies field forces, forced by the Lord Lieutenant army to flie to Kilkenny.

151. The Lord Castlehaven, being shattered, fled to Castle Camber, and sent to Clanrickard and George Monroe, to come speedily to his assistance.

152. Laughlin Bridge taken.

153. Goring garrison taken.

154. The Lord Inchequeen sent desires to the Lord Lieutenant of reconciliation, with promises, ingaging the English party to come in with him, so that he might be accepted.

155. The Lord Lieutenant summoned Kilkenny.

156. The Lord Dunboine, and divers other considerable persons came in and submitted to the mercy of the Lord Lieutenant.

157. There were near 200 horse taken from Limbricke.

158. Col. Johnson, Lieut. Col. T. Langhorne, and Major Syms (all cheife officers under the Lord Inchequeen, being taken) were shot to death at Corke, for disserting the Parliament of England's service, to joyn with the Irish rebels. There were taken also another Col. and some Capt., and other officers, by beating up of quarters.

159. Geram Castle taken by storm, by the Lord Lieutenant, and all put to the sword.

APPENDIX.
Irish Wars,
1649-50.

160. The Lord Lieutenant beate the enemy from two of the churches in Kilkenny, where they had fortified.

161. A very rich ship taken belonging to Waterford.

172 [*sic*]. There came in and submitted two ships of Prince Rupert's with 300 men.

173. Col. Hewson forced the enemies field forces from Castle Dormount, and summoned the Castle, where they left a garrison and fled.

174. Gouran Castle being summoned by the Lord Lieutenant, and refusing some batteries were made against it, March the 21, upon which the common souldiers (that they might have quarter themselves) delivered up their officers, viz. Col. Hammond, Major Townly, two Captaines, Lieut. Donnella, a Quarter-master, and a Popish priest, all which officers were shot to death the next day, save only the Lieutenant, who was spared because he complied with the soldiers, for delivering up their officers; and the priest was hanged.

175. Col. Shilburne took a garrison neare the Grange.

176. A strong castle about halfe a mile from Thomastown, being summoned by the Lord Lieutenant, was surrendred, leaving their armes, drums, coulours, and ammunition behind them.

177. A strong castle and passe over the Barow taken by Col. Hewson.

178. March 22, the Lord Lieutenant summoned Kilkenny.

179. Irish town taken by the Lord Lieutenant.

180. Patrickes Church taken.

181. The city of Kilkenny, together with the castle thereof, which was very strong, after a hot storme was surrendred by Sir Walter Butler to the Lord Lieutenant.

182. A Lieut. Colonel, 3 Majors and 8 Captains, etc., delivered up Cantwell Castle to the Lord Lieutenant, upon condition to be sent beyond the seas to serve elsewhere.

183. Col. Abbot took Enisnag, where two officers were hanged, that revolted from Col. Jones.

184. Adjutant General Sadler, battered Polkerry, near Clonmell, the enemy refusing to come out, he stormed it, put 30 and odde to the sword, and the rest remaining obstinate, were fired in the castle.

185. Ballo in the county of Tipperary was taken by Adjutant general Sadler.

186. Doin taken by him, the enemy marching away, left their armes behinde them.

187. He took also Granno.

188. He reduced also the garison of Donkit near Waterford.

189. He tooke also some other holds in the county of Kilkenny.

190. April 1, 1650, Col. Hewson, Governour of Dublin, marched to Castle Dermont, where the enemy had burnt a great part of the castle the day before, and betooke themselves to a strong tower, which they had not burnt: Col. Hewson caused great store of straw and other combustibile materialls to be put to the doore, and set on fire, which forced them within presently to cry out for mercy, in which place was taken Captain Scurlock, a bloody Tory, 3 Fryers, and divers others.

191. Lieut.-general Trevor and others came in to Col. Hewson upon mercy.

192. A party from Trim marched out beyond Molenger in the county of Westmeath, where they defeated a party of the Irish, killed divers, and returned with a prey of 300 cowes, and 40 garron horse.

APPENDIX.
Irish Wars,
1650.

193. Major General Preston forced into Waterford.

194. Licut. General OFerrald and the Vlsters being expelled were dispersed in Sligo and Galoway.

195. Ormond with a smal party of horse retired into Clare.

196. The Lord Castlehaven upon Colonel Hewson's march retreated to Roscomen.

197. The Lord Inchequeen returned to Thomond for recruits.

198. Limbricke and Waterford hindred of contribution.

199. Cloathes, monies, and necessary recruites came to Sir Charles Coote for his army in the north of Ireland.

200. The forces marching abroad, there were severall garrisons reduced by Sir Charles Coote.

201. The Lord Broughill, with a party from before Clonmell, came to Corke, the 8th of Aprill (the enemy having bodyed in the county of Kerry, were got to Macrump within 12 miles of him, a town and castle of the Lord Muskerrie's, where they daily increased), his Lordship with Captain Dean's and Captain Jennings's troops, his own, and Colonel Warden's, Major Powel's and Cap. Bishop's; and about 800 foot of Sir Hard. Waller, Col. Phaire's and Col. Ryves, the 9th of Aprill marched up within 3 miles of them and beate up some of their quarters.

202. Aprill 10, the Lord Broughill fell upon the enemy at Macrump, and totally routed them, killed between 5 and 600 on the place, whereof some of good quality. And took prisoners [Boetius Egan,] the Bishop of Rosse, their Generall, the High Sheriffe of the county of Kerry, and above 20 captaines, lieutenants and others of note. The standard of the church of Munster, and 8 colours more, and almost 1000 armes were taken, and good store of rich plunder, and the Bishop of Rosse was hanged before Carrigadrohad Castle, and the High Sheriffe condemned to be shot to death by a Councell of War.

203. The Lord Broughill the same day summoned Carrigadrohad Castle, which after the Bishop of Rosse was hanged, was surrendred to the Lord Broughill upon termes, the Governour to be allowed 16 armes to defend his souldiers from the Toryes.

204. May the first, Colonell Venables marched up to joyn with Sir Charles Coot, which caused the Lord Castlehaven, then come into the north, to withdraw with his forces to a further distance.

205. Castlejourden taken by Sir Charles Coot.

206. Kenegad taken also by him.

207. Arnomullin also reduced by him.

208. Col. Reynolds pursued the Lord Castlehaven, and tooke some prisoners.

209. Ineskellin taken.

210. The garison of Tome taken.

211. The Wecklow forces from Killingcargie, and forced to retreat into the Glins.

212. Tome being retaken by the enemy, was again reduced by Sir Charles Coot.

213. The enemy beaten on the borders of Munster, and 20 horse taken.

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Irish Wars,
1650.

214. Charlemount summoned, and divers holds taken about Tecroghan by Colonel Venables.

215. Clonmell taken.

216. Trim was summoned and some taken prisoners.

217. Col. Reeves recruits landed safe at Cork and Pile, and came into Cork the 6 of May.

218. Col. Reeves regiment marched from Cork, May 9. And the enemy having burnt two villages, and fired Macroom a rich towne, where were store of wines and other merchandize, and carried away much plunder, and rumoured themselves to expect to be 6 or 7000 suddenly, Col. Reeves regiment being about 1300 marched up to them, the enemy fled, Colonel Reeves pursued 3 or 4 miles, killed above 100, and quieted the country.

219. Captain Pen took away divers beeves and sheep from the garrison of Inisscatery.

220. Captain Pen took and split 12 boats of the enemies from Clare river to the rivers mouth, 8 of which were 10 tunnes a piece; which hindred the transporting of their cattell and goods from Munster side.

221. Colonel Hewson and Colonel Reynolds, set down before Tecroghan, and, after summons, the Governor refusing to surrender, he drained away their water, and took the ammuniton with the convoy that was comming to them for their supplies.

222. June the 1, the Lord Deputy Ireton, sent in a summons from Clonmell to Waterford, upon which Preston treated.

223. Colonel Zanchy hearing of the Toryes in Killahy Woods, sent Capt. Thornhill, Ball, and Birkham out, who slew 80 and brought off some Tcages, who were afterwards hanged.

224. The Lord Broughill marching into the west, dissolved the Toryes.

225. Kilmallock taken by the Lord Broughill.

226. The Lord Broughill and Major Nelson reduced Kilbolone Castle.

227. Kenrickard taken by his Lordship.

228. Divers barronies submitted to him.

229. A ship of the Lord Inchequeen's laden with iron, was taken.

230. Another ship of the Lord Inchequeen's also taken by the Lord Broughill's men.

231. Colonel Hewson had good successe against the Lord of Castlehaven, who attempted the releife of Tecroghan with 2000 foot through the bogs, one Colonel and other officers were killed, and about a 100 foot souldiers, 300 got into the castle, all the rest was beaten back. In this service the horse could not come to do anything because of the bog, but they that got in, brought them such discouraging newes that they delivered up the garison to Colonel Reynolds, and marched out 1700 proper lusty men.

232. The enemy had 4000 foot, and 600 horse, but they had officers for 14 regiments, and hoped to make up that army to be 14000 within few days, they being all Irish or Papists, not a Protestant amongst them, having taken up an opinion that they should never prosper till they had cleared their army of all

Protestants. Our number were 1800 foot and 600 horse, which were drained out of the Lagan and Clandeboys. The enemy was placed on the side of a hill which was inaccessible, Sir Charles Coote sent out severall forlorn hopes to provok them to fight, with direction to retreat, to the end the enemy might be drawn out to a more commodious place for fight, which succeeded accordingly. The fight continued about an houre, during which time the enemy fought stoutly. A party of ours, fell on that party of the enemy, who fled with the Bishop of Clogher, and tooke him prisoner, and slew many of the party, and took 200 horse. All the commanders were slain or taken, save four which fled with about 40 horse. Sir Charles Coote sent the heads of five of the most eminent to London Derry. There were taken divers letters from Ormond and Castlehaven, wherein they show that all their confidence was in this army.

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Irish Wars,
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In this fight was taken, [Mac Mahon,] the Bishop of Clogher, General. Killed, The Lord of Eniskillen, Colonel; the Bishop of Down; Shane OCane, Major General; Hen. Roe ONeal, General ONeale his son, Colonel of horse; Nice Mac Colleketagh, Col.; Hugh Mac Guier, Col.; Phelemy Mac Tool Oneal, Col.; Hugh Mac Hahan, Col. Lieut: Colonels, Torlogh OBoyle, Shane Mac Donnell, Shane Mac Donnell, James ODonnelly, Phelemy ONeal, Adj: Gen: Torlogh ONeal, Adj: Gen: taken prisoners Shane OHaggan, Hen. ONeil, Quarterm. Gen: Saxton. Majors killed, Phelemy ONeal, Don: ONeal, Emer Mac Quillan, Joh Mac Guier, Cap. of horse, Art Oge ONeal, Col. Mac Maghan, Mull Holland, OQuine, Farrall; Cap. of foot, Stewart, Fergus Farrell, Bryan ONeal, Owen OQuine, Geo. Russell, James Mac Cartain, Patrick OConnally, Donnel Mac Guier Gollager, Bryan Mac Gil, Teige OMac Hugh, Mac Oge OQuine, Cormache OMullan, Hen. Kannalds, Conagher, three priests and fryars killed, 3000 slain in all.*

233. The enemy hath yeelded up to the Lord President all the garrisons in Vlster which they had formerly taken, they having only Charlemount whither he is marched to reduce it.

234. July. The Parliaments army have beleagured three or four of the most considerable garrisons belonging to the enemy in Ireland, viz. Waterford, Carlow Castle, Duncannon, &c., and have severall garisons within six miles of Limbricke, as Lathgar, Rakell, &c., which bring preys of cattle and horse from Limbrick daily. Beefe is sold here for a penny a pound; fish so cheape, that two penny worth will satisfie 8 or 10 reasonable men, and wheat at five shillings a bushell.

The Parliament for manifestation of their high and extraordinary sense of so signal and seasonable mercies, have thought it fit, and their duty, to set apart a time for publick and solemn thanksgiving, to be rendred to the Lord, the Author of these mercies. And they do therefore enact and ordain, that Friday the 26th of July, be observed and kept as a day of publick and holy rejoycing, and thanksgiving to the Lord, in all the churches and chappels, and places of Divine worship within this Commonwealth of England, Dominon of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed. And that the ministers of the respective parishes and places aforesaid, be, and hereby they are required and enjoyned to give notice on the Lords day next preceding the said 26th of July, of the day so to be observed, to the end, the people

* The names are given above as they stand in the original. See also *ante*, p. 150, and vol. ii., p. 87.

APPENDIX.
Irish Wars,
1650.

of their severall congregations may the more diligently attend the publick exercises of Gods worship and service, there to be dispenced upon that occasion; at which time, that the people may be the more particularly informed of this great deliverance and successe, the said ministers are hereby required, and (under the penalty set down in the resolves of Parliament of the ninth of July, 1649) enjoyned to publish and read the act and declaration expressing the grounds and reasons thereof. And for the better observation of the day, the Parliament doth hereby inhibit and forbid the holding or use of fairs, markets, and servile works of mens ordinary callings upon that day; and all mayors, sheriffes, justices of peace, constables, and other officers, be, and are hereby enjoyned to take speciall care of the due observance of the said day of thanksgiving accordingly.

Hen : Scobel. Cleric : Parliamenti.

IV. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

1650.
27. July.
Ormonde
to
Hugh O'Neill.

After our hearty comendations: By an accompt lately given us by the Lord of Muskeryes condition in the westernne partes of the counties of Corke and Kiery, wee finde his Lordship may possibly be distressed (the enemy haveing lately strongly invaded those quarters), if some auxiliaries be not forthwith sent unto him which wee hould of greate concernement to be speedily performed, even in relation to the preservation of the footeinge you have in those partes, that remnant of his Majesties army now with his Lordship beinge the onely visible meanes of divertinge the rebells united forces of that Province from lookinge towards you. And as wee finde Collonell Wogan and Major Plant properly employed to worke a diversion in the county of Lymerick, and Collonell Fennell, Lieutenant-Collonell Dwyer and Captain Magrath, placed where they may on any advantage of that nature readily unite and fall into the county of Tipperary, soe wee conceive Collonell Purcell, Lieutenant-Collonell Pierce Butler, and Major Lacy, with what party they can make uppon the suddaine, may be well spared for his Lordships present assistance, and therefore wee desire you to issue imediate orders unto them to that effect. And soe wee bid you very heartily farewell, from his Majestie's Castle of Athlone, the 27th of July, 1650.

Your very affectionate freind,
Ormonde.

Our intention is that you imploy those troopes to the Lord Muskry only in case you finde noe inconvenience therein, uppon the place.

Ormonde.

Major-generall Hugh O'Neill.

Endorsed: A copy of his Excellencies letter, to Major-generall Hugh O'Neill, from Athlone, dated 27^o July, 1650. Concerninge the distributing of the Mounster forces, and the aideing the Lord Muskry.

V. FATHER PETER WALSH TO ORMONDE.

APPENDIX.

May it please your Excellencie,

In regard that a Chapter is to be held by the Franciscans att Killconnell 1650.
in Connacht, on the 18 of this next August, wherein will preside as Superiour one 29. July.
Father Owen OFeehil (alias Field), a Monster man, (by vertue of a commission lately procured from the Vicar-general of S. Francis's Order, resideing in Italie, but procured by most false suggestions, and att the instance of the late Nuncio and his partie,) a man wholly sideing with those Fathers of that Order who entertaine no good thoughts towards the present, or any government under his Maiestie; it will be expedient your Excellency send to that meeting a bishop of integritie, and two of the Commissioners (if your Excellency thinke fitt), Andrew Lynch, Bishop of Killfinuaran, Syr Luke Dillon, and Geffrey Browne, with instructions to let the Fathers of that meeting know, (especially Father Owen Field, who as 'tis sayed will be Superiour in it,) that although your Excellency and the Commissioners Intrusted in pursuance of the Articles of Peace have sufficiently understood the sinister ends and most daungerous scope aymed att by the unrighteous meanes used in procureing this late Commission to Father Field, and summoning or holding a Chapter by virtue thereof, with contempt of the Commissary-General, Father Peter Marchant, their immediat Superiour's authoritie, and his delegat's in this kingdome, which authoritie and delegate your Excellency and Commissioners were desired by the sayd Father Marchant's lettres, and your Excellency and the sayd Commissioners by your owne both to him and to the Cardinal Protectour, are engaged to support and favour against the friars of that Order in this kingdome, who trampling under foot the vowes they made to God, proved refractory and rebellious towards him: and notwithstanding that you have ever since the conclusion of peace, found the endeavours of most men of that Order in this kingdome, specially of the late Provinciaall, Father Makiernan, of his Definitours, and of other Superiours and friars adhering to him, to have beene adverse to the government, peace and his Majestie's intrests and rights (as formerly the late Supream Councell and Assembly found in their times, and complained of to the general Superiours beyond seas); that likewise, although your Excellency and the Commissioners entrusted have chardged many of the sayed friars with particular crimes, and required Father Caron, delegate in this kingdome of the forsayd Order, under the Commissary-General, yet your Excellencie is content to passe al over in silence, and take no further notice of former differences, if the Fathers of the present meeting att Killconell shall assent to these following propositions:

1. That all abuses hethertoe complained of, and apparantly committed, specially in the two last Chapters, through partiality, national distinction and markes of disfavour and incapacitie layed on such as were knowen affected to the peace, or his Majestie's rights, be reformed in this present meeting, and men that are publikely knowen to be of vertuous and loyal affections to his Maiestie be chosen to governe that Institute, chiefly the Provincial and Definitours.

APPENDIX.

1650.

29. July.

Peter Walsh
to
Ormonde.

2. That for removeing the just suspicions conceived of this meeting such Fathers particularly as adhered to his Maiestie's intrest, unto the late Supream Council, unto your Excellency, and unto the Commissioners of Trust, as wel in the Cessation with the Lord of Inchiquin, as in the peace by your Excellency concluded att Kilkenny, may be satisfied in their grievances, and have hencefoorth and in this present Chapter that indifference and equallitie in elections and offices, which the Fathers who were adverse to them had hethertoo, or shall hencefoorth have.

3. That exemplar and just punishment be inflicted on such as have, since the agreement made with Owen O'Neale, embroyled affaires, or sowed the seeds of sedition amongst the people.

4. That in the present meeting strict acts be made, and severe courses prescribed against such as for the future shall by word or deed publicly or privately use the like pernicious endeavours to the subversion of his Majestie's government, or disturbance of the peace and obedience due to his Excellency the Lord Lievtenant now governing, or such as heerafter shall commaund this kingdome under his Maiestie.

Lastly, that Father Caron approve their proceedings.

It will be expedient that the Commissioners so employed by your Excellency to that meeting, shall let them further know, that if they assent to these propositions, and really performe them in this Chapter, your Excellency will protect, cherish and favour them all indifferently, without any remembrance of what's past.

But if they proceed otherwise, that your Excellency and the Commissioners entrusted in pursuance of the Articles of Peace, must and will esteeme of that meeting as of a seditious conventicle to continue distractions, plot new rebellions, and subvert the peace, lawes, and his Maiestie's rights. And therefore that your Excellency must be necessitated to use against the authors such courses as the lawes divine and humane require for preservation of the kingdome.

Your Excellency may be pleased to draw out of these heads two lettres: one to Father Field, wherein he may know that your Excellency lookes upon him in this meeting as a man appointed by his commission to give satisfaction to the kingdome and to the Fathers who were loyal to his Majestie and the government, onely therefore made objects of contradiction and suffering extremely from such as in the former Chapters had power, and specially from the late Provinciall; that if matters be fairely carried, your Excellencie will acknowledg his merit therein, as much deserveing of his Maiestie and of the kingdome: if otherwise, that he must principally expect to be accountable, as a man that pretends to have the onely power in that meeting for confirming or infirming all the elections and acts.

An other lettre to all the Fathers in generall, advertising them of their former proceedings and declareing that your Excellency expects in this meeting a reformation of such abuses by indifferent elections of men hethertoo knowne loyall, if they expect the opinion or protection due to good subiects.

As for the instructions of the Commissioners they are formerly observed.

Endorsed: Father Peeter Wailshe's memoriall. Delivered to his Excellency the 29th of July, 1650. Concerning the meeting at Kilconnell.

VI. LORD DILLON TO ORMONDE.

APPENDIX.

May it please your Excellency,

All the account I can give your Lordship of the infection heere
 sithence yow parted is, that none dyed of it yesterday or last night, for I have taken
 a course that such persons as were suspected was forced to retire to the boggs, and
 the rest of the townesmen are gonn else where to live (few excepted). If your
 Excellencie comes not to the now randesvouze appointed, and settle this garrison, I
 have verry little hopes of anny apparance of an army. And such of them as comes,
 heere is not a Commissioner, or any other person authorized, to order or provide
 for them, soe that your Lordships presence heere will doe much. I shall humbly
 desire your Excellencie to thinke of sendinge hither a good quantity of amunition,
 for it will bee much wantinge, the enemy haveinge a designe on this place verry
 soone, as I am this day informed, and to that purpose their horse are drawne to
 Mullingare.

1650.
 31. July.
 Lord Dillon
 to
 Ormonde.

My Lord, the money spoken off to bee in the infected howse heere, was conveyed
 away before it could be seized upon, yett I am in quest after it, but with little
 expectation of gettinge the same,

I am your Excellency most faithfull and most humble servant,
 Dillon.

Athlone Castle, ult. Julij, 1650.

For his Excellency the Lord Marquess of Ormond, Lord Liutennant Gennerall
 of Ireland.

Endorsed: Lord President of Connaught. Dated ult. Julij. Rec. 1 Aug., 1650.

Athlone Castle,
 6 August, 1650.

My Lord,

I am certainlie informed by Sir Nich. Whyte, that the enemy intends
 nothing more nowe then the gettinge of this place, for which they have made great
 preparations; and conceaves themselves masters of the kingdom if they gaine it.
 Some offers hee has brought to mee from them, all which my Lord President of
 Munster will informe your Excellencie of, as allsoe what other newes Sir Nich.
 Whyte had; this inclosed is a coppie of what intelligence came to mee all in sypher
 from Sir Ro. Byrron. The enemy desires much to speake with me, butt it shall
 bee your Excellencie's commands that will gyde mee in that perticular, as it doth in
 all other thinges. If your Excellencie conceaves it not proper for mee to give them
 a meetinge, by reason of the trust reposed in mee by his Majestie, I beleeeve noe
 other preiudice can happen therout, which I humbly offer to your Lordship's
 consideration if you esteime it one. I am confident that it would subiect my person
 to the scandle of thos that are not acquainted with my intentions, butt that I value

6. Aug.
 Lord Dillon
 to
 Ormonde.

APPENDIX.
1650.

6. Aug.
Lord Dillon
to
Ormonde.

not in respect of doeing his Majestie the least servise that is; certainlie its the time I have taken to consider of this bussiness that has stayed the enemie's advance to this place ere now, and doute not of theyr beeing heere verie soone. If our forces be heere before them, accordinge your Excellencie's orders, the enemie will have a hard taxe of it, though they bee 6000 horse and foote when Coote is ioyned with them, besides the partie Waller carried with him for Munster. I shall expect your Excellencie heere on Thursday, and remaine

Your Excellencies most faythfull and most . . .
Dillon.

Mr. Secreterie Lane had discourse with Sir Nich. Whyte, and acquainted him with what hee knewe.

Endorsed: 6 Aug., 1650. Lord President of Connaght. Dat[ed and] Rec. Sept., 1650. Concerning the enemys desireing to speake with his lordship, etc.

May it please your Excellencie,

16. Aug.
Lord Dillon
to
Ormonde.

This inclosed from . . . came to mee all in shipper, which had beene with your Lordship ere this butt that the shipper was mislead. I have since then writt to Sir Ro: and hope verie soone to receave at lardge from hime all the newes of England; which shall speedelie be sent to your Excellencie; before this comes to your hands I am confident the enemie will visett this place wher they will gett butt like opposition in gaineinge of it, it beeing destitute of men, vitles, and amunition. Thos forces of Linster I could not gett yett to a bodie, the Commissioners did soe disperss them in theyr quarters, that the officers can give noe account of the souldier, nor the souldier knowe wher to finde his officer. Since Mr Coghlan's letter, I beleve the enemy has aduanced in his march this way, and I doute not will endeavor all hee can to make his passadge over the Shannon. I have written to my Lord of Clanricard and offered hime my advise that the best way for the preservation of Connaght weare to drawe all the forces hyther, which if not don immediatlie, I doute this place will bee the enemie's as allsoe to furnish it without delay with amunition. This is all the account I can at present give your Excellence, it beeing noe way satisfactorie to

Your Excellencies most faythfull and most humble servant,
Dillon.

Athlone Castle, 16th August, 1650.

I am confident thos of Drougheda, Trime, and the garrisons in them partes, will meete Axtell at this towne.

Endorsed: Lord President of Connaght's. Dated 16. Rec. 18 Aug., 1650. Concerning Axtell.

VII. ULSTER BISHOPS AND OTHERS TO ORMONDE.

APPENDIX.

May it please your Excellencie,

Beeing informed of the proceedings at Charlemonte, wee thought it our duety to informe your honor therof, which hapned as followeth : The enemy haveinge longe continued aboute the same with a close sige, with thir artilerie made a greate breach in the workes aboute the Castle, wherein they did enter three severall tymes upon the sixt of this month and were forced backe, (after longe dispute,) to their losse of men and armes. They were soe violente in the prosecucion of the breach that they caused their horsemen to serve afoott, who were left in great numbers with armor and pistolls. After they were betten from the wales, the besiged had of the enemyes armes 350 musketts, six hundered pikes, pistolls, and armor for 100 horse. It is assured unto us that the enemy lost fourteen Captains, with other officers, and upwards of eight hundred men. But Sir Phelym, beeing necessitated by the wante of amunition and provision, [and] haveinge lost the most of his cheefe officers and souldiers to a verie fewe, was forced to take quarter with bagg and baggage to march away upon Tuesday last, which he did the next day followeing; and although the said place hath beene lost, and notwithstandinge the disaster at Tireconell, wee doubt not by God's helpe and your Excellencie's assistance to appeare shortly considerable in the field for the advancement of his Majesty's service, which assistance with other favors is confidently expected by

1650.
18. Aug.
Ulster Bishops
and others
to
Ormonde.

My Lord,

Cloghoughter, 18 Aug., 1650.

Your Excellencies most humble servants,

H : Ardmachanus.

Coll : Mc Mahon.

Fr. Arth. Dunensis et Connorensis.

Hugh Mac Mahon.

Phi : Reily.

Phillipp Rely.

For his Excellencie the Lord Marques of Ormond, the Lord Livetenant Generall of Ireland, these. In hast.

Endorsed : The titular Archbishop of Armagh and others letter. Dated the 18. Rec. the 28 Aug., 1650. Concerning the defence and surrender of Charlemont by Sir Phe[lim] O'Neile, etc.

VIII. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

After [etc.] : Wee have herewith directed our leter* to the Mayor and Councell of Lymerick, requiring them to send Colonel Mortagh O'Brien unto us, in the nature of prisoner, to answer for robbery committed by him upon his Majesty's subiects in this county. This wee should have required from you, but that wee know you are not in condition to put our orders in execution. However, wee thought fit to give you notice thereof, and in case the city shall refuse to comply with our comand, wee then require you to withdraw your self thence, and soe wee remaine. And soe we bid you heartily farewell, from Clare Castle, 18th of August, 1650.

To Major-Generall Hugh O'Neill.

18. Aug.
Ormonde
to
Hugh
O'Neill.

VII. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 223.

VIII. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 226.

* See p. 174.

APPENDIX.

IX. ORMONDE TO MAYOR OF LIMERICK.

1650.
18. Aug.
Ormonde
to
Mayor of
Limerick.

After, etc. Complaint haveing bin made unto us by divers of the inhabitants of this county against Colonel Murrough O Brien, that hee had with armed men robbed them of their catell to a considerable value and driven them into that city or under shelter thereof, wee have thought fit hereby to require you upon your allegiance to secure the person of the sayd Colonel, and to send him to Colonel Edward Wogan whoe hath order from us to receive him ; as also, upon his haveing the sayd Colonel in his custody, to restore unto the inhabitants of that city what catell hee hath by order from us seised upon. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell, from Clare Castle, the 18th of Aug. 1650.

Endorsed : Coppy of my Lord's letters, the one to Major-General Hugh O Neill, the other to the Mayor and Comon Councell of Lymerick, dated 18th of Aug., 1650, from Clare.

X. COLONEL JOHN FITZPATRICK TO ORMONDE.

18. Aug.
Colonel
Fitzpatrick
to
Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

Your orders for drawing to Collonell Fennell I receaved just now. I have formerly writt to your Excellency that aboute four of the cloke this morning six hundred horse and dragunes of the enemye came to Belanaha to force the passage, to effect which they man[n]ed the castill, house, and wales of Belanaha, where they kept play for two hours, and aboute ten of the cloke they drue off, aboute hafe a mile from Belanaha ; which being discovered, a party of Major Mc Narinhys men and mine weare sent over to man the castill whilst the wals are ademolisheing by masons, and some scattered horse sent to scirmish ; this party that wee saw remaines as yett in the above mentioned place ; and within this houre, there is a contry man come over from that side of the river where they are, which says that there is above a thousand foot, and the matter of thirty waggons halfe a mile behinde this party of them in our sight ; of which I thought good to give your Excellency advertisement, to the end I might know your Excellency's further pleasure either in vinterring to joyne with Collonell Fennell or in staying heare, and if heare, I humbly desire some provision might be hastoned to me. If otherwise and that a considerable party of horse and foot be not commanded to supply my place before my departure, I doubt not the passages heare with littill loss will be gained withoute dispute. I submitt the premises to your Excellency's consideration, and soe conclude,

Your Excellency's most faithfull servant,
John Fitzpatricke.

Killalow, 18. Augusti, 1650.

Postscript. The enemy had the route of Captain Wailshe's troope this morning, as I understand of some of their officers ; they lost 20 horse.

As I was writin the postscript, the enemy, with a 100 horse and dragunes, advanced with the best speede they coulde to the very passe and bett what party of ours that was in the castill oute, a proffered 40 gained the passe, but they weare beaten to the rest. I conclude as formerly,

Yours, J. P.

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18. Aug.
Colonel
Fitzpatrick
to
Ormonde.

For his Excellency the Lord Leut. Generall of Irland, these. Hast, hast, hast.
Endorsed: Collonell John Fitz Patrick. Dated 18th. Rec. 19th Aug., 1650.

XI. MAJOR THOMAS MCINHERNEY TO ORMONDE.

May please your Excellencie,

This morening arrived at the other side of the water a party of horse, containeing as I can conjecture foure hundred more or lesse. As farr as I am informed, they are the garrisons of the county of Lymerrick. Theyre attempt was this, they lodged the matter of 60 dragons in the house of Balahana, which is as yett undemolished, they kept theyre play for a while. Collonell Fitz Patricke immediatly seconded me with 60 of his horse and foote, otherwise I beleieve the passage had beene forced. They keepe as yett in our sight. It is thought, as we are informed, that there is a great party to joyne with them by the way of Ormond. All the worke I have done here I protest it was digged by nayles and skeynes, for after severall sommons they would not help me to one spade. This day after theyre retiring I man[n]ed the foresaid castell, and am now demolishing it by some mazons. The Major-General Hugh O Neale left me yesterday. We have noe more left then one ferquin of powder, noe quantity of bullets. Your Excellencie wilbe pleased to command Collonell Fitz Patricke to joyne in keeping the passage till further order; also wilbe pleased to ordaine both him and us some sudden reliefe of both provision and amunition, wich is all that can be demanded by

Your Excellencies most humble servant,
Thomas McInerh[erney].

Killaloe, 18. August, 1650.

For his Excellencie the Lord Lieutenant Generall of Ireland. Haste, haste, haste.

Endorsed: 18. Aug., 1650. Major McInerheny.

XII. CLANRICARDE TO ORMONDE.

May it please your Excellencie,

The inclosed, receiued late this night, I held necessary to send unto your Excellencie with all expedition, containing an exact relation of the bussness of Charlemont, a very probable expectation of recovering Iniskillin, and an invitation to me to take some comand in Ulster, as I find by the conclusion of the

19. Aug.
Clanricarde
to
Ormonde.

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19. Aug.
Clanricarde
to
Ormonde.

lettre, and severall other circumstances; and your Excellencie's pleasure and instruction in the two last, together with the returne of the lettre, I humbly desire may be speedly transmitted to me with all cleernes, for upon your stay or departure unalterably depends my ingageing or declining all overtures whatsoever, and with all I am to informe your Excellencie that there being now litle feare of invasion from the north, I have a high designe of imediatly making over a bridge before the Forte at Mylocke, so that your Excellencie's forces aboute Kilaloe, my Lord Dillon's from Athlone, and mine from that place, may severally or united goe upon any designe unto Leinster or Munster, at least gaine subsistance and contribution for our forces; and I hope soe to contriue the matter as with all to give considerable assistance to Ulster, and as a good omen that the game begins to play on our side. At a greate and publicke assembly of the contrey this day, upon the buriall of a churchman, an excellent and as I may properly say in these times a very bould sermon was preached, exhorting obedience to the King's authority, setting foorth the preiudices by the neglect of it and the advantages to be gained, together with some reprovemens of the cleargy and the Bishop of our diocess present, who by a speech of his owne seemed to countenance his doctrine, for which in parte I beleeeve wee may thanke the late neere approach of the enemy; and I have sufficiently divulged and increased the danger to Gallway where there is now an assembly of the Prelates; and my inclination to please my imagination with the hopes of comfortable changes, and to invite your Excellencie to the same beleefe, hath raised that confused large presumption in

Your Excellencie most faithfull humble servant,
Clanricarde.

Portumna, the 19th of Aug., 1650.

For your Excellencie.

Endorsed: Lord Marquis of Clanricard. [Dated] 19. Rec. 20 Aug., 1650.

XIII. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

Sir,

22. Aug.
Ormonde
to
Hugh O'Neill.

By a letter of yesterday's date, concerning Collonel Bryen O'Neile's men, I conceive you are not rightly informed either of the manner of their coming into this country, the present state of the north, or of the condition of the country. I have thought fitt therefore to lett you understand that as I know not by what authority Collonel Bryen O Neile hath a regiment of foote, (he haveing had noe comission from mee for one,) soe his coming into this country was without order from mee or any other officer of the army either heere or in Ulster, for any thing he made appeare to mee when he came to mee to Inchiquin; and how farr forth men raising regiments without comission, and marching without any orders with them from the partes wherein they weare in other capacitys appointed to serve, are to be countenanced, wee leave to you (who well knows what belongs to discipline

and order) to iudge. Wee might ad to this that since my last coming into this county uppon complaint made to mee by severall of the inhabitants of the exactions of that party, I sent a letter for the Collonel to come to mee, which he hath not only neglected to doe, but hath not soe much as returned mee any answer, as if he conceived there was noe accoumpt or obedience due to mee. Though these are grounds sufficient for me not to permitt those men to stay in this county, yet the principall reason of my giving them orders to march into the north was thorough the many letters the Marquis of Clanricard dayly receives out of the north to send forces thither, which cannot soe properly be of any as of those of knowledge and interest in that province, as I conceive none more fitt or able to defend these partes then those of knowledge and interest heere, of whom you see I am faine to send many away for want of meanes to support them where they are most usefull, who certainly would not take it well to be sent to shift for meanes, whilest the meanes and defence of their owne country is allotted to others and those unarmed men, for plaine it is that meanes and not men are wanting to defend this country. I have been thus large and free with you in my reasons for the orders I have given and cannot revoke, to lett you see what value I sett uppon your dutyfull endeavours for the King's service and of your affection to mee, which, as noe private suggestion (if it weare that way attempted) shall make mee to doubt, soe, in iustice I may expect from you that the issueing and pursuing of soe necessary orders may not be misunderstood by you, but that you will beleve (for soe you will infalibly finde it) that in what may concerne your honour and interest, if I finde it consistent with my duty to my master, I shall be industrious to serve you, and uppon all occasions soe offered manifest my being

Your faithfull frend and servant,

Balyvauan, 22. Aug., 1650.

Ormonde.

Endorsed: 22 Aug., 1650. A copy of my Lords letter to Major Gen: Hugh O Neile.

After our hearty comendacions: In answer to your letter of the 26th currant, incloseing the copy of a late result of the Mayor and Corporation of that citty concerning a garrison to be immediately sent in thither, wee think fitt to signify unto you that it is our pleasure you accordingly comand thither forthwith the severall troopes and Collonell Fitz Patrick's party therein mentioned, not doubting but the Commissioners appointed for the affaires of this Province will, according to our comands in our letter heerewith sent you, not only provide what they possibly may before hand for them and the regiment of Collonell Murtagh O Bryen, but alsoe constantly in future what shall amount to the countrys proportion for their charge, it being but iustice that the citty should alsoe contribute its proportion. The Collonell Fitz Patrick's men are already well armed and have a proportion of amunition, and what shall be further necessary shall be ordered for them.

Wee have by this your messenger sent our orders to Collonell Wogan and the party at Six-mile-bridge to rendezvous immediately at Foybagh, and to obey your orders; and as to Castle Troy, wee being informed that it may be demolished,

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22. Aug.

Ormonde

to

Hugh O'Neill.

27. Aug.

Ormonde

to

Hugh O'Neill.

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Ormonde
to
Hugh O'Neill.

though the rebells weare before it, it is our pleasure if you shall iudge it feazible to issue orders for that purpose; otherwise that it may be defended as long as is possible, that in the intrim you may put your selfe into a posture and fortify on this sid the river, to prevent their passage into this county though it should fall into their hands. Wee have given order to our very good lord, the Lord President of Mounster, to raise the country in armes and to put them into a posture of defence, and desire you to proceed in the raiseing of a regiment of foote, for which wee shall send you a comission uppon our coming to Loghreagh. And soe, etc., 27 August, 1650.

Endorsed: Copie of his Ex[cellency's] to Major Generall Hugh O Neill, 27 Aug., 1650. From Inchiquine.

XIV. ORMONDE TO ARCHBISHOPS OF CASHEL AND TUAM.

28. Aug.
Ormonde
to
Archbishops
of Cashel
and Tuam.

After our hearty comendacions: Being come hither in expectacion to meete your Lordships,* wee are in hope on the Commissioner's second letters sent herewith that you will repaire hither some tyme tomorrow, at which tyme you shall receive our answeare to the proposalls made unto us by the Bishoppe of Dromore and Doctor Kelly. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell and remaine at Loghreogh, the 28 of August, 1650,

Your Lordships very loving freind,

Ormonde.

Endorsed: 28 Aug., 1650. Coppie of his Excellencie's to the Archbishops of Cashell and Tuam, etc., met at Galway. Concerning the answers of Doctor Kelly and the Bishop of Dromore.

XV. BISHOPS OF RAPHOE, KILLALA, AND FERNS TO ORMONDE.

May it please your Excellencie,

29. Aug.
Bishops
of Raphoe,
Killala,
and Ferns
to
Ormonde.

The prelates mett at Jamestowne being dispersed into severall Provinces, we were not able upon so short a warneing to bring them together to be at Loghreagh the 26th of this instant (as the Commissioners did expect, and soe desired, though never promised) to waite upon your Excellencie, and to conferre with them. Now, in compliance with your Excellencie's desire, by your letter of yesterdays date, our verie good Lords, the Bishops of Corke, and Clonfert goe together, sent to receive your Excellencie's answeare to our proposals by the Bishop of Dromore and Dr. Kelly from Jamestowne, we humbly desire, that your Excellencie wilbe pleased to dispatch them to us, who are

Your Excellencie's most humble servants,
Joannes Rapotensis.
Franciscus Aladensis.
Nicolaus Fernensis.

Galway, 29 August, 1650.

Endorsed: Bishoppes at Gallway [dated] 29. Rec. 31 August, 1650.

XVI. LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM FROM COMMISSIONERS OF TRUST. APPENDIX.

Our very good Lords,

His Excellencie haveing communicated with us the answeare which by our very good Lords, the Lords Bishops of Clonfert and Corke, he sent unto your Lordships, wee doe observe his Lordship's resolved for the reasons therein sett forth to continue heere, as conceauing it of greatest advantage for his Majesty's service and the good of the kingdome that he should soe doe; and wee who, in order to his Majestie's government over us, and the expectation of the consummation of that benefitt which by the Articles of Peace was derived unto the people, have been intrusted by them, doe see it evidently playne before us that if, through want of your Lordship's intire concurrence in encouraging the people to pay all obedience to his Majesty's authoritie placed in his Excellencie, there be any devisiion or backwardnes in the affections of the people, the nation is exposed to unavoydable ruine. Wee therefore may not omitt in dischardge of our duty to intimate unto your Lordship that if, at this instant of tyme, when his Majestie's armes are succesfully prevalent in England, and that wee doe looke upon his victories and the power of his loyall subiects of England and Scotland as the most probable meanes to relive our present distresse and to enable his Majestie to make good unto us the concessions of the late peace, his Majestie's authoritie placed in his Excellencie shall meet with any such disobedience as your Lordships might any way prevent by your influence upon the people, or shall not endeavor to remove by censures and otherwise the disodience of the citty of Limericke, and other disobediences which in a high measure have obstructed his Majestie's service, your Lordships and the rest of the clergie will be conceaved not onely to have drawn away your helping hand from advancing his Majestie's service but to have cooperated to the ruine of the kingdome in dislike (as it will be perhaps sayed) of his Majestie's government over us, and the whole nation will be esteemed guiltie of the same crime, if you who have the greatest power over theire inclinations be apprehended to be unwilling his service should be advanced heere, whereof wee feare noe greater prooffe will be sought then that perfect obedience is not paid to his Majestie's authoritie. Wherefore wee doe, in dischardge of the trust in us, humbly beeseech your Lordships that you doe by exhortation and spirituall censures induce and compell all manner of persons cheerefully to submitt unto and render absolute obedience to his Majesty's authoritie, this being the onely meane which appears unto us likely at present to meet the enemye's powerful preparations against us, or which may iustifie our proceedings to his Majestie, and conserve this nation capable of those benefitts which by his favors onely and the sense of the nation's good affection to his service hath or can be derived unto them; and for ground of incouragment to the people wee doe assure your Lordships, that his Excellencie is now prepareing to drawe a very considerable power from all parts to a body, to resist those mischeevous designes of extirpating our religion and nation which the enemyes have proposed unto them-

1650.

2. Sept.

Letter to
Archbishop
of Tuam, etc.,
from Commrs.
of Trust.

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2. Sept.

Letter to
Archbishop
of Tuam, etc.,
from Commrs.
of Trust.

selves. Thus desiring earnestly your Lordship's compliance with, and answer unto, thees requests of ours, wee remaine.

Loghriegh, 2. Sept., 1650.

Signed: Athunry.

Lucas Dillon;
N. Plunkett;
R. Barnewall;
R. Everard;

R. Bellings;
Geffry Browne;
Gerald Fenell.

To the Lord Arch-Bishop of Tuam and the rest of the Prelates at Gallway.

Endorsed: Commissioners in Trust to the Lord Archbishop of Tuam His Grace, and the rest of the prelates mett at Gallway, 2. Sept: 1650.

XVII. MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL TO SIR HARDRESS WALLER.

Sir,

9. Sept.

Hugh O'Neill
to
Sir Hardress
Waller.

I receaved both your letters, one of them importinge an awnswere of a letter directed by mee to the Lieutenant Generall of your armye. As for your kinde expressions therein contained, I shall indeavor to awnswere them, with as much civillitye on my parte, as you can expect for a man of my qualitye, standinge at the distance with you, as I am for the tyme. As for your other letter, which I conceave to be in the nature of a summons, containinge the gret preparations you have in redines to besiege this place on both sydes, I thought fitt to lett you knowe, that noe such threats are able to daunte my resolucions, seeing I am noe stranger to the like.

Sir, I am intrusted with this place from my Lord Lieutenant to maintaine itt for the use of his Majestye, Kinge Charles, which I resolve by God's assistance to perfourme, notwithstandinge any power shall offer against mee, even to the effusion of the last droppe of my blood. I thanke you for the care you have to shun effusion of blood; I am as loath to itt as you; but I conceave my honnor noe lesse concerned in my hazard for the defence of my lawfull Kinge then yours is for the State of England, and I am hopefull God Almightye will give successe accordinglye. So I rest,

Sir,

Your servant,

Lymericke, the 9th [Sept.], 1650.

Copia Vera.

Hugo Neill.

Endorsed: The cobby of Major Generall Neile's letter to Sir Hardresse Waller, the 9th of Sept., 1650.

XVIII. MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

9. Sept.

Hugh O'Neill
to
Ormonde.

May it please your Excellencie,

I received your lettre this day about 10 of the clock, and as I was making my selfe ready, in obedience of your Excellencies comaund to waite on you, the inclosed was directed to me from the enimy by a trumpett, which I thought fitt to

dispatch to your Excellencie that I might know your Excellencie's resolution thereupon. Your Excellencie knowes what posture of defence I am in, having not a man within this guarison, and Colonell Bryen's regiment being this day commanded away by orders from your Excellencie, soe that I shall humbly intreate your Excellencie to put the place speedily in a way of defence, otherwise I doe not conceive it safe for me to remaine heere. The Mayor and Councell are still willing to receive a guarison, if condicions be performed for their mainteynance, but if the danger threaten them sooner then they expect they will not faile with their lives and fortunes, conforme to their oathes, to mainteyne the cittie for his Majestie's use, as they have at this hower certified me. I receaved an other lettre in answeare to one I sent to Ireston to procure a passe for my aunt, Generall O'Neill's lady, which I likewise send unto your Excellencie. Alsoe I humbly intreate that this letter may be sent me back againe, if your Excellencie be soe pleased, which is all till the next occasion. I humbly take leave and remaine,

Your Excellencies most humble Servant,

Lymerick, 9th [Sept.], 1650.

Signed: Hugo Neill.

I have likewise sent your Excellencie the coppie of my answeare to Sir Hardresse Waller.

Endorsed: Coppie of Major Generall Hugh O'Neill to his Excellencie, 9 Sept., 1650.

Maye itt please your Excellencie

This eveninge there came an hott allarum from the enemye, that after the takeing of Carricke, they marched with their whole armye towards the river's side, intendinge to transporte their armye to Cratlagh. I am likewise toulde, that the Ladye of Castleconnell hath condicioned the deliverye of that place, and that itt shall not annoye them in their landinge. Shee likewise sent a bigge boate under coulour of transportinge some goods from the other side, which the enemye have made use off. Upon this suddaine allarum, I gave imedyate orders to Lieutenant Colonell Bryen with his foote, and Pierce Laeye with his horse, to march towards the place for defence of itt. As your Excellencie pleaseth to approve of this or to comande that partye any where else, itt shall bee donne as your Excellencie shall prescribe. This cittye continue in their wonted distractions; when I wrytt my last unto your Excellencie they were willinge by the vote of a Generall Assembly to receave in a guarrison, which beeing brought next morninge unto their gates, were refused to bee lett in, the generall consent of the whole cittye beeing prevented by a factious and disaffected fewe leadinge men. All of them doe solemnlye attest and vowe they will defend this place to the hazard of the last man, but knowinge the inconvenience that followeth upon the bringinge in of a guarison, before provision bee made for them before hande, they will not, so that my condicion is very hard on both sydes. I shall therefore humblye intreate your Excellencie to take this into your serious consideration, and prescribe a waye that a guarison maye bee maintained heere, otherwise to comande mee somewhere

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9. Sept.

Hugh O'Neill
to
Ormonde.

15. Sept.

Hugh O'Neill
to
Ormonde.

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Hugh O'Neill
to
Ormonde.

else, for I conceive itt neither advantagious to his Majestye's service, nor sutable for mee to remayne in this place as I am, so humblye take leave, and remaine,

Your Excellencie's most humble servant,

Lymericke, 15 September, 1650.

Hugo O'Neill.

My Lord, there is noe amunition belonging to the publike in this place; neither could I procure one barrell of powder from this cittye to be sent for the defence of Crattellagh, which I humbly intreat your Excellencie maye bee prevented by some speedye remedye, not knowinge howe soone occasion maye offer that wee shall stande in neede, for if the enemye bee once landed, they shall not bee so easilye thrust out againe, as nowe to keepe them offe when they are in the other syde. If your Excellencie conceaves itt fitt that the Castle of Crattellagh and other such places uppon the Shannon syde were demolished, I thinke itt were not amisse.

For his Excellencie, the Lord Lieutenant Generall of Irelande, these. Hast, hast, post hast.

Endorsed: From Major Generall Hugh O'Neill. Dated 15. received 17 September, 1650. Concerning the distractions and irresolution of the cittizens of Limbrick concerning their receiveing a garrison for their deffence, etc.

XIX. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

17. Sept.
Ormonde
to
Hugh O'Neill.

After, etc. We received your severall lettres and doe well approve of your commaunding Colonell Fit Patrick's regiment into that citty; alsoe of your sending to man Crattellagh, wee haveing comaunded men thither to that purpose upon the like intelligence given yow, and wee had determined yesterday the demolishing thereof, but that Comissioners advised the manning thereof as of better use for the opposeing the enimye's designs. By our lettres to the Mayor of that citty we certified what we will doe as to the guarisoning thereof, and to that particuler desired his speedy answeare. We had late notice of diverse practices of the Bishop of Killaloe* to withdraw the souldiery and people from their obedience to his Majestie's authority in us, a practice soe dangerous, distructive and preiudiciall to the present service, that if he were not put from the further prosecution thereof it might obstruct all, and consequently afford the rebells oportunity to land men this side the river, which to prevent is our present endeavour. This we thought fit to let you know, lest some malicious persons, whereof there are too many ready to asperse us, might declare the same otherwise unto yow, or others there very apt to beleive the worst of reportes of us. And soe, etc., 17 September, 1650.

Your loveing freind,

Major Generall Neill.

Signed: Ormonde.

Endorsed: Coppie of his Excellencie's to Major Generall Hugh O'Neill. Dated 17 September, 1650.

XX. MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

APPENDIX.

Maye itt please your Excellencie,

I receaved yours this morninge by the handes of Captaine Magrath, and beeing retired in my chamber notice was given mee of a Declaration openlye published in the church by the whole cleargye of this cittye, declininge the government in your Excellencie's person, together with an Excommunication* thereunto anexed against all who should adhere unto or countenance the same. I am sorrye itt is my badd fortune to bee amongst a people where such distraccions are in a kingdome, which is altogether overrun by a comon enemye, not layinge to heart the sadd experience which our former divisions manifested unto us. I coulde wishe my selfe rather out of the world then to bee witnes to the calamityes and afflictions which will undoubtedlye issue upon this revolution, if not speedilye prevented by your Excellencies wisdom in indeavouringe a right understandinge betwixt you and the cleargye. Your Excellencie knoweth what religion I professe, and that I cannot in conscience but make a scrupple of beeing any waye subject to so heavye a sentence as that of Excommunication, so that I resolve to sequester my selfe from any publique ingagement either to the one side or the other, untill itt shall please God to settle a right understandinge amongst us, which I am hopefull your Excellencie will not take in evill parte on my behalfe, soe humblye takeing leave, I ever remaine,

Your Excellencie's most humble servant,

Hugo O'Neill.

Lymericke, 18 September, 1650.

For his Excelencie the Lord Lievtenant Generall of Ireland, these present.

Endorsed : Major Gen. Neile. Dated 18. Rec. 19 Sept., 1650. By Lieutenant Collonel Piers Butler. Concerning the publishing of the clergie's Excommunication in the church of Limbrick and his resolution to sequester himselfe from any publique engagement, etc.

Maye itt please your Excellencie,

Itt greeved mee much that I had not the happines to kisse your Excellencie's hande before your departure. I am noe lesse sorrye I cannot have the honor to wayte on you before your Excellencie goes out of the kingdome, by reason of the trouble heere. Mr. Walshe will give your Excellencie an accompte of the earnest desire I had to see you for noe other end but to receave your Excellencie's particular comands, which I have allwayes beene and shalbe in readines to putt in execution, beeing I glorye in nothing more then to bee esteemed a faithfull observer of monarchicall governement, which I am hopefull that I have given some prooffe of my constant indeavors to satisfye the expectations I conceaved your Excellencie did intertaine of mee, and shalbee ambitious of nothings more then to receave that

xx. Carte Papers, xxx. p. 244, and xxviii. p. 395.

* For the Declaration and Excommunication, dated 12th August, 1650, see vol. ii. pp. 100—107.

APPENDIX.
1650.

19. Oct.
Hugh O'Neill
to
Ormonde.

favor att your Excellencie's hands, as I maye assure my selfe your Excellencie
houldeth still that favourable oppinion of mee, that I am

your Excellencie's most faithfull and most devoted humble servant,
Huga O'Neill.

Lymericke, 19 October, 1650.

For his Excellencye the Lord Lieutenant Generall of Ireland, these present.

Endorsed: Major Gen. Neil. Dated 19. Rec. 21. October, 1650. Sorrye he
cannot kiss his Excellencys hands before his leaveing the kingdome, and professes
himselfe for monarchicall goverment, etc.

XXI. BASIL TO LENTHAL.

Right Honorable,

4. Nov.
Basil
to
Lenthal.

Your Honor may please to understand, that upon the sixth of October
last, Colonel Axtel, governor of Kilkenny, drew what forces could well be spared
out of this place, and other adjacent garisons, viz. eight hundred horse and foot, and
marched towards the King's county, both to supply and settle our garisons in those
parts, lying upon the Shannon side; and being frontiers upon the enemy, as also to
put them into a tenable and defensive posture, as well to prevent the enemy from
quartering there, as to secure our own quarters from their incursions. Before he
came thither, he had certain intelligence, that upon our northern forces drawing
themselves from Athlone, the enemy in Connaught taking that advantage, came
over the Shannon river, their number was three thousand foot, and about three
hundred horse, all under the command of Clanrickard (whom Ormond hath lately
made his Deputy), and had besieged Kilkolgan, a garison of ours; and the night
before had taken Forbawn Castle, being one other of our garisons, which blockt
up a pass, which is an inlet to Kilkolgan; Colonel Axtel with a small body faced
the pass, and drew back his main body to attempt another pass, whither when he
came, he found it strongly fortified with breastworks, and mann'd with horse and
foot; beside, there was a deep river (though but narrow) between him and the
enemy: They had an hour's dispute, each being drawn up in full bodies, on either
side the river: There were killed of the enemy one hundred and fifty horse and
foot; we onely lost one Lieutenant, and had not above five or six common soldiers
wounded. In respect of the depth of the water and steepness of the banks, ours
could not get over, but retreated about half a mile, to invite the enemy to draw
over into a champion ground, but they declined it. Immediately upon this there
came an additional strength to the enemy; for yong Preston, with those which
marched out of Waterford with him, and others whom he had raised since, together

XXI. A Letter from William Basill, Esq., Attorney-General of Ireland, to the Honorable William
Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England, concerning a great victory obtained by the
Parliament forces against the Rebels in Meleek Island, on the five and twentieth of October, 1650. together
with an order of Parliament for a publique thanksgiving within the city of London and liberties thereof
on the next Lord's-Day, being the first of December, 1650. Die Martis, 26 November, 1650. Ordered
by the Parliament, that this letter and order be forthwith printed and published. Hen: Scobell, Cleric.
Parliamenti. London, 1650.

with Irish forces out of Conaught, conjoined with the enemy, so that in all they were in number upward of four thousand foot and five hundred horse. They marched with their whole body over the Forbawn river, and came within two miles of Berr, a garison of ours, wherein two great battering guns were lodged, Colonel Axtel not thinking it fit to engage so great a body with so small a party, retreated into Ossory, both to procure a conjunction with more forces, and a further supply of provision. In the interim the enemy summoned Berr, and took in three of our garisons near thereunto, viz. Cary Castle, Streamstown Castle, and Clogan; Colonel Axtel being conjoined at Roscrea with an additional strength out of the counties of Tipperary and Wexford (who for that purpose had notice to rendezvouz at Roscrea, upon the one and twentieth of October) in all consisting of thirteen hundred foot, and one thousand horse and dragoons, advanced toward Berr; whereupon the enemy raised their camp, and retreated to Meleek Island, bordering upon the Shannon, into which there is onely one pass, with bogs on each side; and that was also fortified in three several places, one behinde another, as reserves to each other, which were all to be forced, before any entry could be obtained into the island. Upon the five and twentieth of October, half an hour before night, our forces made an attempt upon the enemy, and after a small dispute beat them off from the first and second guard on the pass; but at the third the dispute was so hot, that they came to but-end of musket, and God being pleased to give our forces an entrance into the island, the whole body of the enemy was presently routed: They left all their armes, we took two hundred of their horse, all their waggons, oxen, tents, provisions, and whatsoever else they had in their whole camp; among which were Clanrickard's own waggons and tent (he himself the day before having gone over the Shannon, to give order for the rest of his forces to march towards Limbrick) being confident that the army which he had left in the King's County, together with those whom he expected would have gathered to their assistance, would have been able to carry all before them in these parts. The number of what men the enemy lost, is not certainly known; for beside those who were killed, multitudes were drowned. Five hundred of them were forced into the Shannon by one party of our horse in one place, and there were all drowned in one company together. The Irish report, that there was not above three hundred of the enemy which escaped, and that most of those were such as swam over the Shannon; which agrees with the relation of a trumpeter, who was the next day sent by their Major General Taaff, to enquire after prisoners, who confessed that all but three hundred were lost;* we lost only one Captain, viz. Captain Goff, with eight common soldiers, and twenty wounded. The next day the enemy quitted all the before-mentioned garisons taken from us, fired them, and fled away into Connaught. This being done, Colonel Axtel on Friday last, being the first of November instant, with part of the forces returned to this place (these parts being much infested in his absence with a party of horse and foot, consisting of about five hundred, under the command of Dungan, Pierce Rea and Cavanagh) and the same night, with a party of horse and foot, drew out towards Thomastown, where he heard the enemies last mentioned

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4. Nov.
Basil
to
Lenthal.

* For another account, see vol. ii. pp. 113-14.

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Basil
to
Lenthall.

forces were gathered together, being about seven miles distant from this place; the other part of the forces marched out of King's County unto my Lord Deputy [Ireton], who hath besieged the Castle of Nenagh in Lower Ormond, about four miles from the Shannon, having drawn off the forces from before Limbrick, the unseasonableness of the weather not admitting our army to lie in the field so long as the gaining of a place of so great strength will require. I have not else at present to trouble your Honor withal, onely to let your Honor know, that the late sad visitation of sickness, want of clothes, cold and wet weather, and hard duty, have weakened our army; and therefore humbly offer unto your Honor's consideration the necessity of sending recruits of horse and foot, and of having a provision of money here by the beginning of March, whereby the army may be (with the first season of the year) enabled to take the field for Connaught. I humbly crave your Honor's pardon for this boldness of,

Right Honorable,

Your Honor's most humble servant,

Kilkenny, 4 Nov., 1650.

William Basill.

Since writing, news is come that Nenagh Castle is surrendered; and that my Lord Deputy will suddenly take up his winter's-quarters in the city.

Die Martis, 26 November, 1650.

Resolved by the Parliament:

26. Nov.
Thanksgiving
in
London.

That publique thanks be given by the respective ministers, in the several parish churches, chappels, and places of publique worship within the city of London, and liberties thereof, and within the late lines of communication, on the next Lord's day, being the first day of December, 1650, for God's great mercy in giving a signal and seasonable victory to the Parliament's forces in Ireland, against the bloody rebels there, on the five and twentieth of October last, and mentioned in this letter*: And it is ordered, that the Lord Major of London do take care that timely notice hereof be given to the ministers of the several parishes, within the said city of London and liberties thereof; and that the respective justices of peace within the late lines of communication, do take care that timely notice hereof be given to the ministers of their several and respective parishes within the said late lines of communication.

Hen: Scobel, Cleric. Parliamenti.

XXII. EXCOMMUNICATION OF PERSONS AIDING PARLIAMENTARIANS.

Excommu-
nication.

For as much as the Ecclesiasticall Congregation held at Cluonmacknocy† of the Prelats and Clergy of Ireland issued theire monitories and forewarneings, dated xiii December, 1649, forbidding any Catholique to beare armes or serve under the comaund of any officer or comaunder comissioned by the pretended Parliment of

* See p. 185.

xxii. Carte Papers, xxix. p. 94.

† See vol. ii. pp. 63, 64.

England, or any else against his Majestie's subiects of this kingdome, to the extirpation of the Catholique religion, his Majestie and loyall subiects intrest; and notwithstanding many in the severall provinces professing the Roman Catholique religion doe continue actually in service with the said enemye, and doe persist in their contumacy and disobedience, and others doe from tyme to tyme take armes with the said enemy, whose practice dayly is, and hath beene, to extirpatt the Catholique religion, and the professors thereof, to the losse and profanation of churches, altars, use of sacraments, and all other that is deare to a Catholicke, as alsoe drawing of Prelats blood even to death, and contrary to publique faith, (due to an ordinary Christian,) and the dayly persecution of priests, friers, nuns, &c., and their imprisonment, and bannishment by publique proclamation :

Wee, therefore, whose pastorall care is to give an accompt of the soules comitted to our chardge to the Supream Pastor thereof, doe hereby declare all persons professing the Catholique Roman religion within this kingdome, who doe or shall beare armes with the said enemye, as men excommunicated, *Excommunicatione maiori latæ sententiæ ipso facto incurrenda exnunc pro tunc*, and doe seperatt them from the Comunion of Saints, from any communication with Catholiques, doe hereby forbidd the aforesaid the use of holly Sacraments, of Christian buriall, of bell, booke, and candlelight, and doe hereby deliver them upp to the infernall Sathan, the Divell, and his power, as allsoe all actors, contrivers, advisers of his Majestie's subiects, to submitt to the enemye, or enter into any capitulation or agreement with them, either for provinces, townes, counties, or any other person, or persons, of what quality, condition, or degree soever, without spetiall application or allowance from his Excellencie the Lord Marques of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy Generall of Ireland. And doe to our selves reserve by these presents all power, jurisdiction and prerogatives, to absolve any such infernall and diabolicall transgressions afore mentioned; and that noe dignitary of what ever degree or power, or any ghostly father, priest, or frier may presume (on any pretence, priviledge, or construction) on the penalties expressed in such cases by the Cannon Lawe and other practises of the Church, to bee incurred *ipso facto*, to absolve any such malefactors without spetiall licence from us. Yett it is hereby declared, for the securitie of their soules, that if any of the aforesaid persons shall, within thirtie dayes after notice hereof, recede and withdraw themselves from the aforesaid evill practice, either of beareing armes with the enemy, or acting as aforesaid, they are not intended or may not bee deemed hereby as men incurring our dreadfull and necessarye censure, nor such as are now forced by the power of the enemye, to pay them contribution, untill wee bee further compelled to declare our pastorall care in that particular, whereof all manner of persons in the premisses contained are hereby required to take spetiall notice, as the salvation or eternall damnation of their soules. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus Sancti Amen: Jesus.

Endorsed: 1650. The copy of the Excommunication.

APPENDIX.

1650.

Excommunication.

XXIII. PLAN FOR DEFENCE OF COUNTY OF CLARE.

May it please your Lordship,

1650.
Defence
of
Clare.

In relation to the discourse yesterday past betweene your Honnor and us, and in obedience to your Honnor's pleasure thereupon to us declared, wee humbly present the ensuing particulars.

1. Wee are of opinion that in order to the conservation of this county, and performance of some service out of it upon the rebells and their quarters, tyme and places be forthwith appointed for rendezvous and mustering of all the horse and foote, new and old, of the standing army in this county; that Comissioners be forthwith appointed to take such musters exactly, and such or other Comissioners, ioynt with the Comaunder in chiefe, be qualified to breake and reforme weake companyes of horse and foote, and them to beate into the stronger, untill each company of foote doe consist of one hundred, and troope of horse of fiftie, regyment of foote of [blank] and regyment of horse of [blank], saving a discreessionary latitude to the officer in chiefe and such Comissioners; in such reformation, to preferre officers, with relation to merritt, though their companyes shall happen to be weaker then others; that after such musters immediatly muster rolls be retourned, and the forces disposed of upon such occasion and service, as with regard to necessary circumstances, shall be then thought most fitt.

2. That the Comissioners Generall be att the said muster, and thenceforth attend personally the motion of the forces, and be advising and assisting the Chiefe comaunder from tyme to tyme in the application of such forces to service, and providing their necessary maintenance that soe the service may be carryed on with the lesse circuitie.

3. That the Comissioners of Applotment in the county of Clare doe forthwith regularly impose upon the said countye a weeke's meanes for the said forces by a conjecturall repute of their content.

4. That sithence this province is by the enemye's power and God's permission contracted to this county, and that noe other parte of the province is yeilding sustenance to his Majesties army, therefore the renew to be here raised, under what denomination soever, be not applyed to any other use then the maintenance of the forces.

5. That all the serviceable men in the county of Clare in the nature of a generall hoste be drawne forth in manner following, viz. Each man from the adge of fiftene to sixtie yeares, worth any summe from six to ten pounds, shall be arm'd with a muskett and bandeliers; each person worth from ten to twenty pounds shall, besides his owne equipage as aforesaid, provide another muskettier, and every person lesse worth then six pounds shall be armed with a pike and skiene. That the chiefe inhabitants of each barony shall choose officers for such forces. That each barony by Monday next, at certaine place within it, doe drawe forth and muster its respective proportion of such hoste. That each muskettier be provided of one

pound of powder, with a proportion of match and lead and a magazin of amunition at the charge of the county be provided for the supply of the said forces. That each souldiour of the said hoste be provided of a fortnight's provision either in money or victuall, as likewise of showells, 3 spades, and 2 pickaxes, each company 6 showells, 3 spades, and 2 pickaxes.

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of
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6. That such forces, by the discession of the officer in chiefe and other officers of the county, be disposed of for such service as shall be thought necessary, and employed principally in securing the ensuing poasts, viz. :

Carrickicoulta.
Kilrush.
Cahirdacon.
Ryneanna.
Bunratty.
Cratlagh.

Castlebanke.
Annaghbegg.
Doonass.
Parteen-Correave.
Killalowe.

7. That the boates and cotts from Lymerick to Killalowe be secured, and the said poasts effectually fortified.

8. That all men of the age afores'd usually hors'd or now having horse shall, mounted on horseback and arm'd as their fortunes can beare, appeare att the rendezvous of their respective baronyes, and to be inlisted and ordered into troopes and regyments as aforesaid, and in case of non appearance of any man see hors'd as aforesaid, that power be given to seise upon his horse and mount thereon another.

May it please your lordship, though these particulars doe for the present seeme to our iudgment usefull and materiall (being prosecuted with efficacy) meanes for the conservation of this county and disturbance of the enemy's further power of preiudicing us and the people in generall, yet cannot wee promise to ourselves any effectuall issue thereof, if your lordship shall not vouchsafe to add your power and countenance thereunto, and actually in your person and authoritie appear . . . executing the premisses, and the conduct of the . . . intended to be rais'd, wherefore with all the . . . our ductie can admitt wee are humble suitors to your Honnor to appeare vigourously in the removall of our distresses, and to owne and act your authoritie of Lieftennant Generall of the army, and wee doe professe, with out any exception of blood or fortune, to yield proper obedience to such your Lordship's authoritie.

Endorsed : Concerning the county of Clare.

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1650.

Poem

on

Ireland.

XXIV. THE IRISH VISION AT ROME.

English version of Gaelic poem on the condition of the Irish in 1650.

I tell of a vision—no untrue tale ;
 It was seen by my own eyes ;
 It was heard with my own ears—
 No part of it shall be concealed.
 On a morning, I, alone,
 At Rome on the Golden Hill of Cephas,
 Lay on a tomb-stone, shedding tears,
 Grieving over the grave of the noble Gaels.
 Beneath slept two, liberal of gifts—
 Deeply would they have mourned my condition—
 The great Earl of Tir Eoghain, land of the brave Niall,
 And O Donel, of the keen gold-hilted swords.
 As I lay oppressed with grief,
 Whom did I see descend from the summit
 But a white-necked, pearly maiden,
 Who would have won the prize from Venus for beauty,
 And from Minerva for form and grace.
 Elegantly traced were her slender eyebrows,
 Gold shone through her tresses,
 Snow and flame mingled in her cheek.
 On that spot to me she said,
 In a voice more melodious than harps,
 “ Depart from the grave of the mighty chiefs ;
 Long did they mourn—slowly broke their hearts.”
 Then, full of emotion and agony,
 She uttered a wail most mournful,
 Sad enough to draw tears from clerics,
 Even from stones—if possible.
 Then, wailing, she uplifted her arms
 And, with eyes raised to heaven,
 Addressed the King of the sky
 In these doleful words :
 O great God ! I pray thee to hear me.
 Is it sinful to ask a brief question ?

XXIV. Copies of the original, which commences as follows, are in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin :

“ An siogaidhe Romanach :

“ Innsim fios a’s ní fios bréige,
 Le ar súilibh dhuinne ba léur é,
 Le mo chluasaibh chualas féin é,
 An nídh a deirim ní cheilim air aén chor.
 Lá d’á rabhas air maidin a’ m’ aonar
 Is an Róimh air ór-chnoc Chéphas,
 Sínte air leic ag silleadh déura,
 Lán de ghruaim air uaigh na n-Gaédhal-fhear.
 Fá roibh dias do b’fhial fá shéudaibh,
 Le ná’r ghrádhmhar ádhbhar m’éugnaich,
 Iarflaith mór Thíre-Eoghain Néill-mhir,
 A’s O’Dómhnaill na n-ór-lann bh-faébhreach.”

Difficult seemingly to the learned,
 But to Thee all is plain.
 Uninformed I am and ignorant ;
 But if all mankind
 Inherit the sin of the first man,
 Our father Adam, misled by Eve,
 Why should punishment be inflicted
 Most heavily on one race ?
 Why should lowly slaves be freed ?
 Why should those once free be now enslaved ?
 Why are the poor and innocent hanged,
 And the guilty left joyful ?
 Why are not heretics extirpated ?
 Why are the faithful persecuted by evil-doers ?
 Why are not Lutherans punished,
 While true believers are done to death ?
 Why are the lambs left bleeding ?
 Why are wolves allowed to prey on the flocks ?
 By what justice is Erin cast down ?
 Why are her groans unheeded ?
 Why are not the Gaels exalted ?
 A people who at all times obeyed God.
 Since the advent of Holy Patrick,
 With the faith to Inis Ealga,¹
 Neither reverse, nor pain, nor affliction,
 Nor foreign might, nor sore oppression
 Could take Christ's faith from the hearts of the Gaels.
 Their light was brilliant as the sun—
 It glittered as an angel,
 On it there fell neither blemish, stain, nor spot,
 Throughout Fodhla,² on the sons of Miled.
 Alas, O Christ ! this is true indeed.
 What dost thou require of us ? Wilt thou not listen ?
 Or is it thy will never again to look upon us ?—
 Upon us, who have always adored thee,
 Now punished unjustly under the Saxons,
 Surely, it was the Saxon brood, low
 And treacherous, which deserved to have been forsaken.
 They cast off the yoke of the Church
 And scoffed at the Mother of the only Son ;
 They would not submit to God,
 But destroyed faith with venomous heresy.
 I desire not to name Henry the King,
 Who foully put away his wife
 For Ann Boleyn—his own daughter—
 And left the Church for Luther's teaching.
 With him I class Elizabeth,
 Who would not wed, but abandoned virtue,
 And wrought treachery on many.
 She made a wilderness of Eber's plain,³
 And extirpated its men and women.
 Mary Stuart she put to death :
 To Elizabeth succeeded James,

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 Poem
 on
 Ireland.
^{1, 2} Bardic names for Ireland.³ Munster.

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1650.

Poem
on
Ireland.

Omen of desolation to Felim's land.¹
 He trampled down their race and stock ;
 Their lands he measured with cords ;
 He put Saxons in the place of Gaels,
 And set up false religion in the churches.
 Soon after him came Charles—
 Like his father in deceit and falsehood.
 Unjust was his yoke on Leath Chuin.²
 Every man in Leath Mogha³ was persecuted.
 He took from them their rents and rights,
 Their wealth, their sons, their weapons, their armour,
 With a third of their land and titles.
 It was he who required them to forsake God.
 He forbade parish mass-hearing ;
 He proscribed the Gaelic tongue,
 And commanded Saxon speech for all.
 By him were mass and music prohibited.
 Every horror has been wrought upon Erin ;
 A perpetual deadly curse is rained upon her ;
 An atom of what was done would have been woe enough.
 I know not of the cause
 For which they were first oppressed.
 It was God's will to eschew this prince
 And those who did him homage.
 Parliamentarians, vile boors,
 Beheaded, with a keen sword,
 This fair-headed, evil King.
 During their time Erin awoke,
 And in Ulster uprose the first man—
 Mac Guire, of heroic Fenian race,
 And Mac Mahon, as in former time,
 Two valiant, true-hearted lions,
 Who prized not worldly wealth ;
 With treacherous strangers they treated not.
 Until they together shed
 Their blood in crimson pools,
 For love of the faith which they would not forsake.
 Not through dislike do I pass by Felim
 The red-white, curled, noble youth,
 Who made adventurers yell,
 And wrested spoil from niggard Scots.
 Then it was the hero set sail
 From Spain, in full array,
 The pure Owen Roe⁴ of the death-dealing host,
 Champion of spoils—son of valiant Art,
 Grandson of Cormac—the great O'Neill.
 Victorious hand, never worsted in fight,
 To this truth myself I pledge.
 On many a danger did Owen look
 From his first days of childhood
 Till Christ ended his career.

¹ Ancient bardic name for Ireland.² *Leath Cuinn*—Ulster, or the Northern half of Ireland. ³ *Leath Mogha*—Munster, or the Southern half.⁴ Eoghan Ruadh—Owen the Red.

To attest this I appeal to God
 And to Spain, now full of grief for him ;
 And to Almaine, the favored of Caesar ;
 And to France, which bravely fought him ;
 And to the Low Countries, which are sad without him ;
 And to the clans of Miled in the Kingdom of Erin.
 One half of Owen's deeds I cannot tell :
 To the province of Ulster he brought relief in distress ;
 He mastered the strangers there,
 And swiftly drove away Leslie ;
 He set on foot Montgomery of the fetters ;
 He scared the bare Scots ;
 He wrought confusion on their people
 And broke down the fort of the false Moore.
 The brave man leagured Dublin city
 And laid waste its country.
 In Meath, of the treacherous Foreign Gaels,
 At Portlester, he slew hundreds.
 He struck terror into Birra and Nenagh,
 And from thence to Thomond of Eber.¹
 He carried away spoil, in the face of the foe,
 From Inchiquin, over the mountain top.
 He brought to submission all Waterford
 And Duncannon of the arid channels,
 Loch Garman² of sharp weapons,
 Ross and the fort of Ben Edair.³
 By force he reduced Kilkenny.
 Mighty were his arms by the Shannon side,
 By the Abhan mór, by the Nore,
 And by the rapid-rushing Barrow.
 On the banks of Suir his troops were busy,
 And from thence again to Erne.
 He held revels in the rath of Meadhbh,⁴
 From Athlone he exacted fealty,
 And thence westward to distant Beara.
 He smashed the walls at Baile Seamuís,⁵
 He made Sligo tremble at his glance,
 And by him the strangers were bound.
 By Mac Duach⁶ was told the pleasing news—
 In every harbour of Erin,
 It was said, declared, predicted, read,
 That the strangers had been suppressed.
 Owen the red,⁷ borne on the shoulders of the Gaels,
 A noble hero, lamb-like, airy,
 Standard-bearing, victorious, dauntless, blow-dealing,
 Preying, searching, protecting, wounding,
 Comely, curled, poetic, humane,
 Acute, diligent, plundering, festive,
 An active hero, a ready soldier,
 Keen bladed, swift, agile, bounding :
 A majestic, unsullied, stately cavalier,

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 Poem
 on
 Ireland.
¹ Eber, son of Miled or Milesius.² Wexford.³ Howth.⁴ Rath Cruachain or Croghan in Connacht.⁵ Jamestown.⁶ Saint Colman.⁷ Owen Roe O'Neill.

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Poem

on

Ireland.

Mighty, proud, haughty, armoured,
 Law-giving, foraging, routing, advancing,
 Loving, pleasing, social, prosperous.
 Let all know that if this bird had lived
 The flock would not be in the Phoenix nest,
 Neither strangers nor Cromwell would have been obeyed
 As they have been since the hour of his death.
 Although it is my grief that he has died,
 His death to me is no cause of woe,
 Since his days were shortened not by strangers,
 But by God, who was pleased to free him.
 Soon after him came with vigour
 The warlike lion, Bishop Emer,¹
 The man of steady, active head,
 Who excelled all in learning.
 The most upright-hearted of the Gaels.
 He broke the spirit and the law of the strangers,
 Stripped them of authority in Erin,
 And scattered the hosts of Charles.²
 Woe for me was the shortening of his days,
 Not less my grief that he was Bishop of Down.
 Alas for the nobles of Ulster—the heroic champions ;
 Alas for Henry *Ruadh*,³ inheritor of valour.
 Mac Guire, the Gaelic-hearted,
 And O'Cahan, the bounding hound,
 The hero of the routs, Felim, son of Tuathal,
 My blessing on them—I cannot name them.
 I am wretched, forsaken, persecuted.
 I ask again, oh mighty Son,
 Where be the prophecies of Holy Patrick ?
 Of Berchan, or gentle Senan,
 Of Ciaran of Cluain, obeyed by all,
 Of Colum Cille, the cheerful-faced ;
 Of Cailin, of Ultan, the laborious,
 Of Colman Ele, whose food was the green grass.
 Alas, alas, bitter is my sorrow,
 My cry, my wail, my weakness,
 My woe, my groan, my darkness, my acute grief,
 My omen, my ruin, my madness, my anguish.
 A third of their afflictions I know not :
 The Gaels are being wasted and deeply wounded,
 Subjugated, slain, extirpated
 By plague, by famine, by war, by persecution.
 It was God's justice not to free them.
 They went not together hand in hand.
 The land was not firmly united,
 And the clerics were ever divided.
 Some abounded in falsehood,
 Some aided the heretic horde,
 Many submitted to the strangers,
 Some craftily deceived the Gaels,
 Some affected to espouse the cause of Erin
 While in secret they ever deserted her,

¹ Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher.² Coote.³ Henry Roe, son of Owen O'Neill.

Some feigned to oppose the strangers
 To whom they stealthily adhered.
 My curses shall ever rain on such clerics,
 And on their people till the judgment day—
 On those who loved not each other—
 Who made a wilderness of Eber's plain,
 Who rejected the noble Gaels,
 And on whom fell the curse of the last Nuncio,
 John Baptista,¹ Archbishop of Fermo,
 Sole Legate of the Pope in Erin.
 This is the cause of my tears ;
 This is the cause which has truly grieved me ;
 This has cast a shadow on the sun's light ;
 This has clouded the sky with gloom and terror ;
 This has cast Europe under an eclipse,
 And put Christ's faith once more under a cloud ;
 My curse for ever on the wolfish race.
 Yet I will not abandon hope,
 Since of Miled's stock there still survives
 Hugh the swarthy,² sprung from heroic sires.
 The seers foretold that he
 Shall scatter the strangers far and wide.
 Still live the red-haired, fair-faced Felim,
 And Colonel Fearghal, the valiant hero,
 And Aed O'Brian—equal to hundreds—
 And O'Cavanagh, and the brave O'Tuathal.
 Still live the yet unvanquished bands—
 O'Ruarc, O'Raghalliaghs,³ and O'Briens,
 O'Kellys, not weak in war,
 O'Conors, cavaliers renowned in story,
 And the Mac Carthys, unstained by treachery,
 The Dalcais⁴ of mighty deeds,—O'Briens,
 Sprung from Eremon and great Eber ;⁵
 And the men of Munster—land beloved of bards—
 And the Ulstermen, victors in a hundred fights,
 O'Maoileachlainn, the bounding hero,
 O'Maelmuidh,⁶ the valiant leader,
 Mac Cochlan of the white-walled forts,
 O'Diomsaidh,⁷ the rushing wolf,
 O'Carrol, with the soldiery of Eile,
 O'Sullivan, from Beara's plain,
 O'More, O'Floinn, O'Doinn of the hills.
 Soon will the heroes combine ;
 And, united hand in hand,
 They will vanquish the strangers at Saingel,
 And rout the foreigners at Mullaghmaistin.
 Then none shall league with the Saxon,
 Nor with the half naked Scot.
 Then shall Erin be freed from settlers,
 Then shall perish the Saxon tongue.
 The Gaels in arms shall triumph
 Over the crafty, thieving, false sect of Calvin.

APPENDIX.

1650.

Poem
on
Ireland.¹ Rinuccini.² Major-General Hugh O'Neill.³ O'Reillys.⁴ The chief clans of Munster.⁵ Eremon and Eber, sons of Miled or Milesius.⁶ O'Molloy.⁷ O'Dempsey.

APPENDIX.

1650.

Poem

on
Ireland.

Their nobles shall bear sway over unbelievers,
 And scatter the brood of Luther.
 True faith shall be uncontrolled;
 The people shall be rightly taught
 By friars, bishops, priests, and clerics,
 And everlasting peace shall dwell in Erin.
 I pray God—may He deign to hear—
 I pray Jesus—who sees all—
 And the holy Spirit—with one accord—
 Mary, our Mother, and Patrick of the shining tooth,
 Colum of my heart, and holy Brigid,
 That the Gaels may band together
 And achieve the great exploit,
 To drive out the strangers and set Erin free.
 Here ended the beauteous maiden
 Whom I have described to you.
 Suddenly, clapping her hands
 She ascended swiftly to the clouds.
 Thus she left me all alone—
 Prostrate on the tombstone of the Gaels—
 Without voice, vigour, or motion,
 Full of woe, affrighted at her tidings.
 I declare the age of the Lord in the year
 When I stood in Rome, a tearful stranger,
 One thousand with a half five tens and one hundred.
 Thus ends my story to you.

May consolation come to the maiden who last night stood at O'Neill's grave
 With anguished heart, wailing for the noble Gael.
 Though I, miserable and weak, was deserted by her,
 Deep is my love for her and for those of whom she spoke.

XXV. COLONEL HENRY O'NEILL'S RELATION OF TRANSACTIONS OF GENERAL OWEN NEILL AND HIS PARTY.

An impartiall relation of the most memorable transactions of Generall Owen O'Neill and his party, from the year 1641 to the year 1650. Collected by Colonel Henry Mc Tuoll O'Neill.

O'Neill's
Journal,
1641.

1641.—After the commotions betwixt England and Scotland, about the beginning of October, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Sir Con Magenis, colonel O'Brien, colonel Butler, with several others of the nation, had several regiments of foot ready to march for Catalonia, with the king's permission, the Spanish ambassador having prevailed then with his majesty to send over such levy's of the Irish, when a noise came amongst the Roman catholicks of Ulster (confirmed soon after by a letter intercepted from Scotland, to one Freeman of Antrim) that a puritan army was ready to come for Ireland, under the command of general Leslie, to suppress and extirpate the Roman catholicks of Ulster from amongst the Scotch; and to that end a private declaration passed in their private meetings or council, to lay heavy

fines on such of them as would not appear at their kirk the first and second Sundays, and the third Sunday to hang (without mercy) at their own doors, as many as would prove obstinate; which rigid and inhuman way of reforming, struck such a terror in the minds of the people, that every one thought of his own safety, or some general method of defence against so great a danger. Whereupon a convocation of the prime gentlemen of the province met, and communicated their thoughts and apprehensions to each other, and to some gentlemen in Leinster, who joining their heads together, resolved to send immediately an express by one abbot Conally, abbot of Clunes, to Owen O'Neill, and other Irish officers in Flanders, to acquaint them of the present state of the kingdom, and how the Roman catholics were threatened by the Scotch puritans and English presbyterians, and that they would, for their own present safety, endeavour to secure as many magazines, forts and garrisons in the north as possible, &c. In order to which, on the twenty-second of October, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neill surprised Charlemont, and Sir Con Magenis the Newry and other places; and at the same time gentlemen employed on the same design to Dublin, being discovered, took no effect.

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Soon after this, the Scots in the North began their bloody massacres in the counties of Downe and Antrim, at Island Magee, Ballydavy, Clonleck, Cumber, Gallagher, and Magheravorn, 500 poor souls destroyed without regard to age or sex, and that before one drop of blood was spilt by any Roman catholic; though afterwards, when these unparalleled murders were known, some of the loosest of the Irish rabble, being exasperated thereat, did, by way of retaliation, murder some British at Portadown, Clancan, Curbridge and Belturbet.

Sir Phelim O'Neill being at this time the most considerable person of his name in Ulster, was chosen commander in chief; after which time not many acts of hostility passed on either side, to the landing of Owen O'Neill in July, 1642, except when Sir Phelim O'Neill went to besiege Drogheda. The O'Reillys and McMahons fell on major Meredith, as he was coming to relieve Drogheda with five hundred men, who were cut off to a few. Sir Phelim, after being forced to withdraw his men from Drogheda, besieged Lisnagarvy (now called Lisburn) in the county of Antrim, which he was likewise forced to quit, by Sir Arthur Terringham and major Rawdon, who made a vigorous defence. Some time in this interval Sir Phelim was routed at Glanmaquin, (on a winter frosty morning) in the county of Donegal, where Alexander M'Colle, his brother Engus, and Nectan O'Donnell, Fitz Cathbarr, Fitz Hugh Oge, Fitz Hugh Duff were wounded, Sir Phelim and Alexander M'Colle being ill provided for any action. And about the same time Phelim M'Tuoll O'Neill and M'Artan, with other gentlemen of the county of Downe, did rout a great body of the Scotch at Deirendrait in the same county, where the Scotch left three hundred behind them dead on the spot, and but very few of the Irish lost, being the most considerable loss the British had that year.

In March the same year, major general Monro (under general Leslie) was commanded out of Scotland with ten thousand men, landed at Carrickfergus, where the British of the counties of Downe and Antrim came into to him, and after a short stay marched with his whole army to Newry, which was surrendered upon the first summons (by a fresh-water governor) upon mercy, which proved so

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1642.

merciless, that a great many of the clergy and laity were hanged, killed and drowned about the bridge of the town. From Newry he returned back to his quarters, after preying the upper parts of the countys of Downe and Ardmagh. About the beginning of June after, he marcht to Charlemont, Neill Modera O'Neill being governor there from Sir Phelim, who defended it vigorously, all the store of ammunition found at Newry and other places, being spent at this seige and elsewhere, to a small quantity, and having no supply nearer them than Limerick, dispatcht a party thither with five hundred pounds, and with much ado could find but two firkins of powder, and forced to pay ten shillings for each pound. Munro having raised his seige at this time, in July following, 1642, he summoned all the British forces in Ulster, in order to overrun the whole Province: The rumour of such great preparations being spread every where, the chief gentlemen of the Ulster Irish assembled at Glaslaugh in the county of Monaghan, where they concluded that every one should shift for himself, since they were in no posture of defence; some intending for France, some for Spain, Flanders, &c. others for the Highlands, and the most remote places within the kingdom. Amidst these sad resolutions an express arrived from general O'Neill from Castledo, directed to Sir Phelim O'Neill, of his safe arrivall with ammunition, arms, and a few Low-country officers and soldiers of his own regiment; and moreover, that he directed a frigate (the St. Frances) to land at Wexford with more ammunition, &c. which accordingly came in safe soon after, and withal prayed Sir Phelim and the rest of the Ulster gentlemen, to repair forthwith to him at Castledo, in order to bring him off, which was chearfully performed by the chiefe men, and fifteen hundred choice soldiers to accompany him through the most secure ways, which was accordingly done by Ballyshanny side (without any great interruption 'till they came to Charlemont, where he was no sooner arrived, but Munro had notice by the shooting of the artillery from the Fort, whereupon he immediately ordered his army to march out of the county of Ardmagh, where they were come but a little before to harrass the whole county) and to make towards the county of Antrim to meet general Leslie, newly landed from Scotland with more men to join him; from whence they both marcht soon over the lower Bann-water to the county of Derry (where Donnell Gevlagh O'Cahane gave them some diversion in their passage with a small party). Leslie no sooner came to Tyrone, but sends O'Neil a letter importing, that he was sorry a man of his experience and reputation abroad should come to Ireland to second so bad a cause, and advised him to return from whence he came. O'Neill answered, he had more reason to come to relieve the deplorable state of his country, than he had to march in the head of an army to England against his king, to force him to give unreasonable conditions to himself and his countrymen, at a time when all Scotland was their own. During general Leslie's short stay this time near O'Neill, he attempted nothing, but marched back to his Claneboys, where he left Munro with the army, and himself gone for Scotland. At his parting he told Munro, that if O'Neill but once got an army together, that he believed he would worst him. O'Neill, at this time, trusting to five or six hundred men only to attend his person, and the garrison in Charlemont, the rest of the gentlemen being persuaded before to attend their several interests, in order to

defend them the best they could from the incursions of the enemy, to wit, each county to defend themselves. In November following, the supreme council sent for O'Neill, and made him general and general governor of Ulster, and of the two thousand arms sent over by the Pope, gave him five hundred, which were brought to Ulster about the latter end of January following; from which time no action of note happened, only slight skirmishes by parties sent to the counties of Downe and Antrim, 'till May 1643. The March before, Henry Roe O'Neill and colonel Richard Ferrall landed at Wexford out of Flanders, with some few officers only, and arms for one troop of horse.

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1642-3.

In May, 1643, Sir Robert Stewart of Culmore, with those of Leggan and Inniskillin, came to the borders of the county of Monaghan, preyed the country, took Ma-Kana's wife of Treucha away, and killed Daniel Gevlah O'Cahane, then lieutenant general.

In the spring before, Munro lost no time in gathering as many of the British as he could, and modelling of them with his own army, with resolution to subdue the whole Province in a trice; which he attempted in May 1643, as covertly by night as possible, 'till he reached Ardmagh with his whole army undiscovered, 'till the general himself, as he was hunting abroad, discovered them within two miles of him then, and four of his quarters at Anaghsawry, where they thought to surprise both him and his guards within a mile of Charlemont; but finding him nearer, unexpectedly fell upon him, accompanied with a few of his guards only, and some gentlemen, and chased him close to his quarters at Anaghsawry, where with his small party he received the enemy with so much bravery and experience of a knowing soldier, that he brought off himself and his party of four hundred men, without the loss of a man, from Munro's whole army (after a full hour's dispute in a lane leading to Charlemont, enclosed with quicksets, which favoured much the retreat) and where Munro himself was forced to quit his horse and take a pike, upon major Ballentine's being killed, and the horse giving way, and where he was heard to say (crying aloud to his men) "Fay, fay, run awa frae awheen rebels." Munro being vexed at this disappointment, took up that night all the secure passes leading from Charlemont, with intent to prey next morning the whole country, especially near Charlemont. But lieutenant colonel Sandford, was sent the same night with a round party, who killed the next day a hundred of their men, and obliged them to quit the preys, and withdraw towards their quarters without doing much harm, only burning an Englishman's house where the general quartered. Munro, the same summer, made a second attempt in like manner by night to Ardmagh to beat up O'Neill's quarters again, which frequent incursions made O'Neill quit Charlemont and the whole province, and withdraw himself to the counties of Longford and Leitrim, 'till he had got an army together to enable him to meet the enemy in the field in his way. In July 1643, marching with what men and creaghts he had, through the county of Monaghan, Sir William Stewart and Sir Robert Stewart, with those of Leggan and Inniskillin, to the number of three thousand horse and foot, appeared at Clouness, within three miles of O'Neill, to intercept him in his way (the Fermanagh gentlemen and spies who were intrusted to watch the enemy's motions that side, having given no

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timely notice of their approaching.) At this time O'Neill had not above one thousand six hundred men fit for any service, and many of them dispersed amongst the creaghts; but what of them were to the fore, were drawn up upon the enemy's moving towards them, the foot placed at a pass, the general himself with what horse (being only a couple of new-raised troops and some gentlemen) made forwards to take a view of the enemy's strength, and before they could well retire, the enemy charged them in the rear (almost mad drunk with usquebaugh) crying aloud, "Whar's Mc Art! Whar's Mc Art!" (meaning the general) when one captain Stewart, with that hussa in his mouth, came up before the general, as he was entering on a narrow causeway, where O'Neill himself shot him off his horse, but [he] lived, and was afterwards rewarded with one hundred pounds by my lord of Ormond for his singular and desperate onset this day on O'Neill's person, who was in danger of being lost, with all his men, by lieutenant colonel Shane Mc Brian Luny O'Neill's quitting the pass, where he was posted with the foot before to second the horse, where he heard they were engaged (an argument rather of his courage than good conduct) for which error he fell ever after into the general's ill opinion. In this action, which continued more than a full hour, the Irish lost about one hundred and fifty men, amongst whom colonel Oge O'Neill (Daniel's brother) was murdered by a presbyterian minister, after quarters given. Major Maurice O'Hagan killed, with captain Ardall O'Hanlon, and several other officers; (colonel Hugh Duff O'Neill and Art O'Neill Mc Hugh Boy, taken prisoners) the general himself pursued back to Charlemont, where he staid but three days, when he began his intended journey again to the counties of Longford and Leitrim. The enemy (having preyed the country) retired back to Donegall and Fermanagh. As soon as O'Neill came to Mohill in the county of Leitrim, he writ to the supreme council, who sent him a few arms and ammunition; and from Mohill removed to the county of Roscommon, and took up his own quarters at Killmore, and encamped his small army at Shee-brunagh, where they continued but three days, when a letter came from captain King from Abbyboyle to O'Neill, That since he understood that O'Neill issued out his commissions in the king's name, he knew no reason why they should not join their men together: upon which O'Neill sent to the camp at Shee to double their guards, and to be vigilant 'till he had suggested what answer to return to King, or know more of his principles. In the mean while, captain King got all the English in the county of Roscommon together, at break of day, and fell in with the camp at Shee, which lay in disorder, as well as the guards, occasioned by a quantity of strong-waters brought them the evening before by some Irish sutlers out of the English garrisons adjoining, and routed them, with the loss of one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded, Hugh MacGwire, (Cuconaght More's father,) taken prisoner; the captain of the guard for his neglect, was condemned and executed. This accident fell out in August, 1643. Immediately after O'Neill marched back to Mohill and to Cloncork in the county of Leitrim, (bordering on the county of Cavan,) where the supreme council writ to him, desiring him to make up, out of hand, as many of the Ulster men as he could, and to march with them to join Sir James Dillon and the Meathians; whereupon he removed to Brush-hill, and summoned all the Ulster gentlemen, who in a short

space made up three thousand men effectual, (besides colonel Richard O Ferrall's regiment of foot,) with whom he marched to Clonebreney, and besieged it, with the help of one gun brought him by Sir James Dillon; the place soon surrendered by one Smith, on terms to march out with armes and luggage. Other inconsiderable holds were reduced off-hand in those parts, and so to Ballybeg, where major Cordogan commanded, who after summons sent his resolution of maintaining the place to the last. Upon which answer the gun was planted, and after two or three shotts, without any further ceremony, Cordogan himself slips out alone, and makes towards the general. The guards would have shott at him, but being espied by the general himself, commanded no body should touch him: and notwithstanding the Leinster gentlemen represented him as a very ill man, and deserving death, yet he told them, he would let him live longer, to become better, on the account of mercy, and spared Sir Harry's Tichbourn's son also, being both kept prisoners, but dismissed the garrison without their arms. About this time some commissioners chosen by my lord of Ormond, and others by the supream council, met at Harristowne in the county of Kildare, and there concluded a cessation of arms for a twelve month; whereupon orders were issued to all commanders of armies to cease all acts of hostility. But my lord Moore would hearken to no such declaration, 'till he had first tryed the mettle of Owen Roe and his Ulster creaghts: of which expression O Neill being informed, ordered his army and creaghts to move towards Port Leister ford, where the army encamped, and a party detached out immediately for another gun to Tychrochan, which no sooner arrived, but both guns were planted against an old castle on the river near the camp, where some of my lord Moore's men were lodged, and after several shots made to little effect, the general, not pleased with the gunner, alighted off his horse, and ordered the guns to be planted otherwise, and after a few shotts, the men stole out by a private sally-port, and gott over the river to their own party. At the same time notice came to the general, that my lord Moore was marching with his army from Athboy towards him; whereupon he ordered the guns to be removed to the camp, and to plant them at the ford, over which he passed himself with a squadron of horse, 'till he came to an old mill'stead, called the Red Railes Mill, a good distance from the ford, the enemy's side, where he ordered a captain of the Magenesses with sixty men to be placed, and some pioneers to throw up some breast-work about the mill-door, which proved of good consequence afterwards, himself marching forwards to the top of a hill over the mill, to take a view of the enemy, which were marching up the other side of the hill in battle array, which made the general retire leisurely, and in the rear maintain a handsom play with the enemy's advanced guards, who pursued him close to the mill, where they were received with a warm salutation by the party in the mill, and a troop of dragoons lining a ditch near it, who were all cut off to six men before they could be brought off. The sixty men in the mill bore the brunt of the whole day's action, by bravely opposing frequent attacks without intermission, or any personal reliefe, but what our great shott did by often clearing both sides of the mill effectually. Owen O Dogherty brought the mill at length a supply of ammunition, for which signal service he was made major next day to Henry Roe O Neill's regiment of horse, consisting of three or four troops only. On both sides the main

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ford partys were disputing private passes, without much harm, or any great loss on either side, except the lord Moore himself, who was taken out of his saddle by the middle by one of the great balls, which was shott at a body of horse drawn up at a great distance on a height over the mill, of which loss the Irish knew nothing, 'till a deserter the next morning assured them both of that, and of the enemies having withdrawn in the night towards Athboy; upon which occasion the following verse was composed:

*Contra Romanos mores, res mira, dynasta
Morus, ab Eugenio, canonisatus erat.*

Within three days after Castlehaven came to the camp, and gott the cessation proclaimed, upon which the Ulster army marched to the North, every one to his own country to quarter his men. O'Neill took up his quarters again at Anagh Saury, the English quartering in the counties of Down and Antrim (except Sir John Clothworthy and the presbiterians) submitted to the cessation. But Munroe nor the Scotch would not, alleadging, the council of Scotland sent them such instructions.

In November 1643, general O'Neill was sent for to Waterford by a general assembly of the confederates, where it was ordered that Castlehaven should march to the north with six thousand men (the following season) at the cost of the other three provinces, and join O'Neill against the Scotch puritans. In this assembly a person of quallity moved (and [it] passed unanimously in the house) that some of the king's forts should be engaged to some state or potentate abroad, for a sum of money to carry on the war, 'till general O'Neill opposed it in a speech, wherein he laid open the danger and ill consequence it might produce to the king and nation, to give any foreigner an interest in the kingdom; and withall said, they were no mercenary soldiers, but natives of the kingdom, that might, without any extraordinary expence, agree well with such cloathing and diett as the country itselfe could afford, &c. After a short stay here, O'Neill returns to Ulster; and in March following, 1644, captain Chichester, governor of Belfast, and Theophilus Jones, governor of Lisburn, writt to general O'Neill, that Munro possessed himself of Belfast, and was resolved to offer the like to Lisburn; and desired O'Neill to send them some ammunition for their supply, which he willingly granted: but soon after he was forced (by the growing power of the Scotch) to quit Ulster again, and march with his army and creaghts to the countys of Meath, Longford, Leitrim, and Cavan.

In May, 1644, Castlehaven was making all the preparation possible to gett his six thousand ready; and likewise O'Neill loseing no endeavours of his part, and hearing of Castlehaven and his army to set out, went the length of Portleicester to meet and receive him. In the mean time Munro was on his march with a great army of twelve thousand men, composed of English and Scotch, and never stopt 'till he came the length of Granard, where he made no stay, but forced his passage over Fena into Leinster, with resolution to fall on O'Neill and his party; but hearing Castlehaven and he joined, stopped Carlonstown, burning it, returned in all haste back to the North, about the latter end of July, 1644. As soon as

O Neill and Castlehaven had modelled their own armys together, they likewise marcht to Charlemont, where they were supplied with provisions from Newry, Dundalke and Drogheda. The only towns that observed the cessation that side of the kingdom. What supply the creaghts could afford the other side, was not wanting, during the camp's stay at Charlemont; from whence they marched to Tonregee, about the beginning of September, 1644, where they raised a fort to secure their magazine, and soon after Castlehaven marched into the enemy's quarters with a body of two thousand foot and five hundred horse; colonel Myles Ryley and colonel Bryan Roe O Neill, with squadrons of their own horse, appointed to wait of Castlehaven in this expedition (where no great service was performed, only captain Blair taken prisoner, and a hundred of his men killed near Dromore). Upon the alarum, several squadrons of the horse advanced from Munro's camp, who forced Castlehaven to retire back to Tonregee, wanting his foot, misled the night before, and not able to come up timely to the horse, who performed what service was done. Soon after this, Munro, with his whole army of thirteen thousand Brittish, marched to Ardmagh. Upon notice of their coming, the Irish army removed to the very gate of Charlemont, and the creaghts removed to the remotest parts of the countys of Monaghan, Cavan, and Tyrone, which was a great want in maintaining the army, since the supplies from Newry, Dundalke and Drogheda, were stopt by the enemy's encamping at Ardmagh. During the stay of both armies so neare one another for five or six weeks, no actione of note happened, except what passed betwixt out-guards and scouts; onely three troops of horse commanded to a pass on the Black-water, between Benborbe and Kinard, to keep the enemy from spoyling the country on Dungannon side, were beaten off, with the loss of some men; captain Charles Hovendon killed, captain Con Baccagh O Neill wounded and taken prisoner, and captain Art oge O Neill killed before the face of lieutenant colonel Fennell, and a strong squadron of horse under his command, who flatly denyd to relieve those prime officers and gentlemen of Ulster, which disgusted O Neill very much in his sickness, which kept him for many days before from negotiating any affairs relating to the army. The Irish army at length being distressed for want of provision, were forced to decamp (leaving captain White governor in Charlemont) and marched bag and baggage, after making a shew the evening before (by making of cashes and tochers over a bog leading to the enemies camp) of a resolution to fight them the next day. O Neill beginning to mend of his distemper, tooke up his quarters att Ballahaise in the county of Cavan, and Castlehaven took up his within two miles of him, from whence he writt to O Neill, praying him (if his health would permit) to come to see him. The messenger who brought the letter, perceiving somehow by Castlehaven or his officers, that they were resolved to lay the whole blame of their ill success in the North on O Neill, gave him a caveat of it, which made the bishop of Clogher, and other of his friends, to mind him of a strong guard to attend his person, but he said he valued them not, nor their ill suggestions, and went only with his secretary and a few attendants, to see Castlehaven, who put to him, how they could excuse themselves for not performing some signall service or exploit in the enemy's country. O Neill replied, as infirm as he was, his best advice was not wanting to his lordship. Castlehaven said, his

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officers were much concerned, that O'Neill and his officers called them cowards. I must confess, says O'Neill, I did say so to a gentleman here, lieutenant colonel Fennell, with the feather, a cowardly cock, for seeing my kinsmen overpowered by the enemy, some of them hacked before his face, and a strong brigade of horse under his command, and never offered to relieve them; and in a little heat said, "My lord, we need not discourse any more on this subject, 'till we both appear before the supreme council that employed us both." So they parted, Castlehaven marching towards the West, O'Neill staying about Cavan a fortnight longer, from whence he marched to the King's County with his own guards, and a few beeves to subsist them. The winter following he went to the assembly at Kilkenny, to whom he moved, that he understood that Castlehaven and his officers would lay the blame at his door, for performing no considerable service in their expedition to the North. And since forreigne residents were in town, in his opinion, if the general assembly, on examining matters of fact, did not find one of them deserving to lose his head, he presumed the world abroad would think the assembly and nation very inconsiderable, and not fitt to be corresponded with, whereupon the assembly appointed a committee to examine the whole matter, which accordingly was done, but no report made to this hour.

1645.—No action this year, only orders from the supreme council to O'Neill for levying a sum of money on the creaghts and Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to which O'Neill repaired to Carrickmacross, in the upper part of the county of Monaghan, from whence he removed to Belturbet, where he resided 'till the nuntio came to Kilkenny.

1646.—O'Neill in the spring waited on the nuntio at Kilkenny, where the supreme council gave him a new power to levy a new army of northern men, which he compleated in May following five thousand men strong, of which five hundred horse, such as they were; with whom he marched to Benborbe, where the 4th June, notice was brought of Monro's marching with six thousand foot in nine battalions, and eight hundred horse well accoutred, and encamped at the old place near Ardmagh, and within seven miles of O'Neill's camp. Next day, being the fifth, the scouts came in with news that the enemy was marching westward from Ardmagh towards Glasslagh, and at the same time that Colonel George Monro marched with a party of five hundred foot from Coleraine to Dungannon, within seven miles of Benborbe, the other side; whereupon O'Neill marched, with all his horse, to the top of the hill, (where the battle was fought the same afternoon) to take a view of the enemy in their march, as they passed the road the other side of the river towards Glasslagh (the place appointed for the Legannurs and those of Coleraine to join the main body). O'Neill having taken a full view of the enemy, and which way they were leading, commanded most of his horse to march towards Dungannon, with design to cutt off (if possible) George Munroe's five hundred foot in their march to Glasslagh, whilst himself stay'd with the remainder of the horse to attend the enemy's further march. The party at Dungannon observing the Irish horse approaching, posted themselves advantagiously in hedges, that the horse could do them no harm, (the foot sent to second them not coming in timely). In the mean time the army from Ardmagh, upon second thoughts, marching

unexpectedly over the river at Kinard, towards the general, which he no sooner observed, but he ordered his own regiment of foot to march to a narrow pass within two miles of the camp in the enemy's way, from whence they were soon forced, by an orderly retiration, into their own body. As they were moving to gain an advantageous piece of ground of which the enemy possessed themselves before they could come up, the enemy having the advantage to be drawn upon this plain hill, with some usefull ditches. O'Neill being necessitated to draw up his army on a low shrubby piece of ground (with some difficulty) and of great disadvantage to his men in their advancing towards the enemy, who never moved forwards, but playing incessantly with their field-pieces, which alarmed the party sent to Dunganannon, and obliged them to return in hast. At first view of them, Munroe took them to be the Laggan horse, but finding his mistake, was somewhat surprized, as some of his own officers informed, and how, they observed, he always dreaded O'Neill. Both armies being drawn up orderly on both sides, O'Neill in the front made a short exhortatory speech, wherein he displayed their present condition, and how every individuall man there was obliged to fight for his king, religion, and country, and withall how burthensome they and their creaghts were to the rest of the kingdom, &c. and so gave the word of command to advance, which they chearfully and bravely obeyed, 'till they joined battle, (commanding Rory Maguire's regiment for a reserve.) In the advance our men and the enemy forbore firing 'till they came within pushe of pike, where the English, commanded by my lord Blaney, maintained their ground, 'till my lord and most of his men were cut off. The rout began two hours before night, in which the enemy left very rich booty of all sorts, which hindered the execution much, by the soldiers falling to plunder. My lord Montgomery was taken prisoner, and so was major Cogheran; captain Hamilton, with several officers slain, with four thousand private men on the spott; and in pursuit that night and the next day, about one hundred and fifty soldiers taken prisoners, and dismissed with a pass. To the best of my memory upwards of twenty collours taken, their artillery (being four field-pieces) with most of all their armes, tents, and baggage left behind (except Sir James Montgomery's regiment on their right, who escaped.) Lost of the Irish side, colonel Manus Mc Neale, Garve O'Donnell, slain; lieutenant general Ferrall and lieutenant colonel Phelim Mc Tuoll O'Neill wounded; colonel Miles Reilly's cornet killed, with thirty-five private men, and two hundred and forty-five wounded. Next day O'Neill ordered my lord Blaney's and captain Hamilton's corps to be interred in Benborbe church with the proper ceremonies. If God had not put this timely stop to Munroe's career, his instructions and intentions were to harrass the whole country before him 'till he came to Dunmore near Kilkenny, as was found by a memorial delivered by my lord Montgomery's own hand, when a prisoner. O'Neill, to follow this good success, marcht with his now well provided army to Tonregce, in order to reduce the counties of Down and Antrim. By this time my lord of Ormond was assured of the defeat at Benborbe, by some of his own creatures, employed as spies, in Munro's army; whereupon he sent his serjeant at armes to Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, to proclaim a peace concluded sometime before (unknown to general O'Neill, and most of the clergy of the kingdom) with the

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supreme council; which, no sooner the nuntio heard, but he sends an express to O'Neill, to congratulate his late victory, and withall desired him to march with his army forthwith to Kilkenny (affairs being of late carried contrary to the engagements given them both before by the assembly and supreme council). This message of the nuntio overtook O'Neill at Tonregee, as he was ready to march into the enemy's quarters; yet to shew his obedience to the nuntio, he calls a council of war, and resolves to march immediately to Kilkenny, against his own and the whole army's inclination, to wave so good an opportunity of improving the catholick cause in the province of Ulster, and consequently in the whole kingdom. How breaches were made up afterwards at Kilkenny, you know best, for I staid behind them in the North to recruit my troop: but this much I can call to mind, when O'Neill returned from Kilkenny, he took in Maryburrough, Deesart, Cullentragh, Shcelan, *alias* Dsiden, Bealaroyne, Castlereban, Athy, &c. From Athy the general went to Harristowne, where Sir Phelim O'Neill and Harry Roe O'Neill were with all the horse for some weeks before. From Harristowne they marched to Lucan, where the army wanting provisions and other necessities, and despairing of doing any good, by reason of many disappointments, marcht back to Castlereban near Athy, where the general kept his winter quarters, and dispersed the army to the most convenient quarters in the kingdom. In this march I heard of none that deserted our army, nor of no engagement with any of Preston's party.

1647. After Preston was beaten at Lyndsay's [Linche's] Knock by colonel Jones, O'Neill being come then the length of Abbyboyle with a good army to take his rounds by Sligoe, some of the supreme council came to him from Kilkenny, to diswade him from his present design, and to return back to Leinster to relieve them, since general Preston and the whole country was open for Jones and his successful English party; which message O'Neill and the rest of his army disapproved, and yet were loth to return a positive denyall, 'till the second message, whereby the supreme council pressed the necessity of his immediate return, as affairs stood; which prevailed at last with O'Neill to alter his former resolutions, and march back to Killbeggan, much against his own and his officers inclinations, some whereof mutynied in four or five days after, and kept their cabal meetings within Killbegan church. The chiefe ringleaders colonel Alexander M'Donnell, Rory Maguire, Hugh Boy O'Donnell, with most of the whole army of foot, except the general's own regiment of foot, lieutenant general Ferrall's, and Philip M'Hugh O'Reilly's. Upon the first notice the general had of this mutiny, he thought to surprise and secure the chiefe heads; but on the first beat of drum, when the cabal officers saw him make towards them, they immediately run, and every one of them headed their own men, with resolution to stand out, and march from the camp. The general immediately ordered the artillery to be planted on them as they stood, which with the mediation of the bishop of Clogher and general Farrell, wrought on them so far as to be pacified, and brought to a better understanding, and submitted and acknowledged their error; though many in the world would think it a plausible pretence, as alledging (which was true) that they had no subsistence, or any kind of establishment in the standing army of the kingdom, as other provinces had, and that they served only to be absolute slaves to the supreme

council, who contributed nothing towards their maintenance, though apt to call upon them on any emergency; and when any service offered that might probably redound to their present or future glory, or the generall good of the nation, they allways thwarted or diverted them, which they conceived to be an ill design, either to make them inconsiderable in the nation, or instruments only to serve their own ends. O'Neill made answer, "I told you often, and the generallity of the nation, that I came to the kingdom with intent to serve the king and the nation in generall, and in particular the province wherein I was born, and that no further than reason and justice would dictate; and do tell you, no pretence or collour of any other notion whatsoever, will diswade me from discharging to the utmost of my power the many assurances of this kind I gave the supreme council, and the nation in general, and to you before; and do believe nothing will more endear or create a better understanding between you and the rest of your countrymen than a timely reliefe of this kind in time of need." So the discontents being for this time seemingly made up, the army marched forwards to Castlegordon, where O'Neill quartered 'till November following, 1647, when he and the Leinster officers joined, composed most of horse, as Sir Walter Dungan, Lewis Moore, Finglass, Barnwell, &c. with some Connaught captains of the Roirke's and Reynolds's, with some Kelley's, in the whole amounting to twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, with whom they marched to burn the English quarters near Dublin, by order of the supreme council. The first day they marched near Lyndsy's Knock, the second day to Dunboyne, the next day a party detached to burn and spoil the country. The same day the army marching over a bridge near Clonee, to a rising hill where they were drawn up, upon an alarm that colonel Trevor was approaching with a strong body of horse from Castleknock to the bridge, the army passed a little before, from whence he was soon forced to make a brisk retreat, the army continuing on their march, 'till they came that night to Brazell, the fourth day to Ratho, where about twelve o'clock Michael Jones, Trevor, Sir Harry Titchbourne, and Sir Thomas Armstrong appeared within a small distance with four squadrons of horse, who after our army was drawn up, and they taking a full view of them, called a council of war, who agreed it was dangerous to venture on such a formidable army, commanded by an old experienced soldier; and so marched off without offering the least disturbance, our army continuing on their march, 'till, we came that night the length of Clonmolin, where we still apprehended an onsett from Jones and the rest, which obliged us to stand to our arms all night; the fifth day to Blackford, within three miles of Clonard-bridge, where the enemy likewise appeared, and went off as before; the sixth day passing over Clonard-bridge, and so back to Castle-jordan. During the whole march, partys were employed to burn and spoil, who brought in great booties. Sir Walter Dungan and colonel Bryan M'Mahon commanded the forlorne hope during this march in the enemie's quarters. At Blackford I heard myself, Sir Walter Dungan, Finglass, &c. affirm, they learned more experience in this march than ever they did in their lives before. The winter following the army was quartered dispersedly over the kingdom, with daily expectation of being disarmed by the supreme council.

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1648.—Ormond, Inchiquin, and the supreme council, having agreed about the

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latter end of spring, Sir Phelim O'Neill, lord Iveagh, Alexander M'Donnell, Bryan M'Coll Mac Mahon, Myles Reilley, Hugh Boy O'Donnell, Torlagh O'Neill, M'Henry and Art M'Hugh Boy O'Neill, both of the Fews, Daniel Oge Magenis, uncle to the lord Iveagh, and such other officers as were possessed of their estates in 1641, deserted O'Neill, and joined Ormond, Inchiquin, and the supreme council, except Philip M'Hugh O'Reilly, Rory Maguire, Hugh M'Brian, M'Cuconaght Maguire, Hugh M'Art Roe M'Mahon, Bryan Mantagh M'Mahon, Miles Swiny, O'Cahane, Hugh M'Patrick Duff M'Mahon, Coll. Con O'Rourke, and captain Charles Reynolds, of the county of Leitrim, lieutenant general Ferrall, and all his relations in the county of Longford (except Richard Fitz Robert O'Ferrall) who stuck to O'Neill. You may easily judge what state O'Neill was left in at this time. In May following the nuntio apprehending that foul play, and observing how affairs run at Kilkenny quite contrary to his expectation, sends privately to O'Neill, praying him to send a party of horse to meet him at Ballynekilly a certain night, and that he would endeavour to make his escape from Kilkenny, which accordingly was done, and the nuntio conveyed to a house prepared for him near Maryborough, where O'Neill then quartered, and where both of them stay'd for some time after. Rory Maguire in the mean time was sent to rendezvous what men he had at Burr, and to make up a body of them, and such as would join with them; some horse and foot came in accordingly, and an express was sent to Phelim M'Hugh O'Reilly to march with what men he had from the county of Cavan, who met the express by the way coming. No sooner were they joined, but news came that general Preston took the field, whereupon O'Neill removed with his small army to Athlone, to secure his men as well as that pass. In his march near Moatgranoge, the first blood was spilt between him and Preston, by one captain Davys, an officer of Castlehaven's, taken prisoner before near Ardmagh, and released by O'Neill after Benborbe fight. Preston and his army draws near Athlone, and encamps at Toy, within two miles of it. O'Neill within and Preston without the town, spent a good deal of time in one another's neighbourhood, without any other action but slight skirmishes, 'till O'Neill, for want of provisions, was forced to quit the place and march to Jamestown, leaving Theobald Magawly with some officers and soldiers of his own army to guard and defend the castle and pass; he takes a round by Mohill, through the county of Leitrim, to St. Johnstowne in the county of Longford, where news came to him that Clanrickard, Preston, and all those that joined them, invested Athlone with a very close siege on both sides the river, whereupon he marches forward to Ardagh, and resolves to try his fortune in raising the siege, when intelligence came to him that lord Dillon, lord Taaffe, major Barnwell and colonel Purcell, were posted at Ballymore with a considerable party of horse and foot to intercept him: however, O'Neill keeps on his march over the Ennywater, to encounter them at Ballymore. First, as he passed the river, some diversion was offered by a party of the enemy, the next day proving very rainy, obliged him to keep his camp all that day at a convenient distance from Ballymore, without any alarms from the enemy; the next morning he appears before it, where no sooner discovered, but the lords ordered the old walls and ditches of both sides the street to be lined by the foot, and the horse to be drawn up in the centre within the town. O'Neill attacks the foot and dislodges

them, and routed them and the horse together, without much dispute, or any great loss, (O'Neill abhorring the spilling of his countrymen's blood if he could help it.) He lost only four men of his own, more of the enemy, and lieutenant Barry taken prisoner. Two nights before this Athlone was surrendered; O'Neill to secure Athy and other towns in Leinster in his hands, marches forthwith to Maryborough, his army beginning to increase daily, having at this time about 2500, he marches to Athy, next day he storms Ballylisan and Hovendon's castle, and gave merciful quarters. Within two days after our army was mustered and found to be 3000 strong, horse and foot. Next day they marched to Ballyragid, (Mountgarret's house) the second day to Deninbridge (within three miles of Kilkenny) where Rory Maguire was commanded with two troops of horse to Dunmore. In his way a squadron of horse accosted him, who engaged and forced him to retire back to the camp; the next day we crossed the river into my lord Mountgarret's deer park, where we were supplied with store of venison and good ale found in the park lodge: we staid here but five days, in which time abundance of preys, and all sorts of provisions came in from Ossory. Preston and Inchiquin appearing daily with great bodies of horse on rising grounds westwards of us; we marched from before their faces, 'till we came to Gortatree Tocher (the first day) which was made up in an instant with faggots, and so to Burrisewly. By this time Inchiquin was appointed with 5000 horse and foot to attend our motion, and wait an opportunity to beat up our quarters, which he never durst nor offered to attempt in our whole march. An express met our general here from the O'Brien's of Tumond to invite him over the Shannon, which he seemed to accept, and in order to it marched to Killaloe, where some of those gentlemen met and conferred with him, laying before him some friendly projects, which he also seemed to approve, but told them, within forty-eight hours longer he would resolve them further: in the mean time he commands Rory Maguire, with three or four hundred men (under the pretence of bringing in preys) to march towards Banagher in order to surprise it, having received an account from his spies of the present state of it, which Maguire accordingly gained before the next morning with great toil and expedition; a piece of service very acceptable to O'Neill, and of great consequence at that time; of which, O'Neill no sooner had notice, but he marches to the Silver-mines, and commanded Phelim Mc Tuoll O'Neill with a detachment to storm Nenagh, if not surrendered on summons, which they would not yield to, 'till it was taken by storm. From the mines (where they encamped but one night or two) they marched to Nenagh, from thence to Burr, where an express met the general from the governor of Athy, that he was closely besieged by general Preston and one Mc Thomas, whereupon Phelim Mc Tuoll was appointed out again with a detachment of 450 men to relieve Athy, and in his instructions was to ferry his men over by night at Castlereban within two miles of Athy. He marched with such expedition, that he tired his men to 80, with whom he boldly ventured through Mc Thomas's brigade, and forced his way through an old abbey likewise possessed by the enemy, and in his way took lieutenant colonel Sanford and other officers prisoners (but the lieutenant colonel afterwards made his escape) and relieved the town, which lay in a gasping condition. The enemy went off; O'Neill himself next day appeared with the whole army where he continued but one

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day longer, when an express came that Nenagh was regained by Inchiquin, and Bancher blockt up, whereupon he counter-marches with all expedition, 'till he came to Ballaghmore, now called Owen Roe's pass, and blockt up Inchiquin and his army. There happened no action except slight skirmishes, during a whole fortnight's space, both armies lay so near one another, 'till Clanrickard and Taaffe with all their power came from Connaught to join Inchiquin, and jointly to fall on O'Neill, who, to know their strength, alarmed their out guards, which occasioned by that means the enemy's whole army to appear under arms within a musket shot of O'Neill, who ordered his army likewise to draw out. Both armies being thus drawn at that distance on both sides a mill-race, one Purdon, with 400 horse, falls in the rear of O'Neill's camp, and entered boldly on the general's own quarters, and possessed himself of the artillery, which he kept but a short time, being beaten off by one troop of horse and 100 foot, left to secure the quarters and guns. Purdon retires to Burr, from whence he came, and left only nine of his men dead behind him. Both the armies withdrew without much action, except random shots, which slightly wounded of our side Con Backagh O'Neill and major Dogherty and Art Mc Hugh Boy O'Neill taken prisoner. O'Neill's army growing scarce of provision by staying so long in so inconvenient a place; Bangor given up, and the inhabitants quitting the country to remote places, who afforded them some supply at first, decamped the first of October, and marched by night towards Ballyboy-arkall, the rather, our own general being assured that Inchiquin with his main body would fall upon him in the front the next day, and Purdon in the rear with his party, which they attempted to do two hours after we began our march, by visiting our empty camp. From Ballyboy we marched the same day to Tollamore, where we encampt ourselves advantageously that night. Inchiquin missing his aim, marches to Kilkenny, Clanrickard back to Connaught, O'Neill straight to Lisnemain near Belturbet, where he remained all the winter and spring. When O'Neill left Tollamore, he stays for five or six weeks in the counties of Westmeath and Longford, from whence he marches to Lisnemain in the county of Cavan, and quartered his men on the creaghts and the inhabitants of the county of Cavan, and the upper parts of the county of Monaghan; and in the spring sent major general Hugh Duff O'Neill to Westmeath, and stormed Ballinalack castle, whereabouts our men were quartered, in continual actions with the Methians 'till Easter Sunday following, we marched back again, after forcing the county of Westmeath to pay us contribution, and after which we made a shift to live among the creaghts of Ulster 'till the cessation with general Monk. As to the peace concluded between Ormond and the confederates in 1648, I see no reason why O'Neill was not concerned, if not upon the nuncio and clergy's being disgusted, as well as he. The misunderstanding began in 1647, all the deserters went off the May before. January 1648, you can remember the assembly took a solemn oath to conclude no peace, nor act any general thing tending to the nation, without the major vote of the assembly and supreme council. If they acted any thing contrary to the tenor of that oath, as possibly they might, or was believed they did, must probably be the main motive for the distinction: I am sure O'Neill was always for establishing a certain number of the northern army with the standing army of the kingdom, in regard he served

them all alike. What of this I cannot call to mind, I must refer to your own better memory ; but this more I can add, that one Thomas Terrill, of the supreme council, mentioned that no other title should be given O'Neill in any directions, than Mr. Owen O'Neill, an argument of spiteful malice and antipathy.

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1649.—In the beginning of May O'Neill finding himself destitute of all possibility of doing good, and having no means left him under God's providence, but a few poor creaghts of his own country to maintain himself and the few men he kept on foot still, nor no ammunition, nor means left to get anything unless by taking some desperate course ; on which he settled his thoughts, and off-hand summoned a provincial council to meet at Belturbet, where it was concluded (upon a former invitation sent by sir Charles Coote) to treat with him for ammunition, and commissioners appointed immediately to meet him for that purpose, or his commissioners, at Newtown near Drimahire, where colonell Richard Coote and major Ormsby met, and agreed to give thirty barrels of powder, ball and match proportionably, three hundred beeves, or four hundred pounds in money conditionally : O'Neill should march with his army to relieve Derry. Secretary Glancy was left at Sligo to receive the ammunition ; but within two days after, colonell Coote writt to O'Neill, that his brother the lord president would not stand to these articles, and so broke off : whereupon, to try other conclusions, Hugh Mc Pat. Duff Mc Mahon was sent to colonel Monk with the like proposal, which was readily granted ; whereupon O'Neill with his weak army marches to Glassdromon, within seven miles of Dundalk, where Monk quartered ; from whence he sends a party with carriage-horses to receive and bring home the ammunition. Colonel Trevor hearing of the passage, prepares himself with five or six squadrons of horse, and marches from Drogheda to interrupt them, which he effectually did, by surprising the party in their return in a plain road, and taking the ammunition, and routing the whole party after a hot dispute. This accident no sooner happened, but O'Neill marches to Clowness, where an express came to him the next day from Sir Charles Coote, acquainting him that Derry was again besieged by my lord Montgomery and the Scotch, and that he would allow and ratify the former proposals, so he went to raise the Scotch from Derry, which O'Neill was forced to accept of this time ; and in order to make good his part of the agreement, marches by short steps with his army, consisting of 2000 men, 'till he came to Ballykelly in the county of Derry, of which he possessed himself. The Scotch hearing of his approach, raised their siege and posted away by day and night, 'till they were over the Ban-water in their own country. O'Neill encamps before the town, Tyrone side of the river, where president Coote came to compliment him, and perform his conditions, and afterwards invited him and his chief officers into the town, and treated them nobly. O'Neill continued encamped here eight or nine days longer, where he unfortunately fell sick, occasioned (as some confidently affirmed, and was myself since assured off by an English officer that it was so) by a poisoned pair of russet leather boots, sent him as a present by a gentleman of the Plunket's from the county of Lowth, who boasted to this gentleman that he did the English a considerable service in dispatching O'Neill out of the world. About this time Ormond besieged Dublin, who sent Daniel O'Neill, to his uncle O'Neill, now sick, with the same proposals formerly

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offered, who seemed to accept of none, but such as the nuntio would approve. By next post news came of Ormond's being routed by Jones, whereupon O'Neill calls for the chief officers of his army, and put to them what was best to be done as affairs stood? They all submitted to his better judgment, who replied, "Gentlemen, to demonstrate to the world that I value the service of my king, and the welfare of my nation, as I always did, I now forget and forgive the supreme council, and my enemies their ill practices, and all the wrongs they did me from time to time, and will now embrace that peace which I formerly denied out of a good intent." Whereupon commissioners were appointed to go along with Daniel O'Neill to my lord of Ormond, to ratify the same. Having taken his leave of Sir Charles Coote, begins his march (he being carried in a horse litter) 'till they came the length of Ballahays in the county of Cavan, where colonel Trevor came to kiss his hands, and to congratulate the late good understanding between Ormond and him. From whence he commanded his lieutenant general and major general Hugh O'Neill to march with the army, and join my lord of Ormond, he himself growing worse, was removed to Cloghhotterwater, near Cavan, where he parted this world the sixth of November, 1649, and was interred in the Old Abbey at Cavan.

1650. About March following a provincial council, was summoned to meet at Belurbet, in order to elect a new general for the province of Ulster, where the marquis of Antrim, Sir Phelim O'Neill, lieutenant general Ferrall, Henry Roe O'Neill (Hugh Duff being then in Munster) and the bishop of Clogher, met as competitors (bishop Swiny of Killmore, chairman) and the competitors names being called over they all appeared except Hugh Duff. The articles between Ormond and O'Neill were called for, and read, wherein a proviso was found, that in case God should call away general O'Neill, none of the deserters should have a vote in the election of a new general; whereupon those of the deserters which stood by were ordered to withdraw, which they did after some debate. The evening before, the bishop of Clogher endeavoured to gain some of general O'Neill's friends to vote of his side, making them believe that he would resign over again the place to Daniel O'Neill, who was a favourite both of the king's and of Ormond's, and a person both a soldier and a native of the province, by which means he got an interest which contributed much to his election, which done he waits on the lord of Ormond to receive his commission (Ormond being then at Athlone). The Bishop no sooner received his commission, but he goes *pro forma* to Daniel O'Neill, and offered it him conditionally if he would become a Roman catholic, which the ambitious bishop knew he would not listen to. As far as I could understand, Ormond favoured the bishop before Antrim, or any other of the province, except Daniel O'Neill, who was incapable on account of his religion. The main consideration and winning reasons that took place in the election were, that if any of the deserters, or others of emulous and ambitious spirits were chosen, that probably it might occasion the province to fall in pieces again, and for want of due consideration in hot and factious brains could not unanimously be brought into the field under a lay, so well as a spiritual commander. Being under cure of my wounds, I was not an eye-witness of the action at Litterkenny, but what I have by hearsay, and by an officer that was in the action, and assured me that the bishop was four thousand strong, when he marched to

Tyrconnell. When the army came to Litterkenny, colonel Miles Swiny made an humble request of the bishop to give him and his regiment leave to march to Castledo to try if he could gain it for their future security in that part of the country, which was granted, but was wanting afterwards, as many more were that were left in garrisons up and down in those parts, which very much weakened the army the day of action. It appeared to this gentleman that the enemy had as many horse of Scotch and English, as the Irish had of horse and foot. The Scotch who was protected by the bishop in those parts, and particularly colonel Sanderson, bore a great share in defeating him in the last day. The first day's engagement a fortnight before being thus: the bishop's army coming to a pass on the river between Lifford and Derry, the tide beginning to flow, the colonels were commanded to cast dice who would venture over the ford with his regiment first: Phelim Mc Tuoll O'Neill, tho' his turn was that day to be in the rear, said, he would cast no lots, but would venture over, which he did with some difficulty, and beat off the horse the other side, whereby he gave the whole army liberty to march over leisurely, some forced to swim. All that night they were forced to stand to their arms; next day Sir Charles Coote appeared with his formidable army, and drew them up by a Danish stone fort upon a narrow pass leading to Derry. The bishop likewise drew up his army in battle array, both armies being within musket shot of each other, captain Taylor and captain Cathcart, two of the best horse officers the enemy had, marched with two strong brigades of horse towards the rear of our army in a full career, who were repulsed bravely by our horse and some foot, and beaten back into their own body, with the loss of their two fine captains, which ended most of this day's action, both armies withdrawing 'till the fatal day, at Litterkenny, some while after. The enemy in this interval preparing and daily encreasing 'till the last blow was given, wherein we lost, after quarters given, colonel Henry Roe O'Neill, colonel Hugh Maguire, colonel Hugh Mc Mahon, Art. Oge O'Neill, Mc Shane Deemis, and colonel Phelim Mc Tuoll O'Neill. Quarters were made good to none but George Sexton (quarter-master general) who was afterwards put to death at Carrickfergus, by order of the high court of justice; major general O'Cahan killed on the spot, with a great many prime officers, and about 1500 private men; the bishop taken two days after by major King near Inniskillen. After this, every one shifted for himself the best he could, except some parties who kept out about Sleau Russell in Ulster, no general protection granted.

It is plain to the world what fund or support Owen O'Neill had in maintaining an army during the whole course of this war, having received no pay nor subsistence all the while, except a slender sum in gold from the pope's nuncio (as general Preston and others got) and had to deal with divers distinct and inveterate enemies, and with some very ungrateful friends and countrymen of his own persuasion, joined in the main to ruin him and his well-meaning party, rather than propagate the catholick cause, or good of the king and nation, as they solemnly swore and avowed. The notions under which the respective interests (then on foot) laboured to work out their own ends; which fatal disunion and evil practices have infallibly opened the gap, and laid a foundation for other nations and religions to grow, as well as occasion the universal decay of the new and ancient Irish, and the Roman catholick

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interest in this unhappy kingdom ever since, and is like to continue so, *ad infinitum*, if God in his great mercy will not prevent it. *Fiat voluntas ejus.*

The foregoing MEMOIRS, was sent by way of letter to colonel Charles Kelly of Agharahan.

Some particulars relating to the manner of the death of my grandfather colonel Phelim Mc Tuoll, (whose commissions of lieutenant colonel to general O'Neill's own regiment from the supreme council of the confederate catholicks of Ireland, dated 16th March, 1645, and of colonel to the same regiment from the marquis of Ormond, dated 12th November, 1649, I have now by me) being omitted in the foregoing account, I do not think it improper to have them mentioned here; tho' I had the same account from several old people that were eye-witnesses of, and conversant in the history of the transactions in those days, yet I had the following narrative from — Osborne, an attorney of the Court of Exchequer in 1700, to whom the same was related by his father, one captain Osborne of Sir Charles Coote's own regiment of horse.

When quarters were given to several of the Irish officers, and in particular my grandfather, he and Sir Charles Coote came to terms about his ransom, and it was agreed between them, that my grandfather, on procuring one hundred beeves from his friends to be delivered to Sir Charles, should have his life spared, and be set at liberty; and for that purpose he was drawing articles to be executed between Sir Charles and him, when a serjeant came into Sir Charles's tent the next day after the action, with an account of his having brought colonel Henry Ro O'Neill, general Owen O'Neill's son, prisoner. Without more ado, Sir Charles reprimanded the serjeant for not bringing his head, and commanded him to go and dispatch him immediately, whereupon the pen dropped out of my grandfather's hand, and accosting Sir Charles in favour of his relation, pleaded in his behalf, his being a Spaniard born, and that he came here a soldier of fortune, and hoped for thes considerations, he would not suffer his orders to be put in execution. But all would not do, the orders were executed; and Sir Charles telling my grandfather, that if he began to prate, he would be served the same way, my grandfather being touched with the usage his kinsman received, replied, "That he would rather be served so, than to owe his life to such a monstrous villain as he was;" whereupon he ordered him to be carried out, and knocked on the head with tent-poles, by Sir Charles's men, which being observed by one of Sir Charles's officers that was coming towards the tent, asked the soldiers what they meant by using the gentleman so, and they replying, it was by the general's orders, the officer, in compassion to him, and to put him out of pain, drew his sword and ran him through the heart, and both his and Henry Roe's heads were cut off and put up in Derry; so far had they the honour to imitate the death of their king, who was most barbarously murdered the year before.

XXVI. ARTICLES BETWEEN OLIVER CROMWELL AND PIERCE BUTLER.

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1650-1.

3. Feby.
Surrender
of
Fethard.

Articles of agreement made and concluded on the third day of February, 1650 betwene the most Honorable Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant Generall of Ireland, and Lieftenant Collonell Pierce Butler, Governor of the towne of Fetherd, concerning the surrender of the said towne as followeth :

1. That all officers and souldiers shall march freely with their horses and armes and all other goods, bagg and baggage, collours flying, matches lighted, ball in bouch, into any place within his Majesties quarters, or guarrison, except such as are now beseiged, safely conveyed thither, free from violence from any of the Parliaments party.

2. That all the countrey families and inhabitants, as alsoe any of the officers, may freely live and enjoy their goods either in towne or abroad, and if they or any of them bee disposed to betake themselves to their former habitations in the country, they may have respite of time for that, and admittance to enjoy their holdings paying contribucion as others in the country doe, and carry with them safely such goods as they have within this guarrison.

3. That all clergymen and captaines both of the souldiers, towne and countrey, now in this guarrison may freely march, bagg and baggage, without anny annoiance or prejudice in body and goods.

4. That all and every the inhabitants of the said towne and their wives, children, and servants with all their goods and chattles both within the towne and abroad in the country, shall bee protected from time to time, and att all times, and shall quietly and peaceably enjoy their estates, both reall and personall in as free and as good condicion as any English or Irish shall hold his or theire estates in this kingdom, they and every of them paying such contribucion as the rest of the inhabitants of the county of Tiperary pay proporcionably to their estates and noe more.

In consideracion whereof the said Governor doth heerby engage him selfe that hee will deliver up the said towne with all things therein, except such things as are before agreed upon to bee taken away with them, by eight of the clock this morning.

Copia vera.

Exm.

O. Cromwell.

XXVII. ARTICLES FOR SURRENDER OF ATHLONE CASTLE.

1651.

18. June.
Surrender
of
Athlone
Castle.

Athlone: Articles agreed upon the 18th of June, 1651, between Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Connaght and Sir James Dillon, Knight, in behalfe of the Lord Viscount Dillon, concerning the surrender of the Castle of Athlone.

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18. June.
Surrender
of
Athlone
Castle.

Imprimis: That the said Sir James Dillon, Kt., doth hereby covenant and agree that the Castle of Athlone shall bee surrendered with all armes, amunicion, artillery, and stores therein contened, unto such persons as the Lord President shall appoynt to receive the same for the use of the parliament and commonwealth of England.

2. That the officers and souldiers now ingarrisoned in that Castle shall have liberty to march away with their armes, colouers flying, drumes beating, bandeliers full of powder, matches light att both ends, bagg and baggage, and with a safe convoy to any such gaurrison within the province of Connaght as the Governor shall desire, or elsewhere.

3. That whereas the Lord Viscount Dillon of Casteloe hath desired to submitt to the government of England, as being of an English discent and extract, the said Sir Charles Coote Lord President of Connaght, by authoritie of Parliament with advice of the Councell of Warr, do hereby ingage and undertake to Sir James Dillon that hee will indeavor, and accordinly mediate with the Parliament, that the said Lord Dillon, his wife, children and tennants, shall bee indempnited for all things done by him during the warr of Ireland, provided the said Lord Dillon act nothing henceforth to the prejudice of the Parliament, their armyes, or guarrisons.

4. That the said Lord Dillon shall have libertie to abide att Portumna or Laugh Reagh, with such a competency of land allowed unto him, as shall bee convenient to maintaine a stock, for the maintenance and supporte of his familie.

5. That in regard the said Lord Dillon is disabled soddainly to pay his debts hee shall bee protected from arrestes and suites for any debts formerly contracted by the space of three yeares.

6. That hee shall have a pass to goe into England or into a forraigne countrey when hee shall desire the same.

7. That he shall have libertie to transport a thousand or two thousand Irish if hee can make conditions with anny forraigner in amity with the Parliament of England.

8. That these conditions bee continewed to his lady and family in his absence.

9. That the inhabitants of the towne of Athlone shall have quarters for their lives with assurance to enjoy their estates and goods and remaine in the said towne; paying such contribucion as others doe whilst they remaine in the English quarters.

10. That such of his friends and kindred as shall make their particuler applicacion for protections, shall bee received upon reasonable condicions.

11. That the Castle of Athlone shall bee delivered by Sir Robert Talbott, Governor thereof, according to the foremencioned articles on Sonday next att or before 10 of the clock in the forenone, and that Capt. Bellue and Capt. FitzGeralde bee sent forthe this morning as hostages for performance of them.

James Dillon.
Robertt Talbott.

XXVIII. CHARLES II. TO SIR PHELM O'NEILL.

APPENDIX.

FOR SIR PHELM O NEILE, KNIGHT.

Sir Phelim O Neile: Haveing understood of a late great defeate given in Ireland to Coote and his adherents, and being tould that you command in thos parts where the thing was donne, or at least to which the effects of this victory doe cheifely and imediately extende, I desire and require you to be kind to the English and Scotts that are or shall be comprehended within the limits of your command and shall submitt to my authority, especially such as have heretofore discovered good affections towards my father and me, or that may be wonne to a hearty conjunction for the future in my service: Of this sort many I am confident, very many, will shew themselves when the Independent yoake is broken from their necks which wisht for time I hope is now come, or very neere approaching, not onely in that, but (if God will) in these my other kingdomes. A peice onely which remaynes at lybertie of this Scottland, affording me now at present so considerable an armie both in numbers and other respects as I trust shall contribute very eminently towards the worke. Desireing and expecting from you a particular accoumpt of your proceedings herein, I remaine

1651.
26. June.
Charles II.
to
Sir P. O'Neill.

[Charles R.]

Striveling, 26th of June, [1651].

Copia vera: Ric. Fanshawe.

Endorsed: Letter from the King to Sir Phelim O Neile. Received 10th December, [1651].

XXIX. CHARLES II. TO CLANRICARDE.

For the Marquess of Clanricarde, Deputy of Ireland.

My Lord of Clanrickard; Since my dispatches to you, by Dr. King, here is a relation come of a very great defeate given to Coote, whereof although there be no certainty yet arrived, yet I never hoped lesse from your conduct and management of my armie and affaires in that kingdome, nor against a partie so desperately engaged in opposition to all authority. Neverthelesse, I desire the successe may be governed with moderation and gentlenesse towards my Brittish subjects submitting to my authority, especially such as have discovered heretofore any affections towards my father and me, or that may be wonne to a conjunction for the future in my service; to which pourpose I have written a lettre of the date hereof to Sir Phelim O Neile, (a copie being here inclosed,) for what may concerne thos parts, where I am tould he commands. But doe hereby recommend it more amply to you as haveing my supreme authority both there and over all the rest of the kingdome, whereby to pursue this rule generally in all places according to

26. June.
Charles II.
to
Clanricarde.

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Charles II.
to
Clanricard.

occasion, so farre as it may conduce to, (which possibly by skillfull handling may be very much,) or may be consistent with my service, and the good and safety of that my kingdome. This way of proceeding being agreeable to the intimations I gave in my last by Dr. King, though at that time they could not be so particular, because I had not then so much occasion for it, as this newes hath given me. Not doubting of your approved care and prudence in all that concernes me, I bid you very heartily farewell.

Your very affectionate freind,
Charles R.

Striveling, 26th June, 1651.

Endorsed: Received 10th Dec.

Diary of
Parliamentary
Officer.
1650.

XXX. DIARIES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORCES IN IRELAND UNDER SIR HARDRESS WALLER AND THE LORD DEPUTY IRETON, FROM 20TH JULY, 1650, TO 5th NOVEMBER, 1651. BY OFFICERS IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ARMY IN IRELAND.

I. DIARY FROM 20TH JULY TO 11TH NOVEMBER, 1650.

July.

S[unday], July 20 [1650].

I left Dublin with a convoy of horse and foote and quartered neere Kill, about two miles from the Naas.

21.

We came to Kilka, sidelong of Castledermott. We were waylayd by Sir Walter Dungan, Scurlock, and others, who were neere Bolton hill, drawn up in 5 divisions of horse. But it pleased God to give us the better in the engagement: we killd one Captain Shartall, and others, and tooke some prisoners, pursuing the rest some miles.

Monday, 22.

We came to the army before Catherlagh [Carlow], where Sir Hardresse Waller (Major-Generall of the foote) commaunded in absence of the Lord Deputy, who had litle before gouned from the leaguer at Catherlagh towards Waterford, which had beene long kept in by garrisons and guards, so as the place thereby and by the sicknes therein raageing was greatly distressed. This day began our battery at Catherlagh on the Castle on the bridge. A passage over the Barrow was by one bridge of bullrushes and another of timber.

Tu[esday], the 23.

The enemy parlied with others

This night was Colonel Cromwell sent to the Lord Deputy with the articles of surrender and to understand his Lordships further pleasure concerninge.

1. Clarendon Papers, 1650, No. 442 Bodleian Library. The original, having been much injured, is illegible in several places, here indicated thus

Friday, [July] 26.

The guarison of Catherlagh marched away according to the capitulation. They were in number about 200 foote. We placed there part of Colonel Ewers regiment.

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Saturday, 27.

We removed our quarters to other side of Catherlagh, about halfe a mile from it towards Castledermot.

S[unday], the 28.

We marched towards Athy, and quartered at Grange Mellon, proposeing to viewe Athy and to consider of fortifying the place, and to do for it as should be convenient.

Monday, the 29.

By order from My Lord we were carred and marched back towards Catherlagh, and passing over the newe bridge we went towards Loghgrenan, (now fortified and guarrisoned,) and that night quartered beyond Leighlin bridge, neere John Sothewell's house.

Tu[esday], the 30.

We marched by G[erpoint] and in the river of the Neor. We quartered beyond Inisteog towards Waterford.

Wednesday, 31.

We quartered neere Wetslie . . . house.

Thursday, August 1.

August.

We came to the army before Waterford.

Tuesday, Aug. 6.

This was the first of 8 fast dayes for seeking the Lord, that thereby he might be entreated to returne to his people and to remove the heavy judgment of pestilence in our quarters. That was to continue for 3 weekes. Haveing formerly treated with Commissioners for Waterford, I being one, with others on our part, we this day concluded; the guarison to depart with armes, etc., Generall Preston remaining in the city for a time.

Friday, the 9th.

The guarison marcht away with Sir James Preston towards Athlone. Colonel Sadler was left in the place.

Friday, the 16.

We left Waterford and quartered within 3 miles of it.

Sat[urday], the 17.

The fort of Duncannon, beseged by forces under Colonel Cooke, was surrendred; the guarison to march away with armes, etc.

We this day quartered neere Thomastowne. We stayd there.

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August.

M[onday, August] the 19.

We quartered neere Leghlyn bridge about Sothwell's house. There we then stayd and kept the third day fast, which was continued weeke longer.

Wednesday, Aug. 21.

We quarterd beyond Catherlagh towards Castledermot.

Thursday, 22.

We quarterd betweene Castledermot and Ravilla, in the way to the county of Wickloe, which being a nest of theeves, my Lord resolved by severall parties at once to fall into it.

Friday, 23.

We quarterd at Ravilla.

Sat[urday], the 24.

A party sent from the army into the county of Wickloe, who meeting with other partys, some from Dublin, others from Wexford, into the greate glin called Glenmale, where much catle were taken. We continued at Ravilly until the 30th.

Friday, the 30.

September.

We marcht from Ravilla and quarterd . . . mile beyond Baltinglas in the way to the Naas beyond the This day Sir Hardresse Waller sent most part of the army toward Mounster.

Sa[turday], 31.

We quartered within 2 miles of the Naas.

S[unday], September 1.

We marched and quartered at . . . 2 miles from the Naas, neere the rise of the Liffy. There we continued till the . . . Here Sir Charles Coote came to vs, and it was concluded at a councell . . . to march toward Athlone; Sir Ch. Coote to joine with us a part of his forces: to that end he went from us northward.

Wednesday, Sept. 4.

We removed to Blackhall (about a mile further).

Friday, the 6.

Another party sent from us toward Mounster with Colonel Cromwell and Wee removed over the river of Lify at Dove, and quartered beyond Dovedale.

Sat[urday], 7.

We quartered at Moyvally in the way to Tecroghan.

Sunday, 8.

We came to Tecroghan, where we received provisions and continued there until the 13th.

Friday, 13.

We removed to the waterside at Kinigod.

Sat[urday, September] 14.

We quartered at Rathconnell about 2 miles from Mollingare.

Sunday, 15.

Sir Charles Coote came up to us 1200 f[oot] and 500 h[orse]. We quartered about one mile from Ballimore.

Monday, 16.

We came before Athlone. There the enemy made some shoue of resistance; yet, firing part of the towne which was on Westmeath side of the Shanon, they went over the bridge to Connaught part of the towne, where by a drawe bridge and working and breaking the bridge they made goode the passage.

Our men possessed that part of the town which had been so deserted.

Tuesday, the 24.

Party of horse and foote of Sir Ch. Coote's men being left to Ingliss, the towne of Athlone and to fortifie the same: the Lord Deputy with the rest of the forces and with the guns (one a cannon, the other a demi culverin) marched from Athlone.

We quartered 4 miles from it at Oldcastle.

Wednesday, 25.

The army quartered neere Ferebane: the Lord Deputy at Kilcolquin, a faire house belonging to Terence Coghlan in the King's county.

This Coghlan, notwithstanding his being under protection, admitted a guarison of the enemys into the Castle of Royghara,* lying upon the Shannon, but in regard of many difficultys in reduceing it, and for other weighty considerations, it was at a council of warre resolved to passe it for the present; and having guarriioned Kilcolgan and [*blank*] in the King's county to . . . towards Be . . . other places guarisoned to have a line of communication with our other guarisons of Mounster and Leinster towards Kilkenny.

Thursday, 26.

A party of horse and dragoones were sent towards the Birh [Birr] for discovering the enemy and for sending orders to Kilkenny and into Mounster in order to our farther proceeding.

Friday, 27.

Haueing guarisond and Kincorre seated on the neere the bridge of Ferebon the bridge of Fe[re]bane . . . we guarisoned a castle on the . . . about 3 miles from Ferebane. We quartered at Sir Arthur Blundells house neare Fort Falkland.

Sat[urday], 28.

We marched to Birh (alias Parsonstowne). We guarisoned (in the way thither) a castle belonging to one of the Coghlands.

The castle of Birh was on our advanceing deserted by the Irish and the most of it burnt. We guarisoned the place.

* See vol. ii. p. 111.

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September.

Sunday, [September] 29.

Sir Charles Coote and Sir Theophilus Jones with part of the army returned from us toward Athlone. The Lord Deputy with the rest of the army marched toward Roscrea. We lost the canon and demi culver at Birh. We quartered at Roscrea 10 miles.

Monday, 30.

We quartered about two miles short of Thurles, which is 12 miles from Roscrea.

October.

Tuesday, October 1.

We marched 8 miles and quartered at C . . . belonging to the Archbishop of Cashell, about 1 mile from Cashell.

Wednesday, 2.

Colonel Axtel and Colonel Sankey came to us with provisions. Then we heard of the defense (Friday, Sept. 13) of Scurlog (see particulars, pa. [blank]).

Thursday, 3.

We marched and quartered at Thomastowne, 3 miles from C . . . [in] the way to Limbrick.

Friday, 4.

The Lord Deputy quartered at Loughgurre, [in] the c[oun]ty of Limbrick, belongyng to the É[arl] of Bath: the army quartered short of it. The Lord Deputy continued heere untill the 6.

Sat[urday], 5.

The army quartered within a mile of Loghgurr in the way to Limbrick.

Sunday, 6.

We marched and quartered within 3 miles of Limbrick.

Hence the Lord Deputy sent to the city of Limbrick, taking notice of their refusing to admit a guarison . . . this night therein . . . if they should submitt and . . . a passage to the army through their city they should have protection.

Monday, 7.

The army marched neerer Limbrick and quartered on the west of the city.

The returne from the Mayor (the [Sovereign] of the city) to his Lordship's letter afore mentioned was this day brought: their resolution [was] for not affording us the passage desired through their city.

Tu[esday], 8.

This day was for publique thanks[giving] in our army for the greate victory over the English army in Scotland under the command of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland . . . of the English. The engagement was at Dunbarre in Scotland, the English being 11,000, (viz.) 7500 f[oot] and 3500 h[orse]. . . .

Wednesday, [October] 9.

The Lord Deputy went to view Castleconnell.

Thursday, 10.

A general muster was this day of our army at the leaguer.

Tuesday, 15.

At a council of warre [it was] resolved not to proceede by way of force for gaining Limbrick * at this time in regard of the season and many accompanying inconveniently, onely to block it up on this side the water by guarrisons adjoining.

It was resolved to proceede in makeing a bridge at Castleconnell.

Then had we intelligence of the enemys being in . . . of 3000 f[oot] and 800 h[orse] in the king's county and that they had taken Kilcolgan,† belongyng to Terence O Coghlan, lately joined by Colonel Cringleford: and the . . . regaining our other guarisons lately, also settled in the county betweene, Kilcolgan and Birh.

Friday, 18.

A party of horse and dragoones was sent from the campe to meete with Colonel Axtel other forces for marching toward the Birh and for meeting the enemy or secure quarters thereabout.

Saturday, 19.

We drewe back from Limbrick and quartered at T . . . 3 miles from Limbrick.

Sunday, 20.

Of the army some being sent to Kilmallock, Ad . . . Castleconnell, and Loughgurra, these we ordered into other places for service. The Lord Deputy with the rest of the forces . . . his Lordships quartered: Colonel Ewer with the army quartered 3 miles short of Castle[connell].

Monday, 21.

The army marched and quartered at G . . . (4 miles beyond Castle[connell] toward Cashell). The Lord Deputy quartered at Armaile neere Cashell.

Tuesday, 22.

We quartered at Cashell, about 6 miles from . . .

Wednesday, 23.

Part of the army being otherwayes disposed and the carriages sent to Clonmell or Kilkenny, the Lord Deputy with a considerable party of horse and foote moved to joine or to second the other 2 partys commanded by Colonel Axtel, Colonel . . . and Colonel Abbot, for meeting with the enemy of whom we had intelligence they were besieging of Birh. We quartered at Thurles, 7 miles from Cashell.

* For references in the "Aphorismical Discovery" to the siege of Limerick, see *ante*, pp. 18—22; and vol. ii. pp. 80, 113.

† See vol. ii. p. 112.

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October.

Thursday, [October] 24.

We marched about 5 miles from Thurles and quartered at [Burr]esalea in Upper Ormond, near a castle belonging to Walter Bourke.

Friday, 25.

We marched 7 miles and camped before the castle of [Nenagh], belonging to the Lord of Ormond. In it was a guarison, Sir George Hamilton being in command.

Walter Butler sent a resolute answer for [blank] peace from Sir George Ha[milton] . . . to the contrary. Thus about halfe an houre before Colonel Cooke, Colonel Sanchey, Colonel Axtel, Colonel Abbot, and Colonel Shelborne with about 2600 horse and foote forced into the Island of Melick upon the Shannone neere Birh : where were encamped and fortified about 4000 Irish foote and 400 horse of Clanricard's army. The enemy disputed well for a time the 3 passes into the Island, but being beaten off the whole party fled. About 500 of them were slaine, more then that number drowned in the Shanon there and at Banaghar (alias Fort Falkland), whither they were pursued and overtaken. All their campe, full and rich, was by ours possessed.*

Monday, the 28.

The Major-General Sir Hardress Waller came up to the army at Nenagh.

Tuesday, 29.

Colonel Sanchey, Colonel Abbot, Colonel Cooke, Colonel Shelborne came to the campe with their partys and with the cannons from Birh.

This night the governor of the castle offered the surrender of it on conditions.

Wednesday, 30.

The castle yeilded, 108 men of the guarison marching away without arms (only the officers) and with their wearing apparall. We guarisoned it.

The Lord Deputy with a part . . . found the Castle of Dromeneer (. . . miles from Nenagh) . . . re the Shanon which was a guarison of the enemys, there was a Lieutenant and 50 men where we placed a guarison. We tooke also Castletown, Arah, and some other places thereabout.

Colonel Cooke and Colonel Shelborne with the forces brought with them returned toward Wexford.

Thursday, 31.

Colonel Ewer with part of the army marched toward Kilkeny. The Lord Deputy with a party went to visit some castles in Ara upon the Shanon. His Lordship quartered at Castletown in Ara (4 miles).

Friday, November 1.

November.

Lord [Deputy] marched by Kilaloe and quartered at Nenagh.

Saturday, 2.

The army marched to Latragh (4 miles) to Ferny bridge (7 miles) and quartered at Cashell (6 miles).

* See *ante*, pp. 184-5.

Sunday, [November] 3.

We quartered at Clonmell.

Monday, 4.

We quartered at Waterford.

Wednesday, 6.

We came to Kilkenny, the heade winter quarter.

Thursday, 7.

This was set by as a day of . . . thanksgiving at Kilkenny for God's . . . us in the whole worke of this . . . service.

Saturday, 9.

. . . toward Dublin and quartered at Gowran.

Monday, 11.

We came to Dublin.

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Officer.
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2. DIARY OF OPERATIONS OF PARLIAMENTARY FORCES, 1651.

[1651] May [20].

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or who only for some corrupt and carnall ends (as is to be feared) pretend to be otherwise to agre at dishonour of God, disparagement and hazard to the cause and worke wee are employed in: I thinke it my duty to God, and all under my command to declare my opinion and dislike of such a practice as followes : May.
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First, I judge it to be displeasing to God to joyne in such neere relations with the people of such abominations, persons whose principles have led them to the shedding of so much innocent blood as they have done, which God in his righteous judgment is making a severe inquiry after, and hath called over this army principally to serve his Providence in that worke hitherto and blest them in it; and that any such should upon slight pretences of conviction or conversion in them goe to take such persons into the neere bonds of relation so as to make them the objects of their love, who (while remaining in (or not being really brought off from) those false waies in which they have or do walke) are declared by the Lord to be a people of his wrath, I thinke it very unlawfull and sinfull.

Secondly, besides this, though ordinarily as a judgement upon such foule mis-carriages this follows, that when persons will goe inconsiderately upon the fore-mentioned slight pretences or any other of like nature to match with such, God many times suffers men who all the time before have beene faithfull to the worke in hand to be led aside by such temptations as they have thereby run themselves

2. Clarendon Papers, 1651, No. 587, Bodleian Library. This diary, which appears to have been kept by some person in Ireton's Army, is imperfect throughout. Defects are indicated thus . . .

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into ; either to the deserting or betraying of their trusts, or at least by such their practice renders them justly suspitious to be trusted with command by us when they have joyned themselves with those who are so much one, at least in their principles and affections . . . them that are declared enemies to us and our cause; and though a reall change in the blind deluded people of this nation were to be wished and ought to be endeavoured by all good people (it being the joy and delight of any that God hath brought home to himselfe to see the like worke upon other mens hearts also, which frame of spirit I trust all Christians in this army have towards that people), yet that none be left to their owne misguided judgements, a thing they are so apt to be deceived as in these (where usually blinded affection rules judgements, which makes them take any pretence for a reall worke of God in the heart.) I therefore thinke fit to let all know that if any officer or souldier of this army shall marry with any of the women of this nation that are Papists or have lately been such, and whose change of religion is not or cannot be judged by fit persons, such as shall be appointed for that end, to flow from a reall worke of God upon their hearts convincing them of the falshood and evill of their owne waies and goodnesse and truth of that way they turne unto ; or that (from any circumstances accompanying their action) it shall be judged to be but from corrupt and carnall ends that they have made this change, I say that any officer who marries any such shall thereby be judged and held incapable of command or trust in this army ; and for any souldier that marries any such, if he be a horseman he shall be dismounted and cashiered from horse service to serve only in foote service (if at all), and a footeman so married shall be cashiered from his foote service and to serve onely as a pionier and neither of them be held capable of preferment for the future unlesse God doe by a change wrought upon them (with those whom they have married) take off this reproach and so give us ground to restore them. And I desire all officers of this army and others under my command that they doe their utmost endeavour (in the use of all lawfull meanes) to prevent any such sinfull contract the issue of which can be no other then to provoke God to depart from us or testifie his displeasure against us some way or other, especially when such things come to passe from our neglecte or our not doing what comes us to do to hinder anything of this nature as much as in us lyes.

Given at Waterford the first day of May 1651,

H. Ireton.

These and other things necessary for the service thus and answerable ordered. His Ex: came to Clonmell from Waterford the 5 of May. Thither came also from Waterford the day following the Honourable the Commissioners for the Parliament, and the 10th at a Counsell of War was taken into consideration the way and entrance into our worke, wherein was debated: as whether his Ex: with this part of the army should make his passage over the Shannon about Limerick, considering the many difficulties appeareing in it.

2. Or whether his Lordship with the army should not rather march by the way of Vlster into Conaught, wherein were a waving of all the former difficulties. This was laid aside considering the length of the way and want of provisions, which in

an inland march of that length and compass could neither be carried along nor supplied. APPENDIX.

3. Considering the power of the enemy in Conaught ready to oppose the Lord President, and probably resolved so to do, having therein the advantage of engaging with one party rather than with both conjoined: therefore if his Ex: whole army marched not that way, whether it were not adviseable that some part of it should be sent for reinforcement of the Lord Presidents; that opposing this was the Lord Presidents letter to his Ex: expressing his want of provision for so great worke, having onely provisions for 6 weekes for his owne party, not knowing how to provide for those with the Commissary Generall.

The two later were thus concluded in the negative, but nothing was found in that although long debate for the affirmative how his Ex: should proceede or begin in the worke.

But what was not then found in the wisdom and counsels of men appeared after in that direction which wee ought and on which we depended from the Lord. This night was there expectation of a designe on Limerick by correspondency with some within. Coll. Ingoldesby (an active and vigilant officer and well meriting of the service) appeareing in the worke had placed himselfe conveniently with 1000 horse, foote and Dragoones, neere the city for taking hold of the oportunity to be offered, but (I know not how) the plot failing, as few in that kinde were found to take, ours retired without losse although under shot of the walls.

Wednesday, [May] 21.

Wee quartered about one mile from Kilaloe, that being on the other side of the Shanon, we on this.

Friday, 23.

We removed yet neerer the Shanon.

Castlehaven then at Kilaloe with horse and foote had . . . and continued fortifying the bankes on the other side and in writings and high discourses expressed much confidence and resolution.

Yet had he demolished the house at Kilaloe called the Bishops house lying on the county of Clare side of the Shanon, and part of it in the water and serving for a strong defence against any attempt by the foord there over the Shanon which is by it. The enemy had also burnt and destroyed many castles and places of strength in Thomond on that side of the Shanon and remote from us, and that when we but appeared on the other side of the Shanon wherein we found some footsteps of the Lords going before us in his terror.

Saturday, 24.

We possessed a small island within the Shanon betweene our campe and Kilaloe; in it were some ruines of a stone building; here was placed a guard opposite to the enemies workes on the other side.

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Monday, [May] 26.

We planted some guns neere that island for cleereing the banckes and workes on the other side whence they plyed us with their small shot. There were also brought from Dromaneere some boats and cotts which with a guard we secured above Kilaloe ; of them 2 cotts were drawne over land and putt into the water at the island mentioned.

A cott is a kinde of vessell of one peece hollowed and some of them capable of thirty men.

In all this, and by our worke there neere the water and by abundance of fagots daily brought thither and otherwaies, the enemy (and most of ours also) conceived his Ex : designed to have beene for getting over thereabout onely or principally.

But his Lordship (therein gaining what he intended their apprehending it so) had his thoughts elsewhere workeing, haveing observed a place about 2 miles thence below the island much more commodious for that he purposed, and toward his worke there had his preparations in the adjoyning woods, by which and with what materialls were expected to be brought to us by Coll. Sankey from Clonmel there was hope of making our passage (in time) by a bridge over the Shanon.

Yet in our whole worke and proceedings in it were found daily difficulties more then we could by our counsels or endeavors overcome, all things to our apprehensions moveing slowly and heavily to our no small discouragements.

We were also much perplexed by our doubts and care of our freind whom before then was expected in Connaught of whom we had yet heard nothing, whereunto was added that this now related of Coll. Fitz Patricks besieging our garrison of Birh about 20 miles from us with a numerous party.

Wednesday, 28.

This day therefore was by his Ex : appointed and set apart for seeking God that he would be pleased graciously to afford us his presence and direct us in our way, walking hitherto in darknesse and professing to each other that we know not what to do : and that the Lord would make a way for those our freinds then (we hoped) marching but through an enemies country, whose suffrings had beene (probably) a check to our whole designe.

This day was Major Morgan sent with a party of horse and dragoones for reenforcing those few the day before with Major Boughton for releiveing of Birh.

Thursday, 29.

His Ex : by letters from Capt. Branly from aboard his ship in the Shanon was certified of his being possessed of Sir Tege Mac Mahons castle in Thomond on the other side of the Shanon and neere it ; that he had fortified it and repulsed the enemy attempting the recovering it.

This was our first footing on the other side of the Shanon and was joyfully received of us as an earnest of what the Lord would doe in his due time for perfecting his worke by us. Herein was an occasion given for some debate whether it were not adviseable to send part of the army about to be that way ferried over into

Thomond, which being in the backe of the enemy might distract them and contribute to the openinge our way over the Shanon where they attempted it.

But considering the length of the way and not knowing what occasion we might have of our forces intire, and that being so divided either party would be lesse considerable; therefore was that designe laid by.

This day also by letters from the Lord of Broghill was signified his engaging with the enemy of whom many were slaine and taken.*

And this day we understood of the defeat of the enemy at and about the Birh, some particulars whereof are as followeth :

That Fitz Patrick with 300 horse and about 1300 foot had the 28th instant about 7 in the morning appeared before the castle of Birh: that they had laid to the walls 11 ladders bearing 2 on brest: that others wrought on the wall with pickaxes in 4 places; that being beaten backe they renewed the assault bringing with them a certaine engine called a sow (in the hollownes whereof many might worke shot free) for breaking through the wall: that some of those carrying the sow to the wall being shot the rest fled; that the enemy being then also beaten of, they made a third attempt but with no better successe; that of them 70 were slaine on the place and many wounded; that the enemy drawing away into a wood about 3 miles thence that party sent by Major Boughton from the head quarters being come to Birh and following them overtooke them in the wood, and falling on unexpectedly routed them, killed some of their foote, the rest fleeing into the adjoyning bogge: and of the horse were killed 2 cornets and 60 others. There were taken a lewetenant, a corporall, and about 100 horse with armes and furniture, their riders escaping. In all which and in what followes is appeareing that it is not in vain to seek the Lord.

June, Lord's day, 1.

Our spies this day returning brought us the first certaine intelligence of the Lord President of Conaught and the Commissarys Generall being in Conaught, that they were therein well advanced, haveing slipt by Clanricards army laid to stop their passage, of whom by a neerer and unexpected way they gained ground and were there come betweene Clanricards army and us, to the generall amazement of all Conaught all fleeing before them, and that Clanricard was following and ours hastening to Portumny, the place by his Ex: appointed them.

As in this we had the comfort of freinds well-being (whereof we had been till then very solicitous) so had we heerein as it were a call from God to be up and doing.

* This paragraph has been struck out by a hand which has interpolated the Diary throughout, and which resembles that in the preceding Diary. After "taken" appears the mark *, and on the back of one of the subsequent pages the following paragraph, intended to supersede the above, is written :

"This day we hear that six troopes of the Lord of Muskery's had a designe on the Lord of Broghill's quarters at Blarney near Corke; that, disapointed of theire hopes, and marching away, the Lord of Broghil followed them with 90 horse, overtaking them at a place called Donamore, they being drawne up on the other side of a passe, where 2 onely could march on brest; that forcing the passe and chargeing the enemy they fled. Of them were slaine a Captaine, a Lieutenant, a Cornet, a Quarter-Master, and 30 troopers; there were taken prisoners 7 troopers and 2 Cornets, one of them being Muskery's owne Cornet, the other one Barnewell, who haveing deserted us and joined the enemy was shot to death. Ours tooke also about 60 horse."

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Heereunto had the Lord raised the spirits of our men unanimously even before we heard any thing of that now reported out of Conaught, this serving onely as an encouragement to our proceedings in what was before concluded the now endeavouring our passage over the Shanon.

Our preparations at present to this our passage were cotts and boates in severall places :

At the end of the wood above Kilaloe we had one cott and one boate both capable of about 40 men. And neere our worke at the island below Kilaloe were laid 2 cotts, but being in a rough water they were not of any use to us nor were they intended there for more then for allarming the enemy, there being ordered after to slip down the river towards Brian's bridge. Also at Brian's bridge wee had one boate and 2 cotts where might be 40 wafted at once. Brian's bridge was looked on as the principall and most hopefull place for our worke. It hath the name of a bridge if any had beene there aunciently which might occasion the name, yet were there not now so much as the ruins of any such thing. Toward the other shore and in the water standeth the stump of an old castle. This we hoped to possesse by ladders to that end prepared, and having gained it to cleere at least in part the contrary shore for a landing place for more men to be sent after. On the land and neere the water were the ruines of an old house wherein was a guard of the enemies for opposing our landing. This also being gained might be (as we conceived) some defence for the present, joyned with that of the castle answering it. We had also prepared pallsadoes, and turne-pikes for a suddaine entrenchment untill we could worke ourselves into more security and thereby secure a place for our landing at leasure when thereunto fitted, which was not at present hoped for. There was an island in the river capeable of about 2000 men. This lay about halfe way to which and from which was designed the reachings of our bridge, whereof some materialls were already fitted, and more were expected by Coll. Sankey. As for the other places about Kilaloe or attempts there were intended rather for amuseing the enemy while we hoped (by Gods assistance) to gaine our ends heere.

Hither his Ex: had this day drawne a party of horse and foote and some gunnes, his Lordship with the Lieutenant Generall being with them, and Sir Hardresse Waller being left with the rest of the army to order the worke about Kilaloe,

Monday, [June] 2.

About breake of day Capt. Draper (of Coll. Sadlers regiment) ordered by his Ex: to fall downe the river with 3 files of firelockes, and to passe to the opposite shore at Brians bridge, resolutely performed his worke and notwithstanding the opposition made he gained the house on the other side. The castle also in the water was possessed by others appointed to that worke. Those first landing were ordered to fasten long ropes or cables to the shoare whereby boats might be towed over, which was done and was of great use for our speedy passing over, so as within an houre we had landed 500 men on Thomond side of the water. The enemy at first with some horse and foote gave opposition but by the loud shoutings of our men from the other side and sounding of trumpets and discharging our great shot, and by shot made from the castle and house last taken, it pleased God to strike such terror into their

hearts that they quitted their worke and fled. Coll: Ingoldesby was by his Ex: APPENDIX.
 ordered with 300 horse and dragoones to attempt his passing the Shanon about the 1651.
 same time elsewhere, which he did about Castle Connell belowe Brians bridge June,
 witheout opposition: he fell upon some of the fleeing enemy makeing towards Diary of
 Limerick from whom he gained a small gunne before drawen from Limerick to be Parliamentary
 used against us. Forces.

Castlehaven (whose quarters were at Kilaloe) had the night before heard that the Lord President (Sir Charles Coote) and the Comissary Generall were advanced as farre as Gortinsegory in the county of Galway, about [blank] miles from Kilaloe, which was but a false alarum; yet did that also contribute much to our worke: the Lord in that [as* in that apprehended noise of chariots and horsemen, where none were, he made the Syrians flee besieging Samaria 2. Kings. 7: 6:] causing our enemies a generall feare that by the coming on of that our party they might be by them and us enclosed and destroyed.

Therefore conceived they it high time to provide for their security; yet for colouring their so going away Castlehaven gave out that he would hasten to joyne with Clanricard for opposeing Sir Charles Coote, and that lesse numbers then those with him would suffice to oppose those attempting over the river. But that his marching away was soone turned to plain fleeing, newes being brought him of our so landing at Brian's bridge, whereupon they all fled and quitted their defences about Kilaloe and gave ours there also a quiet landing. For about breake of day at the wood above Kilaloe our men drawne thither were some of them landed on the other side without opposition notwithstanding great number of the enemy there standing and looking on awhile, as amazed not finding their hands but after fleeing every where.

Castlehaven himselfe fled leaveing his tent, plate, and other conveniences for a prey. We found there 50 bundles of good pikes and 5 barrells of powder with bullets and match and pistols and carabine bullets in good proportions, also many pioneers tooles, and in the trenches and workes on the river we found many armes and tooles, those who should have used them being fled with their generall.

Castlehaven's forces were (by the country) numbred to us for 5 regiments of horse and as many of foote but nothing answerable in numbers: yet more than enough (looking to man) for opposeing anything we could doe considering the difficulty of passing the river, which we found dangerous enough without any opposition otherwaies.

This day was spent for the most part in ferrying and foording our horse and foote about Kilaloe.

A garrison being left at Kilaloe, the Major-Generall with that part of the army marched to Brians bridge to his Ex: where on both sides of the river the whole army quartered. A guarison was laid at Kilaloe which hath bene since then by us fortified as in the annexd mappe of it is appeareing.

Tuesday, [June] 3.

Wee marched toward Limerick. In our way thither and neere it we heard much

* Partly erased in MS.

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shooting, which we found to be by Collonel Ingoldesbie's party then skirmishing with the enemy.

The enemy had drawn out of Limerick about 300 horse with some foote for defending against us the passe of Forboe (about a mile from Limerick). It had a narrow way with bogges on both sides and the ruines of a stone building in forme of a gate at the end of it which was next Limerick. Within that stood the enemy drawn up ready to receive Collonel Ingoldesby who was ready to force them, and force them he did with his horse and dragoones breakeing through the passe. The enemy fled toward Limerick, ours pursuing and killing many even at Thomond Bridge not farre from the very walls, and forced many into the water where they perished. There were slaine and lost of them about 150 and some prisoners taken, of whom were some officers and men of note. Ours got 100 serviceable horse and armes and much cattell which were a very great reliefe to our army.

This was a seasonable mercy, God therein opening for us our way toward Limerick.

His Excellency with the army came soone after to that passe and quartered within it before Limerick.

Wednesday, June 4.

His Lordship had orderd a party of horse and foote to ly at distance on the other side of Limerick. These were reenforced by Collonel Sankey's party this day come to us from Clonmell. By him we heard of supplies of men then landed at Waterford.

Thursday, [June] 5.

His Excellency received letters (his first) from the Lord President of Conaught, certifying his then being at Portumny, the place appointed him, that Clanricards forces were drawing towards him, and desireing farther orders from his Excellency.

I shall heerein give a breife of the proceedings of that army, hitherto that the way of Gods providence ordering them to our time and worke may be observed to his glory.

The Commissary-Generall takeing the charge of the 400 Leinster horse ordered by his Excellency, (as before page —) to joyne with the Lord President of Conaught, the 1 of May he marched from Dundalke in the county of Louth (the way into Ulster), the 3d they quartered at Newton in the Co: of Tirone.

There they met the Colrane regiment of foote, and thither came the Lord President to meet the Commissary-Generall, both thence going to Londonderry. The 5th they marched neere Strabane. The 9th to Barnesmoore (a mountaine, for the most part either bogge or rock, and in either respect of difficult passage). Heere met them more horse and foote. The 10th marching over Barnesmoore they quartered short of Dungall; the 11th short of Balishanon. The 12th they marched over the river of Balishanon where they continued 4 daies. Thither came the Lord President with a party of horse and foote. Thence the 17th they marched within 6 miles of Sligoe, where they continued 2 daies. The 20th they passed the river of Sligoe, where they rested 5 daies expecting the comming upp of

Collonel Russel's regiment and some horse from Collonell Venables, and 5 companies from Derry, who by hand drew 2 feild peices over Barnes moore till then thought impassable for the lightest carriages. The 26 they marched from within 2 miles of Sligoe on Conaught side 2 miles farther to the bridge of Killone. Hither came more of the Lord President's forces. Thence were some sent to discover the enemy and to gett (if it might be) some provisions for the army whereof there was great want. By discovery they found that Clanricarde with a considerable part of his army had possessed the passages of the Carlewes, a place of exceeding great advantage to them, and disadvantage to ours if that way forcing their passage. This being an apparent hazarding the army, and that any disaster to them, or but delaying them in their march must be a prejudice to the whole service; therefore was it concluded most adviseable to finde their passage some other way. And accordingly leaving the Carlewes on the left hand they turned toward the sea, and by strange and unexpected waies by Ballaghy passe got undiscovered into the county of Mayo. Heerein they gained the advantage of open ground for their horse and gained in ground of the enemie neere 2 daies march who were now in the reare of them.

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Clanricard one whole day expected the marching on of our army, and not heareing of them found by discovery the reason, whereupon he hastened after them and with all sent into all places to send away their cattell and goods out of our way: the 31st of May the Lord President by easy marches came to Athenrie, and hearing that a party of the enemy was at Loughroagh the army marched thither the 2d of June. All meanes were used for draweing out the enemy to an engagement, but they keeping within the towne, spent much of that day in skirmishing. Thence the same day the army marched 2 miles in the way to Portumny. The next morning the Lord President heard that Castlehaven had come the night before to Loughroagh, intending to joyne with Clanricard for engaging him there; also he heard that his Excellency had passed the Shanon; wherefore, hastening to Portumny he thence by letters certified his Excellency (as is said) of his being there and of the reports of the enemies intentions concerning him, which his letters coming to his Ex: the 5th instant the Lewetenant Generall was imediately dispatched with 10 troupes of horse and 6 of dragoones for joyning with that army in any such engagements. The same day our vessels with provisions attending us in the Shanon came neerer to us. His Ex: haveing viewed all places of advantage for blocking up the towne on Thomond side, there was this day begun a worke neere Thomond Bridge capable of 1000 foote and of one troupe of horse.

Limerick is devided into 2 parts one called the city *

[June: Monday, 9.

This day we landed some gunns and mortar peeces out of the shipping.

* There is here a chasm in the Clarendon MS. The matter between brackets is supplied from a fragment in Trinity College, Dublin, F. 4, 16.

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Tuesday, [June] 10.

Wee heard of a defeate given Muskrey by our forces commanded by the Lord of Broghill. We heard alsoe that Carigouholt in Thomond, belonging to Sir Daniell O Bryen, was possessed by ours.

This day was Sir Hardress Waller sent from the leagure for ordering the recruits lately landed at Waterford.

Captain Vernon went also, intending for England, the fruites of whose negotiations with the Parliament after found to a generall advantage.

Wednesday, 11.

There was a conuoy sent with provisions for the armie in Conaught, whereof they had bin in great want, their provisions being to be boated at Killaloe were thence carried to Portumny.

Friday, 13.

This day was set apa[rt] for prayseing the Lord for his mercyes to us in bringing us over the Shanon, and for his goodnes to vs and to our freinds in Conaught, which, wheresoever remembered, even in a very dyary, it deserveth more then the bare mentioneing of it, all the parts of that worke being full of God, and his ffoet-steps fownd in every motion of it, and all of it soe his that nothing of it could be ascribed to our counsell or power for ordering or carrying on all thinges as wee had [*blank*] his providence ordeined and done for vs. I cannot therefore (at leaste for my selfe), but lay by mee some particulars herein observable to the glory of his name, and the stirring vp our hearts in praising him, and for trusting in him in all things concerning vs for the future.

When wee consider 1. The obstructions wee fownd in our counells before our setting fourth, and since, and that notwithstanding many meetings for seeking the Lord, wherein hee seemed not to answere vs, in all which wee parted noe way satisfied, but that wee fownd nothing to trust vnto or what to resolute vpon but in all things to trust ourselves and our worke to God's disposing, for I observed theis our counells to end all in the negatiue what wee should not doe, nothing materially concluded in the affirmative what to doe, and sometymes wishing we had resolved and ordered some things otherwaies then they were, particularly wishing we had sent more force for reinforcing our party marching through Conaught to . . . in it resolved . . . but God disposed all for the better, and in all our counells and wayes wee weere as Abraham following the Lord ourselves not well knowing whither to goe or whither to fix, goeing or rather being carried on in the right way sucesfully.

2. Considering the obstructions fownd in our worke and in our preparations to it: 1. Altogether fayling of that on which wee depended, [the] tymely coming vnto vs of those materialls expected for our flote bridge, on which our passage seemed then to vs depending, but God ordered our worke for vs without that whereby the praies was more to his name the lesse was seene in the worke of man or of meanes.

2. As for those materialls for our worke which were at hand, they notwithstanding

all the paines and care taken for preparations, and the fitting them (which was very greate) yet did the worke stick on one hand or other which (to our noe small trouble) was by vs judged losse of tyme, but this was also from the Lord bringing all to the due tyme, and not till then, not till 1st of June; then, indeed, wee resolved on our attempting our passage, had wee bin sooner ready wee had probably attempted our worke sooner, and certaynly to a greater preiudice, but then was the due tyme; then had wee the first certainty of our freinds being in Conaught, wherein much of our care and feare either of their not coming att all (which considering their wants and weaknes was to be feared) or of their comeing on, with that security, considering the preparations of the enemy against them and there difficultyes, this was to our exceeding greate encouragment. There also was (in this) a discouragment to the enemy, with feare and distraction, whereby the way for our passage over the Shannon was almost miracullously opened.

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3. The passage of our horse depending on their foording the river; this at our first comeing to the Shannon was impossible, but as the tyme for our passage drew neare soe did the weather serve and the river ffall, whereby wee had that day a passage at the ffoord ouer against Killaloe; nor was it then more then passable, it being then dangerous and was doubtles much more before then.

4. Considering the meanes for our then passage, but 2 boates and 3 cotts, that were vsed in all parts together where wee passed, not capable of numbers competent for defending themselues much less for forceing a passage for others by driving the enemy from their strengths.

5. Considering the power of the enemy, many in number, headed with the cheife comaunders in the Irish armie, and fortified in their severall stations. And had they bin fewer and not soe fitted for oposing vs yet was any thing almost sufficient for beateing vs back, where wee fownd our very passing the water only soe difficult and tedious and dangerous.

6. Notwithstanding all their advantages their confidence and boasteing in them the day before, yet then fleeing when none persueing, whence was theis distractions? Surely not from vs, not being neere them, but from God gieving them (as the Syrians, 2 Kings, 7: 6) to flee vpon rumours of what was not soe really, as if our Connaught party were at hand ready to fall on who were farr from them calling on vs for helpeing them against a party of the same enemy.

7. Considering the seasonablenes of this greate mercy, as in other respects soe in bringing vs to our provisions in the Shannon, without which being in distress wee could not haue subsisted.

8. I cannot omitt the action of that very [*sic*] when wee came before Limbrick (the 3rd of June): God's goeing before to the passe of Forboe, cleareing it for vs, it being defended by the enemy, and opening that way by a partie of ours, drawn thither by providence, not otherwise designeing it and strikeing further terror of vs into the hearts of those in Lymbrick, before whos eyes their men lay slaine.

9. The Lord in all this farr exceeding our weake faith. For whereas in the attempt of then passing the Shannon wee expected noe more then a landing place for a fewe only, and by them there fortified in tyme to worke out our passage, for the passage God did at once finish the whole worke for vs, in bringing vs over in all

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places and altogether, and not see only but settling vs even before Limbrick also.]

Nor let the coming on of our freinds seeme little in our eyes considering how farre they came, and in how great wants and notwithstanding the preparations of the enemy after them, yet God bringing them through all difficulties to the place and worke desired and carrying them on in it successfully.

And that which puts the value of a choice mercy on all this is that it was given in return of prayers, God in this manifesting evidently his acceptance, and owning the desiers (such as they were) of his poore servants, for on our seekeing him the 28th May followed that heape of mercies one on the necke of another before observed and these particularly now mentioned; not for any thing or work in our persons or workes, but of his free grace and mercy to us his unworthy servants. To him, therefore, we desire to give the glorie alone of all things done for us. In that by his Excellency published for prayseing God in these particulars we finde much more to this purpose to which I resserve myselfe giving it at large being full of piety and not to be forgotten while these things are remembered.*

By the Deputie Generall of Ireland.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Lord, notwithstanding our utter unworthinesse and manifold great provocations, for his owne name's sake and for the glory of his mercy and grace to his people concerned in this cause, still to carry on the worke entrusted in the hands of his poore servants and to give many speciall testimonies of his presence still continuing with us, and of his mercy and favour still extended and enlarged towards us in giving such safe free and ready passage with the army over the Shannon, and that so early in the yeare as that the summer season for the remaining part of our worke is not lost or spent (as probably it might have beene) in striving for our passage, so seasonably when our being longer withheld at that distance from our shipping would suddainly have spent the small stores of bread, corne, and salt, etc., which wee had or could get above Limerick, and have brought us either into extremity and difficulty of subsistence, or into necessity (for want of a subsistence there) to have desisted from the attempting of our passage in those most hopefull places, and for supply of necessaries to have come downe to our shipping on the other side the river without a passage over it; and considering that it hath pleased God to do this in answer to the weake, worthlesse, and (almost) faithlesse prayers of his poore servants in doing it so as it might appeare to be the worke of his hands, and that his wisdom and power might be manifest in it and nothing of man or the creature in doeing it by poore, inconsiderate meanes (by the attempt first of a very few men in 2 or 3 boats or cotts) and making it (even with such meanes) so easy and safe to us though at a place as the first and principle attempt was where we had no foord neere, and the materials for the floate bridge intended not yet come and therein exceeding our weake faith or expectations, who in the attempt did not hope or aime at more then to gaine and secure (if God pleased) a small footing on this side the river, under shelter of which we might make

* This and the preceding paragraph are struck out in the Clarendon MS.

and put over a bridge in time against great opposition expected; but God was pleased above and beyond our faith by such small meanes and weake force used, (namely the sounding of trumpets and shouts) to strike by a strange working of his spirit such terror into the heartes of the enemy as that they who a little before had vainely and proudly boasted their coming with confident resolution to receive us, and had used soe much industry in their workes against us, and for a time shewed so much confidence to oppose us yet suddenly and causelesseley quitted their workes and guardes, by which they might probably and hopefully have withstood us against the best preparation we could make and all the means we could use, and run away in distraction and confusion, dissipateing and scattering themselves severall waies and leaving us many armes with ammunition and some of their best accomodation behinde them, and all passages open and free to come over at such leasure as we did where we found it difficult enough to get over when no opposition was left against us; and considering that we know not nor could heare any thing certaine concerning the condition or posture of our freinds under the Lord President of Conaught, nor they of us, yet it pleased God (who is every where present and seeth and overuleth all things) so to dispose of our counsell and intentions as that wee (ignorantly or unwittingly) pitch upon that time for our attempt when those our freinds (though wee know it not) were come on through Conaght, so farre this way as gave the enemy here before us some feare and apprehension of their coming downe hither upon their backs (though no such thing was intended) so as the season we were guided to attempt in was just when that apprehension contributed to their terror and fright before us. Considering also how strongly and with an high hand it hath pleased God to bring forth and carry on those our freinds from such a distance quite through a countrey so entirely possest by the enemy, and notwithstanding the numerous army that was drawne together from many parts to oppose or attend their motion (whereof we know the enemy over against us at Kilaloe so vaunted and boasted) and to bring them through all difficulties (without any losse or prejudice) to the places and businesses intended and desired hath given sudainely into their hands Loghreagh, Portumny, and diverse other places of consequence and further advantage, and that (as it were) in the face of the enemies grand army. In which proceedings, though we understand not particularly the severall passages and circumstances wherein the Lords hand appeared, yet we finde the effects full of mercy to them and us and advantage to our common worke; and looking at the length and difficulties of their way and march and at the advantages the enemy had against them (and might have had more both in numbers and posture for opposition and otherwise), we have abundant cause to acknowledge that the Lord hath graciously led, guided, encouraged and blest them; and that the men of might (on the other part) have not found their hands, but he hath taken away from them the hearts of men, stupified or terrified their spirits, distracted, infatuated, and confounded their counsell and daily breaking and dividing them amongst themselves and doth all the workes of them and us his poore servants for (when we doe litle and deserve lesse) leading us in waies we know not, still neerer to the end of our worke: and soe giving us comfortable and hopefull encouragements to the strengthening of our hearts and hands in what remaines, and sweet testimonies that

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he is yet with us, and pardones and accepts us with evident assurance that he will not be wanting to us while in any measure we follow and trust him, and for as much, lastly, as he hath pleased to bring us to this place and posture of accommodation with provisions and necessaryes from our shipping and here to give us (in respect of the nature of the present business before us) much freedom and oportunity of time to minde and seeke and acknowledge him in these things. I earnestly desire that the consideration of them may be set home upon all hearts amongst us that are capable thereof, and that all such officers and others who have any hearts to God wards in this worke may be stirred up, and would stir up and invoke one another to a due sense of these things, and take all opportunities and use with freedom and leisure God gives us, to meete, conferre, pray, and sing praises together in relation thereunto; particularly I doe for that purpose appoint to morrow (being Friday the 13th inst., to be set apart and kept throughout this camp and the adjacent quarters and garrisons that can have notice of it) as a day for publike thanksgiving and acknowledgment to the Lord of his faithfulness of all his people concerned with or in this cause, his mercy and favour to us his unworthy servants, and his glorious power, wisdom, and justice to the enemies appeareing in these his dealings and outgoings before mentioned, and in the many successes hee hath further given to severall parties of ours as at Burr and neere it to the partie that came immediately before the army hither to our small party sent over before us into the west partes of this county of Thomond and to our forces in the co: of Corke, Tipperary and elsewhere whereof we have heard and do heare daily comfortable tideings. And to stir up one another and humbly seeke to God that with theise experiences and considerations of his wisdom and power before us, and of his goodness towards us, we may (through his grace) have a right sense and impression of them upon our hearts (so as to owne and acknowledge him alone therein and not to be lifted up in any conceit of our selves above our enemies and from the sense of his power and presence so neere at hand may be kept humble under the consideration of our unworthiness and great provocations and in trembling and feare before him to declare, abominate, and oppose these evill practices amongst us that are so unworthy of him and unsuitable to his presence or dishonorable to his name, and may be provoked to answer his mercies with suiteable fruits and improvements of them and not to be left to the deadness and corruption of our hearts, which would pervert and deprave them all to his dishonour and our owne hurt. And that we may still goe on in his name and strength alone and in faith answerable to such experiences and so may find his continued presence and blessings with us in what remaines to be done to the greater glory of his name, and rejoyceing of his people.

H. Ireton.

Saturday, [June] 14.

His Ex: this day sumoned Limerick. A battery of 28 guns being prepared against the castle on Thomond bridge they began to play; 2 mortar peices placed neere that battery began now also to play. A slate of an house in the towne east of of by a mortar shott killed a child in a woman's armes, that child being coffind and buried

was after by another shott cast out of its grave. There were men drawne downe toward the castell below the island. And this day we heard that Clanricard and Castlehaven, seing Gods hand against them, had left the army and gone by sea from Gallway.

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Lord's day, [June] 15.

Our battery of guns and mortar peece continued to play, those at the castle on the bridge, theise into the towne.

There was another batterie for guns made neerer the castle, and guns drawne to the castle below the island, and more foote sent thither comanded by Coll. Totthill.

Monday, 16.

By a great shott made at the castle below the island 3 of the enemy being slaine and others wounded the rest betooke themselves to their cotts, but being shot at by our musqueteers they came to the shoare, who were after put to the sword : [of these there were 14. This being done by command from Coll. Totthill, they having quarter given by the souldiers, he was at a Martiall Court put therefore from his commaund.] *

We possessed the castle, which was a place of good consequence.

Two other mortar peece (4 in all) played into the towne together ; of these the greatest carrying a shell weighing 200 weight was split in dischargeing but without hurt to any about it.

This day was a returne made out of the towne by a drum to that summons sent the 14th, they desiring to treat and that Commissioners might be to that end appointed, and hostages given for securing the Commissioners and a cessation during the treaty.

Tuesday, 17.

This day the Leivetenant Generall returned to the head quarters with his party, which had beene sent to joine with the Lord President, he hearing that the enemy had gone toward Ballinesloe bridge, he with 700 of his horse and the Comissary Generall with the like number of his and the Lord President, and with some foote followed them ; but the enemy fleeing before them past hope of being by ours overtaken, ours returned having first taken the castles of Malogh and Mote in the county of Galway.

The Leivetenant Generall taking leave of the Lord President he was in his returne affronted by those in the castle of Gortinse belonging to Sir Roger Shaghnuus, trusting to the strength of the place ; our horse and dragoones notwithstanding their not having any thing but their armes convenient for a storme yet forced the place after

* The portion between brackets is struck out in the Clarendon MS. On the opposite page is the following note :

"Col. Totthill, who there commaunded, had declared no quarter to be given, and quarter being notwithstanding given by private soldiers, it was by him disavowed, and they [who had] so submitted (about 14) being put to death by his orders, he was therefore condemned to lose his commaund by a martial court or a major part of . . . many others not being therein j[ustified]."

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long and great dispute. About 40 of the rebels were slaine in the storme and after, 14 shot, the castle was burnt, but the house preserved.

We heard that the Lord President was marched towards Athlone, and that the castle of [blank] on the Shannon was taken by ours; that Gallway had taken in a garrison of Irish, and that Generall Preston (now wryteing himsele Viscount Tarah) was their Governor.

Our party on the other side of Lymerick was this day strengthened with more forces, and Coll. Ingoldesby order[ed] to command there.

Wednesday, [June] 18.

A retorne was given to that desired by the towne concerning the treaty that it was accepted of, but without a cessation or giveing of hostages, the word of the State being in this case alwaies held sufficient. And the towne haveing given the names of 6 Comrs (of which were 2 for the souldiers, 2 for the citty, and 2 for theire cleargy), his Ex: assented to the sending the like number, and the treaty to begin the next day at a tent provided for the Commissioners. Our bridge at Castle Connell being of wood and fixed, was finished over the Shanon, but it being of too great a distance for a lyne of communication with our party on the other side of Limerick, therefore was it ordered that a floate bridge should be made neere the castle, below the island lately taken. Some of the people of the city haveing beene by the Governor put out of the towne his Ex: ordered that they should be sent back, and declaring in wryteing to the Governor that any thenceforth so falling into our hands should be otherwise dealt withall. But he refusing to accept of those sent back and continuing to send out more his Ex: commanded 4 of them to be knockt in the head as exemplary to others, but through mistake of orders all the others (about 40), were put to the sword, an act much disgusted [*sic*] by his Ex: and others of the army, yet nothing moveing with the Governour who ceased notwithstanding after so to disburden the place of such.

Thursday, 19.

This day the Comissioners for the treaty met.

Haveing battered and attempted the possessing ourselves of the castle on the bridge, and our ladders proveing short we drewe downe gunns for a further battry there and this night layed many fagots under the wall of it in order there unto allarumd the towne in severall places.

Saturday, 21.

Wee stormed and forced and possessed the castle on the bridge, where we found 3 barrels of powder there layed for blowing up the place; and strange it was that it tooke not effect, considering that the same had beene layed and that ours entred with the casting in hand granadoes before them.

The guns from that called the Kings Castle playing on the bridge tower, our guns played on them and dismounted one of them.

Major Talbott, Governor of Clare Castle, haueing treated with his Ex: by one

sent to that purpose concerning the place Collonell Cromwell was sent for receiving it; but the designe being discovered it tooke not and the Governor was seized as a prisoner. Coll. Sankey returned to the campe with his party out of Kerry. They encamped with those on the other side of Limerick.

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Monday, [June] 23.

It was thought adviseable to attempt the takeing of the island called the King's Island on which the city of Limerick stood which the enemy had in a good parte fortified. The attempt was to be made by boates and part of the float bridge for carrying over horse and men; 2 of the boates passing over hastily before they could be seconded and landing about 80 men the enemy fell on them in multitudes putting all to the sword but one, which so discouraged those who were to follow that the designe was wholly laid by.

Tuesday 24.

This was a day for humiliation, bewayeling the sins of the army which might occasion that the Lord's displeasure against us.

Wednesday, 25.

This day we heard of the Lord President's being possessed of the Castle of Athlone, this being the most considerable passe with a bridge over the Shannon betwene Leinster and Conaught, whereby our forces in both provinces had on all occasions a lyne of communication. His Excellency heareing that his men slaine in attempting the island * [were soe used, after quarter, hee therefore sent a trumpet into Lymbrick to inquire of it, and vntill he were satisfied therein suspending the treaty.

Fryday, 27.

The Major-Generall returned to the head quarters from Waterford, bringing to us 2500 men, new recruits there lately landed.

Then also did wee heare of 2000 men more coming out of England, and that there was landed at Waterford £4000 and 4000 arms. There came to the army 10,000 [*sic*] from Waterford.]

[A Copy of Conditions tendred to the Garison and City of Limerick,
June 30, 1651, upon surrender thereof.†

1. An Article for the surrender, &c.

2. That in consideration of the surrender, &c., all persons whatsoever within the

* There is here another chasm in the Clarendon MS., supplied, as above, from the fragment in Trinity College, Dublin, F. 4. 16.

† This document, imperfect in the Diary, is here given in full from "A Letter from the Lord Deputy-General of Ireland, unto the Honorable William Lenthall Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England; concerning the Rendition of the City of Limerick: together with the Articles formerly offered, and the Articles upon which the same was Surrendred: as also a Particular of the persons excepted, the Ammunition and Ordnance in the Town delivered upon the Surrender of the said City. Friday the 28th of November, 1651. Ordered by the Parliament, That the Letter from the Deputy-General of Ireland, and Articles, together with the Particulars inclosed, be forthwith Printed and Published; and read by the Ministers on the day appointed for Thanks to be given in the several Congregations. Hen: Scotell. Cleric. Parliamenti. London, Printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1651.

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City and Garison of Limerick shall have quarter for their lives, and liberty of their persons, without pillage, plunder, or other Military violence to their persons or goods during their continuance under safe Conduct or Protection, by vertue of the ensuing Articles respectively.

3. That all officers and soldiers of the Forces in pay, and not belonging to the Militia of the City of Limerick, shall have liberty to march away to any Garison or Quarter of the Irish party with their Horses, Arms, and other equipage suitable to the several qualities they serve in respectively, Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, their Fire-arms loaden and primed, Bandeliers and Flasques full of Powder, Matches lighted at both ends; and to have such Carriage for their Goods as the County will afford provided for them (they paying reasonable rates for the same) And shall be allowed [*blank*] Moneths time for the removall of any goods to them duly belonging which they leave behinde them, except Arms, Ammunition, or other furniture of War.

4. That all other persons of what quality soever now in the said City, that desire to march with them, shall have liberty so to do, with the same freedom, priviledge, time and benefit, for the carrying away of their Bag and Baggage, and removing of their goods (except Ammunition, and all Arms or other furniture of War, save travelling Arms, with which they shall be allowed to march) as is granted to the Soldiery in the last preceding Article.

5. That any of the Officers, Soldiers, or others now in the City (except Clergy-men, and such as were in Arms or otherwise in Hostility, which, or for those that committed the murders and outrages in the first Insurrection before the first General Assembly, or that sat in the said first Assembly) if within [*blank*] days they shall desire to lay down Arms, and to submit to the authority of the Parliament of England, shall be admitted so to do, and to live at their homes or with their friends, and shall have Protection in their persons and estates on the same Terms as the rest of the inhabitants of the Countrey of the same Conditions or Qualifications with themselves.

6. That all the Citizens or Inhabitants in the said City that are Free-men or members of the Corporation, and were so before the first of October, One thousand six hundred and fifty, and all the Widows and Children of them that were such (with their families and servants) who shall be willing to live under the Government of the Common wealth of England, and submit to Contribution proportionably with their neighbors (except such as come within the exception made in the last foregoing Article) shall freely enjoy all their personal estates where ever the same be (except Arms, Ammunition and other furniture of War) to themselves and their assigns (paying to the State of England one third part of the value of their personal Estates visible within this Dominion, from such onely as have personal Estates visible within this Dominion, from such onely as have personal Estates to the value of one hundred pounds and upwards, but the rest to enjoy the whole freely; and shall likewise enjoy two third parts of their Estates real (lying without the City of Limerick and Liberties thereof) or the full value of the same to themselves, their Heirs or Assigns; and shall also enjoy their respective Interests in their Houses in the City, except such of them as shall be thought fit to be removed out of the

Garison, in order to the securing thereof, who shall have liberty to set or sell their said Houses to the best advantage of themselves, their Heirs or Assigns, paying (in case of sale) a third part of the price they make, to the use of the State of England, and shall have [blank] moneths time (after warning given them to depart) for removal and disposing of themselves, their families and goods as they please, and Protection to live in any part of this Dominion within the Power of the Parliament of England (not being a Garison, or a Countrey planted intirely with English, or set apart to be so) or shall have Passes to remove to any Foreign parts if they so desire. And those of the said Citizens (not within the aforesaid Exception) who shall submit upon these Terms, and perform the same on their parts, shall have Indempnity for any things done in prosecution of the War.

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An Answer of the Commissioners of the English Army to the particular Exceptions of the Commissioners for the City of Limerick, against the Conditions tendred upon the Treaty in June and July, One thousand six hundred fifty one.

1. To the first Exception, we shall allow a proviso for the Citizens as follows: Provided, and it is hereby declared concerning all and every the said Citizens, That they or any of their being ingaged in Arms in the besieging and reducing of the Castle of Limerick, after the coming in of the Irish Forces under General Barry into the town (though it was before the said first General Assembly) shall not conclude or be understood to conclude them or any of them within the Exception afore going, except such of them as shall appear by sufficient evidence to have contrived, procured, endeavored, or wittingly furthered the letting in of the Irish Forces into the Town, or to have been otherwise guilty (as parties or immediate accessaries) to some particular murder of the English or Protestant people before the said first General Assembly.

And as to the Soldiery, Nobility and Gentry now in the City, we are content that they be admitted to live in Protection, they submitting themselves and their Estates to the judgement of the Parliament of England, although they were in Arms during the first year of the War.

2. To the second, We cannot allow any Ordnance or other furniture of War, but what is granted by our Articles, onely we are content that all Ships belonging to any private persons remain to the disposal of the owners.

3. To the third, We shall not grant any power to leavy Arrears in our Quarters as to the Runaways, and heretofore Protected persons, although they be not mentioned expresly, yet it is intended the Quarter should extend to them, we are willing to prefix a time, and grant an Indempnity from Suits during the time mentioned in the Exception.

4. To the fourth, We shall be willing to allow all the Protected persons Horses and travelling Arms as we do to other Protected people, as to persons formerly Protected and not within the reach of the Exception, paying the Arrears of their Contribution due to the Parliaments party, they shall be received into Protection as formerly. To the rest, we adhere to our Articles.

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5. To the fifth, We shall not treat concerning Religion.
 6. To the sixth, We shall adhere to our Article, unless they be willing to wave their Indemnity from private Suits.
 7. To the seventh, We must adhere to our Proposal.
 8. To the eighth, We shall adhere to our Proposition.
 9. To the ninth, It is intended that all such of the Citizens as are by these Articles allowed to enjoy their Estates real and personal, should have full liberty to sell and dispose the said Estates to their best advantage and liberty, with their Wives, Families and Goods, to pass beyond the Seas when they shall think good.
 10. The tenth, We shall not treat upon.
 11. To the eleventh, it is intended that all such of the Citizens as are not within the Exception, shall have full liberty to trade at home and abroad as other English Subjects.
 12. To the twelfth, The proviso of our Proposition enjoyns no sale of any part of their Estates in the City.
 13. To the thirteenth, It is intended they should enjoy all their real Estates in any Corporation or place of this Dominion, except Garisons.
- The names of the Commissioners in behalf of the Parliaments Army, Lieutenant General Edmund Ludlow, Adjutant General William Allen, Judge Advocate Philip Cartret, Major Anthony Morgan, Major Brian Smith.]

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safely conducted thither by him into the city. And whereas Colonell Sankey was within 2 miles of that party of Dwyer's or diverting him, there was a prisoner of ours released by O Dwyer, who going to Colonell Sankey told him that Fitzpatrick was marched away, it being hoped he would immediately follow him (Fitz Patrick being the principall by him looked after.) But Collonel Sankey understanding withall that Collonel O Dwyer was so neare, he fell into his quarters unlooked for, killing many and dispersing the whole party with the losse of the most of their armes. O'Dwyre himselfe escaped narrowly and thereby was that designe by the goodnesse and providence of God disappointed. Captain Walch, an active rebell on whom they in Limerick much depended for assistance, was there taken and this day brought to the head quarters, by Collonel Sankey. This day we heard of our losse of Karrigahilt, [in] Thomond, taken from us by Col. Roch.

This night, about 11 of the clock, a flame of fire passed over Limerick, giving that light by which one might reade. It moved from the north-east, continuing about halfe a quarter of an hower.

Friday, [July] 18.

By the last intercepted letters out of Limerick, the enemy in Conaught being invited to a speedy conjunction for relieving of that place and David Roch and Murtoogh O Bryon, with their forces in Thomond, haveing taken our garrison

* The Diary is here resumed after the chasm at page 241, *ante*.

of Carrigahilt, proceeding to attempt on the rest of our garrisons in the county of Clare, there being no considerable party of ours in that county for opposing them; therefore was it resolved at a councell of warre this day that a considerable party should be sent speedily into the county of Clare for dispersing those there in a body and for preventing that conjunction with Ferrall and the rest out of Conaght on which the besieged so much depended and for securing those of our garrisons in that county.

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Saturday, [July] 19.

His Excellency with the Lieutenant-Generall marched from the leagure, with about 2000 foote and 12 troupes of horse and 8 troupes of dragoones, into the county of Clare, according to the resolution the day before taken. The Major-generall comanded here: This day we heard of a party of Vlster men coming into the county of Clare for joyning with Roch and Bryan. The Major-Generall removed the head quarters to the other side of Singland beyond the chappell, putting into the fort part of Collonel Stubbord's Regiment.

Lords Day, 20.

By letters from the Lord of Broghill was certified that Muskery was advancing, being 2500 foote and 700 horse, and that he intended a conjunction with Fitz-Patrick's forces, and by force or diversion to make way for the reliefe of Limerick, expecting probably the concurrence of the Thomond forces. This his letter was by the Major-Generall sent to his Excellency.

Tuesday, 22.

His Excellency returned to the head quarters with some horse and foote, leaving the Lord Generall in Thomond with 7 troupes of horse and 8 of dragoones and 1200 foote, for attending the enemies motions, and for securing our remote garrisons.

Wednesday, 23.

The enemy in Limerick sallied with some horse and foote, but they were beaten back, ours both horse and foote readily answering the alarum. Herein by the blessing of God his Excellency escaped narrowly. His Lordship, with other principall officers, were then laying out a new fort when the enemy so sallied, there not being workes or guards betweene them [and] the party so sallying neere them; but God otherwise disposed it, diverting the danger and carrying the enemy another way, they not seeing their advantages.

By letters from the Lord of Broghill was certified his falling into Muskery's quarters, there killing and taking some and dispersing that party; and by letters from the Lord President of 17th from Gallway was certified the towne was shut upon one side by forts, which finished, he supposed (he said) to passe the river on the other side. We heard that the enemy in Thomond had on the Lt. Gen^{ls} advancing burnt Carrigahilt, and that they were gathering their party to ingage the Lt. Gen^l.

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Friday, [July] 25.

The Lieutenant Generall returned to the head quarters; of whom we had these particulars, that he relieved the garrison of Ca[rri]ghilla, besieged by the enemy, and . . . ing it a place within the land and remote and not easily to be rel[iev]ed, he drew up the garrison and blew up the castle. That in his returne, heareing of the enemyes drawing together at a passe neere Enis, he fell into their quarters, killed many, tooke some prisoners and pursued the rest 3 or 4 miles. Among others was there slaine Connor O Brian, of Lymenaugh in the county of Clare, a Co^{ll} of horse, the most considerable person in the county, although not acting in cheife, he was much lamented in the countrey, and his cutting off gaue a stop to the proceeding of the enemy and did breake that regiment of horse commanded by him.

Saturday, 26.

A woman was taken this night endeavouring to goe into Limerick on Thomond side, she being at the fort there and supposing it belonged to her party. Shee desired to be admitted to the Governors presence, Major Gen^l O Neale, and being brought into the fort and finding her error she laboured to recall herselfe; but fearing torture (there threatned) she confessed she was sent the day before from Quin in the county of Clare by Co^{ll} Roch to tell the Governor of Limerick that on the 27th a party should be about six-mile-bridge (six miles from Limerick) desireing instruction how to order the reliefe there attending him, and ordering her if shee could not passe into Limerick, to returne with what intelligence she observed. [This spie was hanged for feare of giving further intelligence.]*

Lord's Day, 27.

Our provisions growing short so as some weekes past the allowance for bread for the souldiers, but it pleased God, who never has left us in extremities, to send us supplies by sea. Wee heard that Fitz Patrick's party were in the mountaines of Agherlow in the Galtyne, and that by joyning with Muskery they intended relieving them of Limerick on the one side and them of Thomond on the other side endeavouring the like. From Gallway we heard that 1500 Ulsters being admitted into Galway the rest of the Ulster forces were withdrawne thence, and that there were no publique stores in the towne; that we having possessed and in some sort fortified an island on the other side of Gallway, beeing at low water passable, the enemy had fallen on them and taken the place and killed 55 of our men. We heard also that Major Merideth of Sir Thomas Jones his Regt. was sent into Thomond to attend the enemy there. From aboarde we heard that Co^{ll}. Popham was with 40 sayle before Dunkirk which is beseiged by the Spaniard by land with 4000 men; that Co^{ll}. Blake had taken the Castle of the Isle of Man; and that our forces in Scotland gave a blow to the enemy. This day by letters from the Lord of Broghill, dated the 26th, we heard that with his small party hunting after Musker[y] then come to an head and hastning for a conjunction with Fitzpatrickes

* Paragraph struck out in MS.

forces for relieving Limerick, and his Lordship being by one (it may be purposely employed by Muskery to that end) told that Muskery was drawn away into Kerry. Thereupon at a place called Disham in the co. of Corke, 2 miles from Clancreene, his Lordship advising with his officers, it was resolved not to follow these any further whom they despaired to find, and by refreshing their wearied party in some adjoining quarters to attend the enemies further appearing; and accordingly, drums beating and trumpets sounding for a march, they unexpectedly discovered the enemy in great bodies at hand and in good order to charge. Muskerie's forces were about 700 horse and 300 dragoones, and 1500 foot, ours but 350 horse and 5500 foot. The hasty coming on of the enemy hardly afforded time for ordering our men. The enemy's word was *St. James*, on which day, the 25th, they engaged, ours *prosperity*: the ground on which they drew (called Knockbracket) was a plain 3 or 4 miles over without bogge or wood. Muskery encouraged his men to stand to it now (saith he) or never, being confident of success, trusting in their number; and that day did they show more than ordinary resolution. But it pleased God still to own us, and after a long and sharpe dispute to give us the better. Of the enemy were slain about 500, and more wounded. They wanted here their refuge of bogges and woodes, and lost much in so long a pursuit, alsoe all the officers of foot lighted and served in the head of their commands. Muskery escaped by the fleetnesse of his horse. It was contrary to order that any should be prisoners considering their and our numbers, yet there were taken 1 Lt. Coll., 2 Majors, 1 Capt., 1 Lt., with some others. The great river of Blackewater then overflowing swallowed many of them. Of ours were killed 20, 100 wounded; the Lord of Broghill had his horse shot and himselfe wounded with a pike by his Ex: It was thought adviseable for discovering this to those in Limerick and to shew what their hopes were of Muskerie's assistance to let them understand it by our triumph that this should be a night of triumph by volleys of shott, sounding of drums and trumpets, etc. This being the day appointed by Roch and his party for being at six-mile-bridge, his Ex: comanded out a party of 60 horse for discovering them, but there was nothing heard of them.

Monday, [July] 28.

The great wants of the army before Galloway in respect of provisions being represented to his Ex: it was ordered that a proportion of our store should be sent to them by sea.

Coll. Sankey this day marched from us with ii troupes of horse and dragoones for following Fitzpatrick, who was said to be gathering in order to a conjunction with Muskerie's scattered forces.

This day we heard that Sir Theo. Jones was come out of Westmeath in Conaught with some forces, and that the 27 instant he would be at Loughreagh with about 100 horse and dragoones there expecting orders from his Ex.

Tuesday, 29.

Orders were sent to Sir Theo. Jones that he should hinder all he might Ferrall's conjunction, and his Ulster forces with the forces of the co. of Clare, that

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thereby neither his Ex. before Limerick, nor the Lord President before Galloway should be disturbed in their worke, and to that end his residence at Loughreagh was thought convenient as answering the enemies motions either way, that if Ferrall were passed by already into the co. of Clare and if the Lord President could not spare any considerable forces, then Sir Theo. Jones should march to Thomond side of Killalow to be there and from thence strengthened by Jones sent by his Ex. and to expect further orders from his Ex.

August ; Friday, 1.

Wee heard that Fitz Patricke had surprised our garrison of Melik on the Shannon about 4 miles from the Birh. That there was not so much as a sentry found awake : and that all in it were put to the sword, the governor only excepted. By letters from the Commissary Generall, of the 29 past, from Galloway was certified that a garrison being received into the towne, the rest of the fresh forces were drawn away towards Ballin and Conge in Conaught ; that there designe was supposed for relieving Limericke ; that Sir Theo. Jones, with 12 troopes of horse and dragoones, was there falling into the co. of Clare, following David Roch and his party ; that this side of Galloway was shut up with 3 forts, 13 redoubts, which were almost defenseable, and that Coll. Russells regiment was to be therein quartered ; that Clanricard was in the feild, and that Ferrall was governor of the Vlster armie and Phillip Mac Hugh O Rely assistant to him. Wee heard also that the enemy had a designe upon our garrison of Nenagh in lower Ormond ; that the 30th past about 500 foote, and 3 troopes of horse had over night placed themselves comodiously neere the Castle intending on the letting downe the bridge next day to fall into the place ; that by speciall providence of God, he watching over us when we sleepe and diverting evils which we see not, Capt. Ayres returning toward the head quarters from Galloway, ferrying over at Portumny, and about breake of day appeared neare Nenagh, the enemy discovering him ranne away, supposing his forces were more then indeede they were whereby the place was preserved.

Lords Day, [August] 3.

Some of the inhabitants out of Limerick to escape ferried out on Thomond side ; some were slaine and the rest back. By a letter from ours before Galloway we heard of the Commissary Generall takeing Menlogh, a castle near Galloway ; that the souldiers being 4 were prisoners of war, officers at mercy ; that Fitzpatrick about Melick became numerous by many out of Conaught repaireing to him ; that Dungan and Ferrall were labouring a conjunction ; that Sir Theo. Jones was attending Fitz Patrick ; that the Lord President having settled the workes before Galloway intended to draw off towards Athlone for attending the enemies motions. This day his Ex. by a dispatch to the Lord President of Conaught certified him what by intelligence he understood of the enemies designes, that they intended the sending 500 horse to joyne with the Clare forces, who were about 2000 foote, that by them intending the reliefe of Limerick ; and that the forces of Conaught were principally designed for ingageing him the Lord President. That therefore Collonel Hewson was ordered to draw downe with his forces towards Athlone and further

into Conaught as occasion should be for assisting the Conaught army. By letters from Birh we heard that Drunme maneghan in lower Ormond was taken by the enemie; also that they had surprised Calohill, and had murdered the Lord Colvell, the governor.

Monday, [August] 4.

We intercepted letters from Limerick desireing supplies; also some going into Limerick from Coll. Roch to the Governor promissing within 5 nights to be neare with reliefe. This letter was dated July 31st, and that the same night there should be a signe given by him from Glanne grosse, a mountain in Thomond towards Limerick. We thereupon strengthened our guards towards Foybee passe with more horse and dragoones. We understood also of more forces and moneyes landed at Waterford, and more expected; the Scotch rout was also confirmed.

Tuesday, 5.

We begun our worke near Foybee passe; also more forces were sent for reenforcing the guard on Thomond side of the towne.

Wednesday, 6.

Collonel Sankey with his party came to the head quarters. Collonel Ingoldesby with a considerable party of horse and dragoones was commanded out towards the 6 mile bridge for discovering the enemy said to be in a body in the co. of Clare.

Thursday, 7th.

We heard that the treasure landed at Waterford was £50,000; that there were brought thither 500 barrels of powder, 6000 barrels of wheat, 7000 muskets by the care and sollicitation of Capt. Vernon, and that a vessell with wheat and rye of 200 tunnes was coming to the leagure; and for particulars of the Scotch rout before mentioned, we heard that there were of them 2000 slaine and 500 taken prisoners; we heard also that 5 troopes of horse and 1000 foote of the enemy were gathered at Agerthlow about Cullen, and that Capt. Godfrey had fallen into their quarters and killed 20 and tooke 100 horse and armes from them. The Lieutenant Generall riding this day from the leagure to Loghgurre with only 4 horse, having ordered a party of horse to attend him and expecting them to follow him, he set forward, but haveing by a Scout timely discovered about 30 of the enemyes horse ready to fall on, he retyred, and they pursuing 2 miles, but by the blessing of God escaped that danger to the great joy of the army. This night by vollies of shott we triumphed for our victory in Scotland, the particulars whereof were now brought to us. By some out of Limerick we heard of the sicknesses there encreasing, 24 buried in a morning; that they wanted great shot, and for supplying of small shot they had untiled the Earle of Thomond's house.

Out of Thomond we heard that the 5th instant Coll. David Roch and Murtoagh OBryan with their forces, about 2500, marched from Ennis to Downemoyhill between the 2 counties of Clare and Galloway; that this day they intended to be at Feakeill; that yesterday they had sent to enquire of Fitz-Patrickes condition and posture, and what side of the Shannon he was on.

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Out of Conaught we heard that Coll. William Burke with 3000 foote beside horse, had 3 daies before marched from the co. of Mayo to Tuam in the co. of Galloway; that there 3 other parties about Castle Barry, intending a conjunction, and that Fitz Patrick had driven a prey of cowes over the Shannon to Melocke. Coll. Ingoldesby returned with his party being sent to discover the enemy, certified his Ex: that he was informed that Coll. Roch and Coll. Bryan had marched lately from Ennis to Downemul and
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At our leaving our quarters this day we left a troupe of horse who with the foote and dragoones of Cloghanaboy were to secure a boate with provisions and sicke men untill the next tide, which being on ground through negligence had been otherwise in danger of the enemy in Clare Castle

This day a party of horse and dragoones in our new garrison of Clonrone on the other side of Clare Castle appearing before Clare, the enemy sallied in number about 150, ours retiring for advantage, and the enemy pursuing, we charged them and killed and tooke about 40, among whom was Capt. Lalor, who charged Coll. White, (late Governor of Clare) for conferring with his Ex. (Aug. 25). In this the Castle of Clare found what they might after expect of those our new garrisons, their neighbours. By orders from his Ex: this party quartered on Thomond side of the flote bridge.

Friday, 5.

We passed the flote bridge, the foote quartering apart from the rest of the army untill further orders. In this expedition was our party before Limerick secured from the attempts of the enemy, and the hopes of the beseiged at present disappointed as to supplies from theirs on this side; thereby was the enemy in the co: of Clare dispersed, and many persons therein considerable brought under contribution who till then held out, and either would not or durst not by reason of the enemies power submitt to us; and by it had we the advantage of placing convenient garrisons in that county where was laid a force of about 500 horse and dragoones, and as many foote, for answering all motions of the enemy there, and for repressing the oppression of the country by those in Clare Castle, and for securing our contributions . . . ining intelligence as oc[casion sho]uld require, which was . . . those respects very consid . . .

At a this day it was debated . . . of foote now marched . . . a comaunded party should be ordered, whether to be disposed into their respective regiments. It was resolved that they should holde as they were (comaunded by Coll. Stubbards), and to encampe apart as a loose party, ready to answer all occasions. 2dly, Whether this party should be sent to Galloway for that service, it was resolved in the negative, the worke here being conceived the principall, and it being necessary that there should be a force at hand ready for opposing any thing to be by the enemy attempted on either hand of us. It was farther debated whether our workes before this place should be in way of approaches which was for

the present by the major part not thought convenient, but that the lines begun from fort to fort should be finished.

Monday, [September] 8.

His Excellency went this day to Bunratty, belonging to the Earl of Thomond, which lying on the Shannon was conceived fit to be fortified. There was laid Captain Preston with his troope of horse and a foote company. This place was very convenient for baking and making and laying up provisions for the army and other garrisons thereabout. Some labouring to passe out of Limerick were by our guards on Thomond side met withall and putt to the sword. A party of the enemies horse commanded by Lt. Coll. Fitzgerald doing much hurt in [blank] in the co. of Corke were the 21st past by a small party of ours drawn together out of Corke and Youghall slaine and wounded, and 500 cowes and some prisoners rescued. Soone after night fall was a torch or fire put out on the top of the highest tower in Limerick given as a signall to those from whom they expected releife.

Tuesday, 9.

Coll. Sankey with his party and with the treasure coming by land from Waterford came this day to the head quarters.

Wednesday, 10.

We heard that Collonel Bourke was come into the county of Clare for raising forces there. They gave it out that Clanricard had dismissed his army for 15 dayes. Thus were the country reports, but by letters of the 5 instant to his Ex: from the Comissary Generall then about Athlone, it was to this purpose certified, that Clanricards party, being then become co . . . was about Ballilege . . . [Conau]ght side of the Shannon that . . . the Comissary Generall and Coll. Hewson . . . appointed to attend them marching toward them, Clanricards whole party dispersed notwithstanding great advantages of places almost inaccessible; that Coll. Bourke fled into Conaught with the party of that province, and was by ours pursued 12 miles; that Dungan with the Leinster forces fled into the Kings Co: whom he, the Comissary Generall, and Sir Theo: Jones was then pursuing; that the Ulster forces ran into their owne country not farre of; that Clanricard with the Earls of Castlehaven and Westmeath had by boate at Ballilege slipt to James Towne in the co. of Letrym, and that ours were possessed of the castle of Ballilege, wherein were placed 50 musqueteers. It is a place of good consequence being the onely passe on the Shannon between Athlone and Jamestowne.

Thursday, 11.

We were certified of Coll. ODwyer's and the other rebels in the co. of Tipperary drawing to a generall rendezvous at a place called Glengarow, where Muskery was expected to meete him.

Friday, 12.

Coll. Sankey, with 7 troopes of horse and 4 of dragoones, was sent from the army to attend that enemy.

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By some this day come out of Limerick we understood of the factions there, occasioned by their wants encreasing. This moved his Ex: to resolve on preparations for force, and taking advantages of such distractions, and in order thereunto ordered approaches to be made, and ladders to be prepared, and places fitted for battery.

Saturday, [September] 13.

This day we had by returns of our spies and otherwaies confirmations of these gatherings mentioned; particularly that Coll. ODwyer had 600 horse and 1500 foote rendezvouzed at Cullenagh, and that Muskery with his horse was expected all in order to the reliefe of Limerick. This night was a fire shewd in Limerick as formerly (the 8 inst).

Lords day, 14.

This night was the like fire shewed in the same place. Some attempts to breake out on Thomond side of the towne, being by our guns covered, were forced backe, the . . . some passed by us.

Monday, 15.

Captain Godfrey, of Coll. Sankey's regiment (a very active officer), and Capt. Cuffe with his troope of dragoones were set upon by 300 of the enemies horse at disadvantage, and being overpowered ours were routed, 13 were slaine, 22 taken besides the officers.

Wednesday, 17.

We had intelligence that 3 troopes and some foot of the enemy lay between Cullen and the Abbey of Owney toward Limerick; also that 8 troopes and 15 companies with colours were in the west end of the Galtynwoods, where was their gathering.

By one come out of Limerick we heard that (the 12 inst), it was an assembly in the city debated to treat with us; 2 parts of 3 were for a present treaty, but the rest being, although the fewer, yet the more leading (countenanced by their factious clergie, and the souldiery) prevailed so as that for 14 daies from that time they should forbear treating in that time expecting reliefe. We heard also that there had beene a plot laid for betraying of Clonmell, which in the discovery of it was prevented.

It was informed that Coll. OBrien was that night before within 5 miles of Kilaloe with 500 foote stript (as their manner is when they are upon some nimble and sodaine designe). Thereupon was Capt. Allen (Adjutant Generall of the horse) sent that night with 200 horse and 300 nimble foote towards the place where they might probably be found; but this proved a false allarum, our party returning without discovering any enemy, but in a wood they found a new leather bagge with about 20 pound of good powder.

Thursday, 18.

We received intelligence that the Lord Broghill attending Muskerie's motions and thereupon advancing with his forces, Muskery retired and disperst. That the Lord of Broghill was burning Muskerie's country in Carbury in the co. of

Corke, that on Coll. Sankeys advancing Coll. ODwyer and the rest of that party dispersed also. APPENDIX.

Their designe so failing for relieving Limerick they now comforted themselves with hopes that Limerick would hold out a great part of the winter, and that ours before it must be distressed with want of forrage and not able to last out a winters siege. It was . . . speech of one of the towne souldiers from the wall to ours that we laboured to beate them out with bomb-shells (so they called our mortar-shot), but they would beate us away with snow-balls. But for both hath his Ex: had fully provided us in the leagure by the bringing in and storing up of forrage in good proportions, and by building of convenient houses in our severall forts, where I suppose our abiding would be much better to many then elsewhere will be theire winter quarters. Muskery had also much comforted himselfe and his party, by hopes of the successe of the Scots King's being then in England concerning . . . *

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By letters out of Conaught we found that our garrison of Ballilege on the Shanon, taken by ours the last moneth (mentioned Sept. 10), was delivered to the enemy upon summons, for which some were to be accomptable. The enemy burnt the castle and deserted it. We then also received Clanricards summons to the Sherives of the respective counties for a Generall Assembly at James Towne in the county of Letrim on the 6 of the next moneth for the reasons therein expressed which summons is in these words:

October.

After our hearty comendations: The last Generall Assembly held at Lough Reagh having adjourned unto the 6 day of November next, which through eminent occasions and at the request of the officers of the army hath beene appointed sooner, but by reason of slenderness of apparance and power of the enemy was disappointed from concluding any thing upon the weighty affaires they had to debate, and adjourned unto the said day first appointed. We have thought fit therefore to renew and appoint the meeting of the said assembly at James Town upon the said 6 day of November next at 10 of the clock in the forenoone. And do hereby pray and require that you will under your owne hand and seale return unto the said Generall Assembly at the time and place aforesaid either the former persons returned from the co: of Gallway and Corporations therein or 2 other able and lawfully elected persons by the inhabitants of every burrough of the said co: there to sit and vote in all matters to be debated by the said Assembly; and if the power of the enemy will not permitt such Generall meetings, you are to cause the said election to be made and returned in the best manner you may, and to give notice unto the persons by you to be returned as aforesaid not to faile in the said hower. The rather that we have to communicate unto the said Assembly as well a dispatch lately received by us of a transaction made and concluded with the Duke of Loraine for the releife of this Kingdome, as also severall matters relating to and concerning the said agreement and other matters of much importance to his

* In the MS. of the Diary, the matter is missing from this point to October.

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Majesties service and the good of this nation, which (least any interruption may be given us by the enemy) wee intend shall be hastened as farre as in us lies, the results to be there taken, entered upon and debated the first day of the Session have resolved to avoid the dangers of a long session to hasten as farr as in us lies the results to be there taken. And so we bid you heartily farewell, and remaine

Your loving friend

At Aghanure, the 10th of October, 1651.

Clanrickard.

Four of the Limerick Commissioners being detained as hostages the other 2 were sent back into the city for reporting the conclusion made with them.

His Ex : now recalled those of ours sent into the towne on the cessation, by whom wee were given to understand that some principall officers within had on Thursday last at night possessed themselves of John's Gate, turning 2 guns there on the city and reserving that port for us to be delivered to us if by the malignant party within the treaty were hindered, declaring that if this day all were concluded they would deliver up the place unto us. This was altogether without our knowledge and this hastened the conclusion of the businesse more then did our batteries or force intended, which (we after found) would have beene an obstinate resistance very difficult and hazardous to us. Thus had God without us and without our knowledge prepared our way for us, in a way more to his glory and the good of his servants. According to the articles we tooke possession of John's gate and of the Milne towre this day.

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Articles for
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of
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[Articles agreed upon the twenty seventh day of October, One thousand six hundred fifty one, by and between Henry Ireton, Esquire, Deputy General of Ireland on the one part, and Bartholomew Stackpoll, Recorder of the City of Limerick, or Dominick White, Alderman of the same, Nicholas Haley, Esquire, Lieutenant-Colonel Piers Lacy, Lieutenant-Colonel Donogh O'Brien, and John Baggot, Esquire, Commissioners appointed by and on the behalf of the Governor and Major of the said City, to Treat and Conclude for the surrender thereof on the other part.*

1. That the City of Limerick, with the Castle, and all places of strength in the City be surrendred into the hands of the said Deputy General of Ireland, for the use of the Parliament and Common-wealth of England, upon, or before the twenty ninth day of October instant at noon, together with all the Ordnance, Arms, Ammunition, and other furniture of War therein, and all the Goods of any kinde not allowed by the ensuing Articles to be carried away or kept by the owners, and this without waste, spoil, or embezzlement. And the full possession of John's Gate and Priors Mill shall be delivered unto the said Deputy General or such Guards as they shall appoint (not exceeding an hundred men for Johns Gate) this day by Sunset; and for performance hereof, the above named Lieutenant-Colonel Piers Lacy, Lieutenant-Colonel Donogh O'Brien, Alderman Dominick White, and Nicholas

* These Articles, imperfect in the Clarendon MS., are here given from "A Letter from the Lord Deputy-General of Ireland upon the Surrender of Limerick, 1651." See *ante*, p. 241.

Haley, Esquire, shall remain as Hostages with the said Deputy-General, until the Surrender of the said City.

2. That in consideration thereof, all persons now in the City (except such as are hereafter excepted) shall have Quarter for their Lives, liberty of their persons, their Cloathes, Money, and other Goods, so as to be free from Pillage, Plunder, or other hostile violence in their Persons or Goods during their continuance under the said Deputies safe Conduct or Protection, by vertue of the ensuing Articles respectively: But whereas through the practices of some persons more eminent and active then the rest, both amongst the Clergy, Military-Officers, the Citizens, and other sorts of men within the large Conditions formerly tendred for Surrender, have been rejected. The subsequent occasions or opportuni[ties] for timely making of Conditions neglected and avoided, the dispositions and desires of many persons within to that purpose, is opposed, resisted and restrained, and the generality of the people partly deluded and deceived (to the keeping of them in vain expectations of relief from one time to another) and partly over-awed, or enforced by their power to concur and contribute this long to the obstinate holding out of the place; therefore the persons hereafter named, viz. Major General Hay [Hugo] Oniel, the Governor, Major-General Purcel, Sir Jeffry Galway, Lieutenant-Colonel Lacy, Captain George Wolf, Captain Lieutenant Sexton, the Bishop of Limerick, the Bishop of Emley, John Quillin, a Dominican Friar, David Roch, a Dominican Friar, Captain Laurence Welsh, a Priest, Francis Wolf, a Franciscan Friar, Philip O Diepe [Dwyer], Priest, Alderman Dominick Fanning, Alderman Thomas Stretch, Alderman Jordan Roch, Edmund Roch, Burgess, David Rocheford, Burgess, Sir Richard Everard, Doctor Iliggin, Maurice Baggot of Baggotstown, and Jeffry Barron being, as aforesaid the Principals appearing in such Practices in this Siege, and the holding out so long; as also Evan the Welch Soldier who ran into Limerick; and all other persons that have been employed, and come into the City as Spies since the Fourth day of June last, shall be excepted and excluded from any benefit of this Article, or any other Articles ensuing, and such of them as can be found within the Garrison, shall be rendred up at Mercy upon the Surrender of the City: And any such persons as shall be found to hide or conceal any of the said excepted persons, or be privy to their Concealment or attempt of Escape, and not discover, and do their best endeavor to prevent the same, shall thereby be understood to have forfeited the benefit of these Articles to themselves; but otherwise, none shall lose that benefit for other mens default in their Concealment or escape, or for the not rendring of them up as aforesaid.

3. That all Officers, Soldiers and other persons now in the City (not excepted in the last precedent Article) shall also have liberty to march away with their Cloathes, Bag and Baggage, Money, and all other their Goods of what kinde soever, except Arms, Ammunition, and other Utensils of War (carrying nothing but their own) to what place or places they shall choose respectively within the Dominion of Ireland, not being a Garison for the Parliament (all the Field Officers of Horse and Foot, and Captains of Horse, with their Horses, Pistols and Swords, and other the Comissioned-Officers with their Swords onely) And shall have Three Moneths time after the Surrender to remove any Goods of their own, that they shall not

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think fit sooner to carry with them; and such of them as shall choose to go to any Garisons, or Parties of the Enemy, shall have Convoy or safe conduct for that purpose, for such time as shall be requisite for their march, at the rate of Ten miles a day, and shall have Cariages and provision allowed from the Countrey at the usual rates.

4. That such of the Citizens and Inhabitants interested in the City, as are not excepted in the second Article, and shall not presently march away as aforesaid, but desire to continue longer in the City, shall (upon application for that purpose to the said Deputy Generall, or the chief Officer commanding in Limerick after the Surrender) have License given them to stay, either for such further time as the said Deputy General, or the said chief Officer present shall finde convenient, or until further warning given them to depart; and in case of such License given till further warning, shall have Four moneths time allowed from and after such warning, for the removal of themselves and their Families and Six moneths for the removal of their Goods, and during such further time limited, or in case of reference to further warning, during their continuance there to the time of warning given; and for the said Four moneths and Six moneths after respectively, shall be protected in their Families and Goods from all Injury and Violence, and at any time as they shall desire within the said space or spaces respectively shall have liberty and safe conduct for the removal of themselves, their Families and Goods, to any place or places within this Dominion, not being garisoned for the Parliament as aforesaid; and if they shall not be admitted to reside elsewhere in protection within this Dominion, they shall have liberty, for themselves, their Wives, Children and Goods, to pass beyond the Seas; Provided that they pay their due proportion of what Taxes and other Contribution shall be charged upon the City, from the day of the Surrender to the day of the removal, in due proportion with other places in Ireland, and behave themselves as becometh: And such of the said Citizens and Inhabitants as having not License to stay until further warning, shall within a moneth after the Surrender be ordered to depart, shall have the same benefit of the Third Article, as those that march away immediately upon the Surrender.

5. That all such persons now in the City, as shall desire to live peaceably under protection, and submit to the Parliament of England (except the persons excepted in the second Article aforegoing, and except all Clergy-men, Priests and Friars of any Order) shall upon their application to that purpose, have License and protection to live quietly at any such place or places within this Dominion as they shall desire, and the said Deputy General finde convenient to admit; but such Protection shall not be understood to extend either to the assuring of them in the enjoyment of their Lands or other Hereditaments; or to the granting of other Indempnity or Freedom from any Question or Prosecution to Justice in a Judicial way, for any Crimes they may be guilty of, except to such persons as shall be found fit to have that Mercy and Favor expresly granted to them, or to others for a certain time to be limited for that purpose; but to such as shall have protection for a limited time, either Citizens or others, it is intended they shall be freed from any Suit or Censure in the Civil Judicature for things done in relation to the War during the time limited.

Memorandum, As to the fourth Article foregoing, it is intended, That the Citizens (not excepted against within a Moneth) may tarry (without particular Application) and have Four Moneths after warning given to remove themselves and Families, and six moneths to carry away their Goods.

Memorandum, Also that all Soldiers or other persons, not excepted in the third Article, who through Sickness are disabled to remove themselves at present, shall have liberty to march away when they shall recover, and have equal benefit with others in their Conditions respectively; And that from twelve of the Clock this day, there shall be Cessation of all acts of Hostility on either part, but the persons Besieged not to come without the Walls or Island, saving into Johns Gate, until the time limited for Surrender, without License from the other part respectively.

And lastly it is agreed, That no person shall be understood to forfeit the benefit of any the Articles for another mans Breach thereof, unless he be found to be consenting thereto, or privy to it, without discovering or endeavoring to prevent it, provided this extend not to Indemnifie the Hostages in case of failer or Surrender. In Testimony whereof, the parties first above mentioned have Interchangeably set to their Hands and Seals the day and year first above written.*

Bar: Stacpol.

Domi: White.

Nic: Haly.

Hen: O Bryan.

Piers Lacy.

John Bagot.]

Tuesday, [October] 28th.

Out of the co: of Clare was thus certified: That Coll. Murtoogh O Brien and Coll. Bourke lay at Balliturry; that their forces were 1600 foote and 250 horse; that Coll. David Roch and that we had garrisoned towne of Inchinglin in Thomond. Out of Kerry we heard that the Lord of Muskery had letters from Clanricard concerning the Duke of Loraine; that there upon he tooke boate and hastened to Gallway where Clanricard was.

At a Councell of warre it was this day debated and voted (1) that part of the army should before further service. 2. That that part of the army should march into the co: of Clare to fortifie the towne of Enis, and thence to march to Gallway if it should be found necessary according as should be the returne from the Lord President of Conaught to his Ex: letters to that purpose.

His Ex: ordered the forces to be quartered in Limerick and in the quarters about Cashel, and the remnant of this army being 21 companies and [blank] troopes of horse and dragoones to be for the marching party. His Lordship also ordered that party of our workes towards Limerick to be slighted and after the whole workes as it should be necessary.

Wednesday, 29th.

This day the enemy marched out of Limerick about 1200, and, according as their interests led them, some went into the co: of Clare, some toward Muskery, and others towards their party in the co: of Tipperary. We found there 3770 armes, 83 barrels of powder, 3 tuns and a halfe of match, 23 barrels of shot, and 34 guns, of which 8 brasse and 2 of those demy cannons; we found there also pioneers tooles, backs, brests and head peices to a considerable number.

* These articles in the Clarendon MS. are signed by H. Ireton.

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Major Generall Hugo O'Neale, the late Governor of Limerick, did meete his Excellency at his entrance into the towne, and being one of the excepted persons there rendred himselfe prisoner, it being supposed by many he would have shifted away from us *; nine others of the excepted persons were then secured, the rest being then either concealed or escaped.

At a Councell of warre at Limerick was this day debated how those excepted persons† already in our hands should be disposed. Of them 5 were voted to suffer. Hugo O Neale, the late Governor (supposed by his letters and all transactions with us to have beene principall in the obstinate resistance given, as also for being to the Governor of Galway in like case exemplary), Sir Geff. Galway (a principall incendiary), Sir Richard Everhard (one of the rebels Supream Councell from the beginning of the rebellion, and holding out notwithstanding the favors shewed him by his Ex: the Lord Lt. during his Lordships residence heere), Jeffrey Baron (a principall instrument in the holding out of Waterford against us, and acting here accordingly and professing his malignancy against us to the uttermost) and Dr. Higgins, a phisitian (a dangerous person, active in rebellion, their powder maker and mony coyner.)

Thursday, [October] 30.

Coll. Warden with 6 troopes was sent from us to Enis in the co: of Clare there to attend the coming thither of the army and to assay what might be done by treaty for gaining the strong castle of Clare. This day the Bishop of Emly [O'Brien] and Major Gen^l Purcell and Capt. Walsh, a priest, 3 of the excepted persons, were detected.‡ The 2 first were executed, being persons very active in the rebellion and particularly in the holding out of Limerick: of them Major Gen^l Purcell, a Co^l of horse in [blank] begged his life on his knee, whereas Major Gen^l Hugo O'Neale (the late Governor) shewed himselfe to be of another spirit, as by his letter to some of our chief officers which is here inserted, it being the ground of that favour after shewn him:

Major Gen^l Hugh O Neile's letter, Octob. 30, 1651.

Right Honorable,

The relation I have of your noble and generous disposition induceth me to presume pleading your favour in my present condition (which I presume to be innocent), being guilty of no base or dishonourable act, having only discharged

* See narrative, *ante*, p. 20.

† These are given as follows in the Letter from the Lord Deputy General, etc., *ut ante*, p. 241.

‡ The names of those excepted persons that rendred themselves up at merey at the Surrender of Limerick, 29 Octob., one thousand six hundred fifty one.

Major Gen: Hugo O Neil.
Sir Jeffry Galloway.
Sir Richard Everard.
Mr. Jordan Roch, Alderman.
Mr. Jeffry Barron.

Major Maurice Baggot.
Doctor Daniel Higgin.
Edmund Roch, Burgess.
George Wolf, Captain.
Lieutenant Col: Piers Lacy."

‡ "These were taken since the rest submitted, and executed. The Bishop of Emley, Major General Purcel, the late Major, Tho: Stretch, Captain Welsh. Priest." Letter from the Lord Deputy General, etc., *ut ante*, p. 241.

the duty of a souldier as became a man subject to a superior power to which I must have beene accomptable. Neither in relation of this was I transported either with passion of my owne or the violent straine of others, who would not be directed with reason, and in the whole course of my proceedings since I came into this garrison. I appeale to the judgment and censure of the most [*blank*] and men of best understanding within this city what my behavior hath beene, and with what difficulty and patience I endeavoured the surrender of this place, being satisfied in all humane reason and policy (even from the beginning) that it could not withstand your power. I shall therefore humbly entreat your Honour to take my condition into your serious consideration, that I be not otherwise dealt with then the justice or injustice of my case requireth, which I shall undoubtedly expect from a person of my Lord Deputies honor, and through the intercession of your Lordship, which shall remaine an undoubted obligation never to be unacknowledged by

Your Lordships most humble servant,
Hugo O Neile.

Limerick, 30, Oct., 1651.

Alderman Strech, late Major of Limerick, another of the excepted persons, was found out and executed. As others he had vowed the holding out of Limerick during his yeare, or time, of government, and accordingly acted with an high hand towards it.

["An Accompt of the Ammunition and Arms received from the Soldiers and Inhabitants of Limerick, 30 October, 1651.

Barrels of powder	83	Half-Pikes	30
Barrels of mixt shot	23	Holberts	93
Match, three tun and an half		Brown Bills	27
Fixed and fixable Musquets	1165	Pistols most unfixed	109
Broken Musquets and Musquet Barrels	1610	Collers of Bandeliers	246
Fowling-Pieces, Firelocks and Carbines	215	Old Swords	140
Pikes	512	Old Saddles	72

Besides round shot, Backs, Brests, Head-pieces, Pioniers Tools, Powder, Flasks, etc., whereof an account is not yet taken.

Nath: Boysh.

A List of the Ordnance taken in Limerick, 30 October, 1651.

Brass Guns.		Faulknet	1	Saker	2
Demy Cannon	2	Small Drake	1	Menion	7
Demy Culverin	1	Iron Ordnance.		Falkon	2
Saker	1	Culverin	1	Falkenet]	3

Letter from the Lord Deputy General, etc., *ut ante*, p. 241.

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Friday, [October] 31.

The marching part of our army was drawn out and quartered on Thomond side of Limerick not farre from the towne.

His Ex: removed out of his field quarters into Limerick.

November. Saturday, 1.

The Lt. Generall marched with the army into the co: of Clare. His Ex: staid in Limerick for a time for ordering affaires there.

That the late Governor of Limerick's letter mentioned professing his desires and endeavours for the surrendering the place from the beginning being after testified by other circumstances, his condition was this day againe taken into consideration and the former vote concerning his execution with the rest was recalled.

Lord's day, [2.]

Coll. Warden (sent before into the co: of Clare) this day summoned the Castle of Clare. Hereunto was the following answer returned:

Sir,

I can hardly beleue that the Governor of Limerick was brought to such low conditions as you make mention of in your letter. Howsoever, the officers here desire a respite of time untill Monday next, seeing our Gouvernor is not in place, and in the interim we may send him notice of the contents of your letter, and then resolve you; wherein we desire a speedy answer, and rest

Your servant,

W. Butler.

Clare Castle, 1. November, 1651.

Monday, 3.

This day the Lord President of Conaught came to the heade quarters at Limerick. His Lordship certified us how impossible a thing it was to attempt at this time the shutting up of Galway on the other side:

1. That the bridge prepared for the river at Galway could not be cast over so to passe the water, the enemy having fortified the other side against us.

2. That the marching from Galway about the Lough by the way of Conge to the other side of Galway was above was above 60 miles.

3. That at the entrance of the passage aboue the Lough at Conge (being a passage betweene two Loughs about halfe a mile over) lay Clanricard with 3000 foote.

4. That the Castle of Aghanure would oppose our passing the river by boats in the ordinary way after our entring into Conaught.

5. That therefore we were to march 16 miles about, and in the march to passe 8 rivers, the least of them not passable if any raine should fall, and thereby might our army be shut up within waters.

6. That the way from Cong to Aghanure was such that horses could be only led, and from Aghanure to Galway (12 miles) they could not be led, besides that all the

country had neither corne nor grasse at this time of yeare, all being now destroyed by the enimie quartering there, and so our foote must march without our horse, and all provisions and amunition carried on our souldiers backs onely. Therefore was the marching of the army this way laid aside for the present.

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Tuesday, [November] 4.

The Lieutenant-Generall coming before Clare Castle it was at a councell of warre debated whether it had beene adviseable to summon or attempt the strong Castle of Clare. The strength of it would make a seige or a storme equally dangerous, considering the time of the yeare and the strength of the place not short of any that we had to deale withall appearing by description of the place and the mappe of it before given. A refusall on a summons would be tending to Carigaholt in the co : of Clare on the Shannon, which was to be now looked after, and the place had beene already summoned by Coll : Warden, and the time passed wherein an answer should have been given as if not inclining to a surrender. In this difference of opinions it pleased God to encline us to a second summons from the Lt. Generall, which was this day sent, and God thereupon ordered the delivering of the place contrary to our expectation or hopes.

The conditions of surrender are as followeth :

Articles of Agreement by and betweene Lt. Generall Ludloe on the behalfe of the Lord Deputy Generall of the one part and Capt. Will. Butler and Capt. Donogh O Connor on the behalfe of Collonel Mc Egan of the other, touching the surrender of Clare for the use of the Parliament and Comonwealth of England, dated the 4th of November, 1651.

1. That the Castle and all places of strength within the same with all the armes, amunition, stores, and other utensils of warre (except heerafter excepted) shall be delivered up to such as shall be appointed to receive the same without imbezlement or spoile by 8 of the clock tomorrow morning, being the 5 of November.

2. In consideration whereof all the officers and souldiers shall have free liberty to march away with their armes, bagge, and baggage, drum beating, colours flying, musquets loaden, matches lighted, bullets in pouch.

3. That all persons of what degree and quality soever shall have libertie to march away with bag and baggage, chattell of all sorts.

4. That all persons (except Romish preists, Jesuites, and friers) who desire to live in protection shall have libertie so to doe, submitting themselves to all acts and ordinances of Parliament.

5. That convoys and passes shall be allowed to such of them as desire the same.

6. That Coll. Stephen White shall have the benefit of these articles in case he accept of it within twelve daies.

7. Each Musqueteer shall carrie with him halfe a pound of powder with bullet and match proportionable.

8. That none shall suffer for another mans default in breakeing of the articles.

9. That 2 hostages be forthwith given by the Lt. Coll. for the performance of these articles.

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In testimonie whereof we haue hereunto set our hands the day and yeare within written.

Edmund Ludlow.

William Butler.

Donogh O Connor.

This day the place was delivered according to the Articles and comitted to Coll. Sadlers government, and in his absence to Lt. Coll. Fowkes of his regiments. There marched away of the enemy about 230. We found there 8 barrels of powder, 70 bundles of match, 2 barrels of bullets, some old unfixed armes, with provision of meale and corne, etc.; also a small iron peece mounted on the workes, and heere we recouered our mortar-peece and shels (about 23) and our 2 guns (one a cannon of 7 the other a demie cannon) with their shot, about 60 which had beene lost as is before mentioned, July 5.

Wednesday, [Nov.] 5.

This day was at Limerick kept a day of praise and thanksgiving to God for his goodness to us in deliuering to us this citie after so long a seige like unto which was never any in Ireland holding out 5 [*sic*] months from the 30 June to the 29 of October, and taking up the greatest part of this yeares worke with this army.

God's time is the best time; in this (as in all other things concerning us) we found it so.

1. Considering the strength of the place, haveing in itselke (within and without) walls and workes necessary and sufficient for defence. Indeed that part of the wall intended to be by us battered afforded advantage to the worke above any other part of it; yet haue we since found that our attempts there (had they proceeded) might haue beene little lesse then desperate.

2. Considering the number of the defenders the city bands were accounted little lesse then 2000, to whom were added 1200 foote and horse drawn in thither they the other commanded by well experienced Generall Hugh O Neile of whom we to prooffe formerly at Clonmell upon . . . less . . . advantages.

3. Considering that all (or most) of both theire militias were as one man united against us, untill the holy God himselfe pointed out and prepared for us, 1. By his owne hand of visitation heavy on those within of whom 8000 by were so swept By removing the then Major (Alderman Strech) comanding the city militia, and by his malignancy hardning them and others unto an obstinate resistance untill the 6 of October (the time by their charter limited for electing another in his place), and who was (if not affected yet) not so disaffected to us. 3. In the divideing first the city militia from the other, and after gaining on the other also, some of the principall officers appearing for deliuering up a port to us if a speedy conclusion were not made as hath beene declared. If it be thought that want of provisions enforced for us the surrender of the place, so indeed it ranne in our intelligence; and though it appeared to those of the meaner sort daily resorting to us, who spake as they found it, many of them being pinchd with wants in that kind.

And as a prudent way this might moove with us to proceed as wee did, rather expecting then at aparant hazards forcing the place. But we now finde the stores in the city more then were reported or more then the owners would before have acknowledged, and much more then would have consisted with the well being (if with the being) of our army to sit by it at this season untill these should haue been consumed.

It was God alone who in his wisdom and goodnesse ordered our worke and our way and our time and all for us. Had it been done at first in the full strength of our army, or had it beene done after by battery or forces (an hopefull way in the eyes of many) then had our corruptions stept in for part of ye praise which now appeareth Gods onely, it being done in our weaknesse (our number being diminished by sicknesse) and *

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XXXI. ACCOUNT OF SURRENDER OF LIMERICK, 1651.

"After a longe debate for a treatie with the enemy the 23th of October last a mixt Councell of warr and Civill Government was held in the Courte house wherein was concluded that the treatie should goe on, and that they should not sticke for any persons exempted or to be exempted from quarter of life or goods, the which theire result being knowne by the rest of the towne upon theire meeting the next morneing to choose Commissioners for the treaty the Lord Bishops of Lymricke and Imly and the Clergie there resident went into the Court house and declared unto them the excommunication to be incurred by them and every of them if they should deliver upp the prelatts to be slaughtered. Which notwithstanding they proceeded to theire election of agents for the treatie. Uppon which a declaration of the excommunication uppon theire persons and perpetuall interdict of the Cittie was published and fixed to the churches doores; which when the factioniers heard they sent that very night Collonell Fenell, William Burke, Fitz Thibott, and Lieutenant Collonell Teige Mc John, Mc Teige, Mc Nemarra, with theire partys into St. Joanes Gate and Cluam's tower, of which they possessed themselves, and did cast away the guard appointed for the place; and the said Collonell Fenell being questioned by the Major Generall what brought him thither, being appointed to relive the Islands pousts, he answered that he had reason to be there, and alsoe comaunded by the Mayor and the best in the towne. Uppon which the Mayor being sent for never answered directly to any question, but alwayes alleadged that there was noe harme in the said partys being in that place, and being questioned whether he gaue the keyes of the gate unto them he answered negatively though vntruely as appeered after, this being on Twesday the 24th. Friday a Councell of warr sate and sent for Collonell Fenell for to be tryed, but he would not appeere though sent for three or fower tymes; uppon which his neglect and contumacie the Councell of warr thought to proceede against him but vpp starts my Lord of Castle Conell, and tooke Fenells parte; uppon which the Councell was dissolved, and the said Lord of

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of
Limerick,
1651.

* The MS. of the Diary ends here.

xxxI. Clarendon Papers, 1651, No. 580, Bodleian Library.

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Castle Connell went to Fennell and had a longe priuat discourse with him, and afterwards Fennell having gotten fower ferquens of powder, etc., from the Mayor, turned the mussells of the artillery which was to play uppon the enemy uppon the citty, and said plainely that he would not parte the place afore the cittie were yeilded. This night the enemy planted a battery at the windemill, but soe high that it was to noe purpose. Saturday night they removed theire gabions into a lower place where they might play sure. Sunday in the morneing aboute ten of the clock they shott nyne greate shotts, broke theire battery peece, they gaue a seacond vollie of eight shotts, and uppon that a drumer was sent abroad to haue a tyme to send out Commissioners for the treatie. The agents went away the after noone with full power to conclude, and they sent in two Captains as hostages from the enemy. Munday they sent home for the hostages and they were sent abroad. The quarter was thus: that the inhabitants should with three monethes warneing goe away, bagge and baggage, and shall haue three other monethes to carry away theire goods which they should leaue behinde them; but the militia should march away without armes, onely the field officers to carry theire swords, and that all other persons then resident not exempted from quarter may march with the militia, and that they should haue a safe conduct to what part soeuer in Ireland they would be pleased to goe, not being garizon or hould of theires; but it was not performed. This evening Collonell Fenell suffered, by the Recorders order, two hundred redd coates into St. Joanes gate tower, and a company of redd coates was suffered into Price's mill by his order; and soe they continued untill Wednesday in the morneing and then a drumer was sent through the cittie comaunding all manner of troopers and souldiers in pay within the cittie to come to Our Ladyes church and there to laye downe theire armes, which presently don, and soe the souldiery were comaunded to march away. Ireton himselve came in within the gate and received the keyes, etc., and did comitt Major Neile. The cheefe authors of the plott were the new Mayor, Piers Creagh Fitz Piers, Piers Creagh Fitz Andrewe, the Recorder, Dr. Dominicke White, James Burke, Nicholas Fanning, James White, Alderman, and many burgesses, whereof Lawrence Rice, Lawrence White, David Creagh, Stephen White, Patricke Wolfe, and James Mahony were cheefest.

The cheefest exempted persons were the Major Generall, the two Bushops [of Emly and Limerick], Francis Wolfe, guardian of St. Francis, Captain Lawrence Welsh, priest, Dominic Fanning, Alderman, Tho. Stretch, Alderman, Edmond Roch, Burges, Patricke Fanning, Captain, John Sexten, David Rochford, Major Generall Pursell, Major Piers Lacie, Captain Ullicke Lacy, and others to the number of fower and twenty. For the persons executed I was not present, but I hard for certaine from those that came after me abroad that the Bushop of Imly, Major Purcell, Dominic Fanning, both his sons and his brother, Thomas Strech, Lawrence Welsh, Francis Woulfe, and George Woulfe weare putt to death. What became of the rest I doe not know.

Dr. William Layles.

Endorsed by Lord Clanricarde: A relation of the Surrender of Limericke, Oct 27, 1651.

XXXII. IRETON TO LENTHAL.

APPENDIX.

For the most Honorable William Lenthal, Esq.; Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

Mr. Speaker,

It was no small Blessing in order to your Affairs here, nor without manifest appearances of the Power and Providence of God, That your Forces entrusted with me, got a passage over the River Shanon so early in the Summer; But that for the matter of it (to such as neither saw nor can have a clear Relation of the maner and Circumstances wherein God appeared) being rather but the making way for further progress in your Businesses, then a thing of visible effect in itself, and nothing since then considerable having been effected by that part of your Forces with me, save the taking of some few small Castles in Thomond, and possessing of others that were of advantage and consequence for you, with Garisons; and those things of the like, or other nature, wherein God hath blest the rest of your Forces and Parties in other Parts, having, I suppose, come to your knowledge more immediately from the several persons commanding them. I have forborn to trouble you with any immediate account from myself of what hath been done; But God, who having onely given some Testimonies of his continuing Favor to your Cause, and presence with your Servants here in the beginning of this Summer's Service (in the giving of such a seasonable and easie Passage to us over the Shanon) and therewith (in a few days more, the Possession or Command of almost all the Passes over it, when before we had not any) hath since seen it good to deny us thus long any further considerable effect in any thing, and to exercise our Faith and Patience with divers small Losses in the surprize of several small Garisons and Parties, by the lurching Enemy (mixt with the smaller Successes he hath given to any of your Forces, having now vouchsafed to Crown the Summer's Service in the close of it, with giving into your hands a place of such Strength, Value and Importance, as the City of Limerick, I thought it my duty hereby to give you an account of it, and present to your view the Conditions* on which it is Surrendred to you, wherewith I thought it not amiss to send also a Copy of the Conditions† which about the end of June and beginning of July last, were thought fit by advice of your Council of War, here with me to be tendered to the Soldiery and people within (if they would have Surrendred then, but were rejected) by both which being compared together (as you will see them in inclosed Papers) you may finde how far God suffered them to be hardened then to their own loss in the issue, and hath made their Obstinacy then and since, serve to your greater advantage at last, not onely in point of Freedom for prosecution of Justice, one of the great Ends and best Grounds (before God and men) of the War you have maintained here; and in point of safety to English Planters, and the settling and securing of the Commonwealth's Interest in this Nation; but also in respect of valuable benefit to the State, which in the value

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to
Lenthal.

XXXII. A Letter from the Lord Deputy-General of Ireland upon Surrender of Limerick, 1651, *ante*, p. 241.

* See page 253.

† See page 241.

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Ireton
to
Lenthall.

of Arms and Ammunition, with some Goods of excepted persons, and of the Houses and Lands of the rest by the first Conditions tendered, in great part to have been granted away, but by these at last reserved clearly in your power) may be some considerable Compensation for your charge in the Four moneths longer Siege: For the length whereof, and detaining so great a part of your Forces from any other work considerable in all this Summer past, I can at this distance give onely this account at present, That it pleased God after that loss he left us to in the attempt upon the Island (which had it succeeded, had given us an easie way and visible advantage for a speedy attempt of the City by way of Force, that hath since been fully provided against by their industrious working) not to incline the hearts of our Officers at any of the Councils of War held since for that purpose, to think a way of present force against the place advisable, but onely to provide by way of Siege to starve them, until of late (after we had largely provided both for security and subsistence of a sufficient part of the Army (through Gods blessing) to have attended the Siege unto a far longer issue of extremity, finding the supposition of their sudden falling in want (which was conceived would have been in two Moneths, or three at the most, and so have given us some competent season for the work remaining) to fail us; and finding also some hopeful advantage for an attempt by way of Battery, at a place we had little observed before (God having as it were till very lately hid the advantage of it from our eyes) we resolved at last to try that way, whether it would please God (by the apprehensions of present danger to them in the way of force, added to the foresight of more certain extremity by Famine at last, though the other should fail) so to work upon their hearts within, as might induce a present Surrender before extremity of Winter, and so save your sickly Army from the hazards and hardships of a Winters Siege: And since this Resolution taken, sending to several places as speedily as we could for some more Battering-Guns to recruit our Train (in lieu of those so carelesly lost at Clare, as I suppose you have heard) so soon as we had a number of them competent for such a work, we began our Approaches in one night, and finished our Batteries and planted our Guns the second, and next morning began to Batter; whereupon they presently sent out to give us assurance they would accept our Conditions for the matter (which upon an overture of Treaty about three weeks ago we had tendred them, and about which they had sent out Commissioners since from time to time, still continuing or renewing the Treaty, but with no effect; and that day sending out Commissioners to us again in the evening, to have the Articles perfected in Circumstances) we came to a conclusion upon them by the next morning; we cannot tell whether the danger of present Force, or foresight of want did more incline them, but finde clearly that Divisions and Distractions within (which God alone had wrought amongst them) were most prevalent towards the Surrender: There marched out at the Surrender about Twelve or thirteen hundred Officers and Soldiers in pay (being decreased in the Siege to that number, from about Two thousand by the best account we had) and we finde yet in the Town, I believe, no less then Four thousand men able to bear Arms: It appears still very Populous, though since we came last before it, they have lost, as they account to us, above Five thousand Souls, what through the Sword without, and the Famine and Plague within (the last whereof is still violent

amongst them, to the great endangering your Soldiery here, if God by distinguishing mercy prevent not) and this way, as well as in the outstanding of better Conditions from us, God hath rendred their Obstinacy a scourge to themselves, and made us in the way he saw it good to incline us to a means to keep them under his own more immediate and righteous Judgement. We have about Three thousand five hundred Foot Arms already delivered up and brought into stores for your service, and Eighty three Barrels of Powder, with some store of other Ammunition, and some Pistols and old Saddles, but no Horses: We hope to finde yet more Arms and Ammunition, and intend speedily to clear the place of a multitude of People that are most dangerous (either in Quality or Infection) and by degrees it may be rendred more English, as you or your ministers shall finde opportunity of Planters, though there are now divers of the now Inhabitants (and some persons of Quality amongst them) whose carriage all along towards the English People and Interest, and particularly in this surrender, may deserve your admittance to continue here, and favorable dealing in point of their Estates. Of the persons excepted from quarter there was onely the Governor [Hugh O'Neill] and ten more, whose names are mentioned in the inclosed note, that rendred themselves at our mercy, none of which we have yet executed, nor are yet well resolved how to deal with them, though I suppose we shall see cause to execute some of them in a Military way, in relation to the holding out of the place, and for terrors to others; and there are others of them fit to be reserved for examples of Justice in a Judicial way, in relation to the first Rebellion and Murthers: But it hath pleased God since the surrender, providentially to discover and deliver into our hands, three persons of principal Activity and Influence in the obstinate holding out (the last years Major, the Bishop of Emley, and Major General Purcell; all whom we presently hanged, and have set up their heads on the gates; the two latter being original Incendiaries of the Rebellion and Mischiefs in it, or prime Engagers therein, and also one Captain Welsh a priest, whom we have not yet executed, but I think shall. Now besides the real importance and advantage of this place towards the further carrying on or ending the War, and the setling and securing of your Interest in this Nation (if God see it good) it is not unhopeful that the terror and sad example of it may so work upon other places remaining (through God's blessing) as to hasten or facilitate the reducement of them, as much as the long detaining us at this Siege hath retarded it, save that the winter season and difficulty of subsisting now (for Horse or men) in the Field, about their remaining Garisons, may give them so much breathing time, as to digest and forget this example; however, it was a Mercy most seasonable, in relation to the present condition of your Men, and state of your Affairs in this Land (as well as great in effect) that this place was now Surrendred to you on such Terms; and God doth (by the extremity of Winter weather, ever since our Agreement, whereas he had till then, favored us with a more dry and gentle Season then hath been ordinarily known before for so long time together, and so late in the year) make it appear more feeling to be so: And you (as we that serve you here) may accordingly adde it to the account of those other great Blessings and Deliverances, and more glorious Workings of God's good hand towards you this year in England and Scotland, which you have to acknowledge to the Praise of his

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Great Name, and improve to his further Honor and Service in the advancement of Righteousness and Truth in the Three Nations, and furthering the Exaltation of all that is indeed the Interest of the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath so graciously owned, and thus far Upheld and Established yours. Now that you, and those that serve and partake with you in these things, may be both intent to consider and seek, and taught of him more and more what maner of persons we ought to be, and what to do for his Name, and made (through his greater Grace) both really to be, and faithfully to do in some sort more answerable to such peculiar Favors of his, and Experiences or Testimonies thereof towards us, and preserved by him from the many Snares and Temptations, attending such Advantages to such corrupt Natures, is still the heart's desire and prayer of him, who hath been very little, and grows less able otherwise to serve you.

Your most humble Servant,

Limerick, 3. Novemb., 1651.

H: Ireton.

XXXIII. LUDLOW'S ACCOUNT OF SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF LIMERICK.

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"Tho' the news of these successes much discouraged our enemies in Ireland, yet those in Limerick were not without some hopes, that either the plague, or scarcity of provisions, together with the badness of the weather, might constrain us to raise the siege; and therefore refused to accept such conditions as we were willing to grant. The line which we had made about the town, and the forts being in a condition of defence, the deputy [Ireton] resolved to look after the enemy in the county of Clare, and if possible, to get some provisions from thence for the relief of the army. He took me with him, knowing I had been in those parts before, and between three and four thousand horse and foot. At our approach to the places where the enemy usually were, we divided our body, the deputy being at the head of one, and I at the head of the other party; hoping by this means so to encompass the enemy, that they should not escape us: but tho' we sometimes came within sight of them, and used our utmost endeavours to engage them, yet by reason of the advantages they made of the woods, rocks, hills, and bogs, for their retreat, we could do them little hurt, save by seizing their horses and cattle. In the absence of this party from the army, the enemy with two thousand foote made a sally out of Limerick so unexpectedly upon our men, that they had almost surprized our guard of horse; but ours immediately mounting, and being not accustomed to be beaten, charged them, and notwithstanding the inequality of the forces, they being much superior to us in number, put them to a stand, till a party of horse and foot came to their relief, and forced the enemy to retreat under the walls of the town, from whence their men fired so thick upon ours, that their own men had time to get into the town.

"When this account was brought from Sir Hardress Waller to the deputy, he was upon his return to the army before Limerick, having left me with about two

thousand horse and foot, as well to ease our quarters about the town, not knowing how long we might lie before it, as to endeavour to persuade the garison of Clarecastle, a strong place, and situated upon the river, to surrender. To that end, being arrived to the army, he sent one Lieutenant-colonel White, who had served the enemy, and now had a commission to raise forces for the king of Spain, with an order to me, to permit him to go to the said garison, that he might inform them of the impossibility of their receiving any relief, and of the necessities to which Limerick was already reduced, and thereby prevail with them to make speedy provision for themselves, and to list under him: but his design proving ineffectual, I found myself obliged to return to the camp before Limerick, where we made provision for a winter-siege.

"Great numbers of people endeavoured, to get out of the town, sent out by the garison, either as useless persons, or to spread the contagion amongst us. The deputy commanded them to return, and threatened to shoot any that should attempt to come out for the future: but this not being sufficient to make them desist, he caused two or three to be taken out in order to be executed, and the rest to be whipped back into the town. One of those that were to be hanged was the daughter of an old man, who was in that number which was to be sent back: he desired that he might be hanged in the room of his daughter, but that was refused, and he with the rest driven back into the town. After which a gibbet was erected in the sight of the town-walls, and one or two persons hanged up, who had been condemned for other crimes, that those within might suppose that execution to be for coming out; and by this means they were so terrified, that we were no farther disturbed on that account.

"The deputy, upon information received, that some in the town were desirous to surrender, and that others did violently oppose them, endeavoured by letters and messages to foment the division, declaring against several persons by name, that were most active and obstinate for holding out, that they should have no benefit by the articles to be agreed upon, severely inveighing against a generation of men, whom he called soldiers of fortune, that made a trade of the war, and valued not the lives or happiness of the people. This wrought the desired effect, and so encouraged the complying party, that it was carried for a treaty, and commissioners again appointed on each side. We insisted that about seventeen of the principal persons in the place should be excepted out of the articles, of which number were colonel Hugh O Neal, the governour, the mayor of the city, the bishops* of Limerick and Emmene [Emly], major-general Purcel, Sir Geoffrey Galloway, Sir Jeffrey Barron, one Wolf, a priest, Sir Richard Everard, and others. But these made so strong a party that the treaty was broke up without any agreement, and no other way left to reduce them but by force. In order to which the deputy caused the great guns to be landed from the ships, and others to be brought from the adjacent garisons. With these he erected a battery against the town, in the most convenient place that could possibly have been found, being against a part of the wall, which though it was of the same height and thickness with the rest of it, and

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* Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick.—Torlogh Albert O'Brien, Bishop of Emly.

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also as well flank'd ; yet it proved not to be lined with earth within, as all other parts were, nor had any counterscarp without.

“ In the mean time the Parliament seeing a period put to the war in England and Scotland, and that of Ireland drawing towards a conclusion, resolved to gratify such officers as the general recommended to their favour ; and thereupon settled a thousand pounds yearly on major-general Lambert, three hundred on major-general Overton, the same on colonel Pride and colonel Whalley ; five hundred pounds annually on commissary-general Reynolds ; a thousand pounds per annum on the Lord Broghill. They also settled four thousand pounds a year on the Lord-general himself, out of the estates of the duke of Buckingham and marquis of Worcester, besides the two thousand five hundred pounds a year formerly granted. This they did to oblige him by all means possible to the performance of his duty, or to leave him without excuse if he should depart from it. They ordered also an act to be brought in for settling two thousand pounds per annum on the lord-deputy Ireton ; the news of which being brought over, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, ‘ They had many just debts, which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents ; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it ; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure.’ And truly I believe he was in earnest ; for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the state to the best advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own purse and person in the public service.

“ Our battery being now in order, and the regiments that were appointed to storm, disposed to their several posts, we began to fire ; directing all our shot to one particular part of the wall, wherein we made such a breach, that the enemy not daring to run any farther hazard, beat a parley, and soon came to a resolution to surrender upon the articles we had offered before, delivering up the east-gate of the out-town, which was separated by a river, having a draw-bridge over it from the other town. The deputy ordered all the arms and ammunition to be carefully preserved, and the soldiers who were not of the town, to be drawn up between the place and our army, that such as desired it might have convoys to conduct them to their respective parties ; and that those who would return to their habitations, might have passes granted to that effect. The governour, colonel Hugh O Neal, met the deputy at the gate ; where he presented him with the keys of the city, and gave order for the marching out of the soldiers, who were not townsmen, according to the articles. They were in number about two thousand five hundred men. As they were marching out, two or three of them fell down dead of the plague. Several of them also lay unburied in the church-yard. The governour waited on the deputy to shew him the stores of arms, ammunition, and provisions, which were sufficient to have lasted near three months longer. He shewed him also the fortifications, and whatsoever else he desired of him, withal acquainting him, that nine or ten of those who were exempted from the benefit of the articles had surrendered themselves to his mercy, and were waiting his orders in a certain house which he named : upon which the deputy commanded a guard to be set upon them, and committed the governour also to their custody. The bishop of Emmene [Emly] and major-general Purcel, with Wolf, the priest, were taken in the pest-house, where

they had hid themselves. Jeffrey Barron and Sir Geoffrey Galloway surrendered themselves. Two days after the delivery of the town, the mayor came to the place of worship, where our court of guard met; and whether by his words or actions he gave cause of suspicion, I cannot tell, but they seized him, and upon examination found who he was; whereupon they commanded him to prison. The bishop of Limerick was the only person excepted that was yet undiscovered; but we afterwards understood him to be one of a more peaceable spirit than the rest. A court-martial was assembled, and the bishop of Emmene [Emly], with major-general Purcel, required to acquaint them, if they had anything to say, why they should not die according to the sentence passed upon them. The bishop said, that having many sins to confess, he desired time to prepare himself to that purpose, which was granted. Major-general Purcel fell upon his knees, and begged earnestly for his life, but that was denied. This poor man was of so low a spirit, that wanting courage at the time of his execution, he stood in need of two musqueteers to support him. The bishop died with more resolution, and Wolf, the priest, was also executed. The governour and Jeffrey Barron were also condemned to die; but the deputy resolving to hear them, demanded of the governour what he had to say for himself: who answered, that the war had been long on foot before he came over; that he came upon the invitation of his countrymen; that he had always demeaned himself as a fair enemy; and that the ground of his exception from the articles, being his encouraging to hold out, though there was no hope of relief, was not applicable to him, who had always moved them to a timely surrender, as indeed he made it appear: and therefore hoped, that he should enjoy the benefit of the articles, in confidence of which he had faithfully delivered up the keys of the town, with all the arms, ammunition and provisions, without embezzlement, and his own person also to the deputy. But the blood formerly shed at Clonmel, where this colonel O Neal was governour, had made such an impression on the deputy, that his judgment, which was of great weight with the court, moved them a second time to vote him to die, though some of us earnestly opposed it, for the reasons before mentioned by himself; and because whatsoever he had been guilty of before, had no relation to these articles, which did not at all exempt him from being called to an account by the civil magistrate for the same. The court having passed sentence of death a second time against him, the deputy, who was now entirely freed from his former manner of adhering to his own opinion, which had been observed to be his greatest infirmity, observing some of the officers to be unsatisfied with this judgment, referred it again to the consideration of the court, who by their third vote consented to save his life. Jeffrey Barron having the same question put to him with the rest, answered, That it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause as we pretended to fight for, which was for the liberty and religion of his country. The deputy replied, That Ireland being a conquered country, the English nation might with justice assert their right of conquest: that they had been treated by the late government for beyond their merits, or the rules of reason; notwithstanding which they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, robbed them of their goods which they had gained by their industry, and taken away the lands which they had purchased with their money: that touching the point of religion,

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there was a wide difference also between us, we only contending to preserve our natural right therein, without imposing our opinions upon other men ; whereas they would not be contented unless they might have power to compel all others to submit to their impositions upon pain of death. The council of war looking upon what he had said for himself to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die, as they did the mayor also ; and the sentence was executed accordingly.

"Limerick being taken, it was debated in a council of war, whether we should march to Galway in order to reduce that place, which had been besieged for some time by Sir Charles Coote and commissary-general Reynolds. I concurred with the deputy, that the garison being under a great consternation by the loss of Limerick, would probably soon be brought to reason ; but most of the officers complaining of the ill condition of their men through sickness and hard service, representing also the near approach of winter, we being already entered into the month of November, the deputy contented himself to send only a summons to general Preston, governour of Galway, with offers of such conditions as were first tendered to those of Limerick, assuring him at the same time, that if he refused them, he should have no better than they had been lately obliged to submit to. This proposition he rejected ; but being unwilling to hazard the event, took shipping soon after, and went beyond sea."

XXXIV. THANKSGIVING IN LONDON FOR SURRENDER OF LIMERICK.

Friday the 28th of November, 1651.

28. Nov.

Thanksgiving
in London
for Surrender
of
Limerick.

Ordered by the Parliament,

That the Ministers in the several Congregations within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the late Lines of Communication and weekly Bills of Mortality, Do on the next Lords-day come Seven-night, render solemn Thanks to Almighty God for his great and seasonable Mercy to this Commonwealth, in the delivering up into the hands of the Parliament Forces in Ireland, under the Command of the Deputy-General, the strong and Populous City of Limerick, with all the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition therein, upon the Thirtieth of October, One thousand six hundred fifty one ; and in the taking of the Isle of Jersey and the Isle of Man, with all the Castles and Forts, Ordnance and Ammunition therein.

Ordered, That the Lord Major, and Committees of the Militia's, be required to take order for notice of this Order to be given.

Hen : Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

XXXV. GRANT OF LANDS IN ULSTER TO COLONEL ROBERT VENABLES, 1651.

9. Dec.

Grant
to
Venables.

Whereas by order of Parliament of the 20th of December, 1650, it was referred to the Lord Deputy and the Commissioners then going into Ireland to take the accompts of Collonell Robert Venables for his former services in England, and to

xxxiv. A Letter from the Lord Deputy-General of Ireland upon Surrender of Limerick, 1651, *ante*, p. 241.

xxxv. MS. in Library of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, p. 194.

give him satisfaccion for what shall appeare to be due unto him, upon such an accompt, out of rebells lands in Ireland, or otherwise as they shall thinke fitt and best for the service of the state: The said Collonell Robert Venables having delivered an accompt in writing upon oath to the said Commissioners wherein is set forth his respectiue services in England before his coming over for Ireland and the sumes of money which are due unto him for the same, amounting in the whole to two thousand one hundred and eighty pounds fifteen shillings, whereof hee acknowledged to haue received five hundred and fifty pounds in parte thereof: the said Commissioners having examined the vouchers warranting the said accompt, and having deducted foure hundred and seaven pounds tenn shillings (over and above the said five hundred and fifty pounds) for free quarter, it doth appeare to the said Commissioners that there remains due to said Collonell Robert Venables for all his service don in England as aforesaid the sume of one thousand two hundred twenty three pounds five shillings, for which said sum of £1223, 05, the said Commissioners, in pursuance of the powre given them by the said recited order of Parliament, doe order that the said Collonell Robert Venables shall have sattisfaccion for his said arrears in rebells land in Ireland. To which end the Commissioners of the Revenue of the province of Ulster or any three or more of them are hereby authorized and required to appoint such lands within the said province of Ulster as are rebells lands forfeitted to the Comonwealth of England, of the value of two hundred and twenty pounds per annum, as they were let for, or worth in the yeare 1640, or at any time before, and cause the same forth with to be surveyed upon oath; and that they or any three or more of them doe grant a Comission to some able and fitt person to survey such lands which said Comission and Instruccions are to be according to the forme hereunto annexed, and that the said Commissioners of Revenue doe give to such person as shall so survey the same such oath as is hereunto annexed, and to cause the survey so taken to be returned under their hands and seales unto the said Commissioners of Parliament with all convenient speede.

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Dated Dublin, 9th December, 1651.

XXXVI. LORD MUSKERRY'S INSTRUCTIONS TO PATRICK ARCHER.

Instructions for Mr. Patricke Archer.

1. To desire all the armes, amunition, prouition, and monyes to be sent for some of the ports or harbours in our possession in the countye of Corcke or Kerry as beinge farr more conuenient, and salfe, espetially the proportions, or what may be intended for the seruice of Leinster and Mounster.

2. To presse earnestly for 3 or 4 good frigotts, well manned, and fitted with all necessaryes, only to attend uppon our weastearne partes, where they shall be well secured, and haue many frequent and aduantadgious opportunityes to doe very

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xxxvi. Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle. For Archer's letter to Ormonde, in relation to the above, see No. xxxix, p. 279.

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great seruices vppon the enemye; for they may be secured in good harbours, and noe shipp can stirr too or from Gallway or from Limbericke, but that it shall lye in their ellection to leaue or take; besides the frigotts that lye there haue conueniencie and aduantadge inough to make their searches, and inroads vppon the coasts of England, France, and Spaine at their owne ellection; for those harbours lyes equally conuenient for all those countryes. This is of soe great importance and consequence that I am confident, if the aduantadges of those places weare knowne to seamen of war, there would be great ressorte and dependencie for the sea seruice vppon those places.

3. To instance and make knowne the great consequence of fortifyinge the riuier of Kilmane and the island of Valentia: for the later I conceaue it is the most advantadgiuous place for shippes of warr that is in the King's dominions, for it is an islande containeing 22 plowlands which I suppose to amounte vnto 8,000 ackers of very good lande one syde of it vppon the oation, the same wynde that carryes you out bringes you in for you come into a great bay that streatches itselfe betweene the island and the maine, by two commaunding points which being fortified will secure 2000 shippes from seaboord, and it is impossible to blocke in anny vessells in regarde noe shipp can ryde or ancker without the two points that are mentioned to be fortified, those two woorkes I suppose may be compassed with a 1000^{li} chardge, and manninge these, but with 200 men will secure the place against the power of the Parlement by sea, and from land soe longe as there is anny life or motion left in the people. It is the brauest place that can be to secure and refresh anny releefe of horses, that may be intended for the seruice of this countrye, and I suppose whosoeeuer will vndertake for the rescute or recouery of this kingdome, must necessarily furnish, and prouide a good stocke of horses: for the horses of the kingdome are destroyed betweene the enemye and us, and such as are left the enemye haue 3 for one, and by the countenance and power of their cavellerye, they beat us in all places, soe that I conceaue it a most principall and necessarye parte of the vndertakeinge to furnish and prouide horses from abroad, otherwise I feare the worke will proue more difficult then may be supposed or imagined; for the riuier of Keanmare it is at least 20 mile, that it runns into the countrye the most plentifull and opulent riuier in the kingdome for fishing and very commodious and hugely stored with great woods, that afford abundance of pipe staues, hogsed staues, all kind of other necessarie tember and espetially shipp tember as good as anny in the woorld, there are many fine creekes and good rydeinges after you come in at the head of the riuier, but there is one pointe (after you runn foure or fve leagues into the riuier) if fortified, will secure all shippes that comes within it. It is soe commaunding that it is not aboue a pistoll shot ouer, and a shipp of 500 tunn will ryde in at halfe flood, and within the pointe it spreads soe broade and conuenient, that 500 shippes will ryde salfe and secure.

4. To moue that 1,000 men may be sent ouer of vetterant shouldiers well officered, and vnder the conduct of a good commaunder, these men to land with all exspedition at Vallentia, where they may countenance the finishinge of the fortification, and be in a reddines to fall vppon the recoueringe of Dingle which lyes within 5 leauges, a handsome walled towne, and an excellent harbour; an engineer, and some pioniers

(I meane some skillfull woorkemen) will be very necessary, and all tooles, and befittinge materialls for the fortifications, must not be forgotten.

5. You are to satisfie youreselfe before yow appeere in anny thinge, whether the Duke of Loaraine does intend really to prosecute the seruice of this kingdome, with such vigor and life, as may doe it good, if soe yow are to make youre applications vnto him, and to pursue youre instructions, but if yow doe not finde it a reall thinge, and an attempt that may be for other respects then purely for the preservation of country and people, you are to silence what you haue to offerr from me. There is none more liekely to vnderstand the right meaninge and scoape of what is intended by the Duke, then my deare frend, Collonell John Murphy with whome you are to be free, and to communicate, and aduice with in all that concernes me.

6. You are to direct all vessells that is comminge for the seruice of this kingdome, at least Leinster and Mounster, for Croockehauen, Beerehauen, the Riuer of Kennmare, or the Island of Vallentia; if for Croockehauen, they are to inquire for Collonell Driscolle, or Cnogher O'Mahowndy Feowne; if at Beerehauen, for Mr. O'Swelliuan Beere, Phillipp O'Sweelliuan, his brother, or Marcus McOwen Swilliuan; if at the Riuer of Keanmare, for Mr. O'Swilliuan More, Mr. McFinnin, or Owen McOwen Swilleuan; if at Valentia, for Collonell Daniell Oge McCarthy, McMorris O'Connell, or Mr. Mac Kreoghne.

If you finde the businesse right, and that it be a reall thinge you are to communicate youre instructions, and my intentions, vnto the Commissioners, my Lord of Fearnese and Collonell John Murphy: by whose concurrence and aduice you are to offerr and propose what they shall thincke further fitt, as beinge best judges vppon the place.

Galloway, the 7th of December 1651.

MUSKERY.

This is a true coppye of my Lord of Muskery his instructions vnto me; and by his Lordships commaunds laid on me, [I] am to direct the coppye thereof with my letters to youre Excellencye.

I am youre Excellencye's faithfull seruant,

PATRICKE ARCHER.

Endorsed: 7th Dec., 1651. A coppye of my Lord of Muskery his instructions to Mr. Patricke Archer.

If there be noe hopes of considerable supplies from the Duke of Loraine, or that the Kinge be not in a growinge condition to beare vpp in England, all is lost heere, and it will be necessarye in tyme, to thincke how to gett conditions abroade, for there will be noe liuinge in this clymate, espetially for a gentleman of anny consideration or interest; at least if it come to that passe I am resolved to take some forraine coorse for a liuelyhood, for I am certaine there is noe trustinge at home. This you are to signifie vnto my Lord Lieutenant as you go thorough Fraunce, and vnto Collonell John Murphy, when you come to Flaunders, that you may bringe a returne of their sence what coorse they would conceaue most aduantageous for me to steere for conditions abroade; you are to satisfie youreselfe whether the Duke of Loaraine does intend really to prosecute the seruice of this

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kingdome, with such vigor and life as may doe it good. If soe you are to make youre applications vnto him, and to pursue youre instructions, but if you find it an attempt that may be for other respects, then purely for the preservation of countrye and people you are to silence what you haue to offerr from me. There is none more likely to vnderstand the right meaninge, and scoape of this businesse then my deere frend, Collonell John Murphy, with whome you are to be free, and to communicate all that concernes me. You are to propose such other thinges as you will finde fitt and conuenient when you are vpon the place, which I cannot soe well discerne or be aware off att this distance, and in such additions you are to aduice Collonell Murphy.

MUSKERY.

This is a true coppye of the last and privatt instructions that my Lord gaue me, and laid commaunds on me to send the coppye to his Excellencye the Lord Leuf-tenant by the first poast, vnlesse I had passed thorough Fraunce, this much by

Youre Excellencye's most humble seruant,

Att Gallway, the 14th of December, 1651.

PATRICKE ARCHER.

Endorsed : A coppie of the Instructions for Mr. Patricke Archer.

XXXVII. LYNCH, BISHOP OF CLONFERT, TO LIEUTENANT GENERAL FARRELL AND
ULSTER COMMANDERS.

Noble friends,

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1. Jan.
Bishop
Lynch
to
General
Farrell.

Yours of the last of November or thereabouts came to my hands but this new yeares day late in the night, and returned the very originall, inclosed in myne owne to the Mayor and Councell towne of Gallway, whose answeare unto yow with a letter to me of thankesgivinge for your gallant resolutions and your good inclinations to helpe themselves (reduced to a low ebb) where they promise me they will not onely ever acknowledge themselves obliged but will take a speedie course, and the best way they can, for the requiteall of what service yow will doe them. They earnestly prayed me to hasten yow thereunto, and I humbly pray that yow faile not theire expectation in theire greate extremity of feares and other inconveniences. Morover, it were good that your owne party should doe some good before the Duke's comeing. My advice unto yow is not to fight by the assistance of any of those that incurrd soe many excommunications, vnlesse they submitt and cry for absolution, if possibly yow can doe it. If yow can not prevaile with them that way, sooner then the service should be hindred, lett them not say that yow should faile and their iniquity on themselves. Thus with my blesseing, prayeing once more yow march together with all the speede yow can for the releefe of the said towne, as it is desired in the inclosed and expected by all your friends in these partes, I take leave to be as alwayes,

Honored Sirs,

Your most humble seruant in Christ Jesus,

Walter, B[ishop of] Clonfertt.

The Inclosed for the Commissioners of Linster I pray yow dispatch your selves, and I send another to the same purpose another way.

For my honored friends Lieutenant Generall Farrell and the Comaunders of the Ulster Army.

Copia vera: Jo: Lambert.

Endorsed: Jan. 1, 1654. — Encouraging them to go on in their design for the relief of Galway and not to use the assistance of any of the excommunicated unless they cannot do without it.

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Lynch
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XXXVIII. ORDER BY ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS FOR IRELAND, 1651-2.

By the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affairs of Ireland.

Vpon consideration had of the great supplies succour and relief the enemy daily receive from several counties and places in this nation, under the protection of the Parliament of England, their army and forces; whereby the war is prolonged, the enemy and their adherents enabled to commit daily murthers, robberies and spoile upon the English, and such others as desire to live peaceably under the Parliaments protection. For the better prevention whereof, the said Commissioners of Parliament (upon advice and consideration had, at a generall meeting with sundry officers of the army) do order and declare;

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Parliamentary.
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Ireland.

First, That all smiths who work upon iron for shoeing of horses, making plough irons, bils, or any other work: and all sadlers, bridlemakers, cutlers and stockers of fire arms; that now do, or hereafter shall live out of any garison, castle or fort possessed by any of the parliaments forces; shall, and are hereby required and comanded within 20 days after publick proclamation made hereof in the county where such persons do live, to remove themselves and families, their forges and tools belonging to them, and by them used, into or within musquet shot of som garison, castle, or fort possessed and kept by som of the Parliaments forces. And to that end the commander in chiefe in every county, or Commissioners of the revenue of that precinct, or the captain or other commander in chief of every garison, castle or fort respectively upon request made unto them by any person that shall in conformity to this order, remove his habitation, family, goods and such tools as abovesaid; shal and may, and are hereby authorised and required to permit such persons to live within the said respective garisons, castles or forts; or within musquet-shot of the same, where the said respective governours shall appoint, there to use and exercise their trades. And if any such person after the time above limited shall reside, worke upon iron, or use his or their said trades otherwayes than in or within musquet-shot of such garison, castle or fort as abovesaid; such person so offending shall for the first offence forfeit and lose his tools, and all other his goods and chattels and suffer imprisonment without bail or mainprize by the

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space of 6 months. And shall for the second offence bee adjudged, taken and deemed to be voluntarily ayding and assisting to the enemy ; and suffer pains of death.

Secondly, That after the time above limited, no person shall sell or utter, or willingly suffer to be sold or uttered, any bars of iron, or any unwrought iron to any person whatsoever, but within some garrison, castle or fort possessed and kept by the Parliaments forces : and that no such iron be sold without a ticket or license in writing, from the commander in chief, or governour of such garrison, fort and castle, specifying the name of the person so buying, and the quantitie thereof, and the place where the same is to be wrought and used. Which said ticket, the said governours or their deputies, in their absence, are to cause to be given freely, upon demand and request, without demanding or taking any thing for the same, upon the pains and forfeitures aforesaid, to be inflicted on such person or persons as shall sell or utter any such bars of iron otherwise than as abovesaid.

Thirdly, That after the time above limited, no smith or other person shall sell or utter any hors-shoes, or hors-nails other than such as are, or shall be set on, and shod upon horses within such garrisons, castles or forts possessed and kept by the forces of the Parliament, or within musket-shot of the same, without licence in writing first had from the governour, or commander in chiefe, or their deputie of such garrison, cittie, place, castle or fort where such horse-shoes and hors-nails shall be sold and uttered, upon the pains and forfeitures aforesaid.

Fourthly, That after the time above limited, no person or persons (other than farriers, sadlers, and other handicraftsmen belonging to the armie) shall make or cause to be made any pistols, muskets, fire-arms, swords, daggers, skeans, pike-heads, tucks, semiters, saddles, holsters, bits, bridles or any other amunition, furniture, or other instruments of war, but in such cities, garrisons, forts or castles as are in the possession of the Parliaments forces. And that no person or persons, shall sell or utter or willingly suffer to be sold and uttered, any arms, furniture of war, or other the premises, to any person or persons, without a ticket from the commander in chief, or governour for the time being, of such garrison or place where the same shall be sold or uttered, which ticket shall express the thing to be sold, and the person buying the same, upon the pains and forfeitures aforesaid, to be inflicted upon such person or persons as shall make, sell, or utter any instruments of war, and premises, otherwise than as abovesaid.

Fifthly, That after the time above limited, no person do sell ale, beer, wine or strong-waters to any person or persons whatsoever, but within such cities, towns, fort, castles, quarters, or places as are garrisoned, kept or quartered in by the Parliaments forces, and during the time that the said places shall be so kept or quartered in by the said forces, and no longer, upon the pains and forfeitures aforesaid.

Sixthly, That after the time above limited, no fair or market be thenceforth kept or used, but in such cities, towns, and places as are or shall be garrisoned, possessed and kept by the forces of the Parliament of England, at the time of keeping and holding of such fairs and markets, or in such places as are or shalbe appointed by the commander in chief of such countie and precinct, upon the pains and fore-

feitures aforesaid, to be inflicted upon such person or persons that shall buy or sell any wares or other goods in the fairs or markets aforesaid.

Seventhly, And it is further ordered, That all commanders in chief in every respective countie and precinct, all Commissioners of revenue, all governours or commanders of castles, do cause this order and declaration to be published and proclaimed within their respective quarters and precincts. And the said commanders governours, Commissioners of revenue, and all other officers and souldiers, are to put this declaration in execution, and to cause diligent search and enquire to be made after all such persons as offend in the premises, and to cause the persons so offending, and every of them to be apprehended and committed to some garrison or castle where they may be kept with most securitie, until due trial may be had and taken of the said offenders: And all Commissioners for the administration of justice, justices of the peace, or any three or more of them, shall, and hereby have power to enquire, hear and determin of the sad offences, and of all persons offending in the premises, as to justice and right shall appertain.

Provided, That no person or persons shall be questioned for any of the offences above mentioned, but within six months after the offence committed.

Provided further, That this declaration shall not extend to the counties of Down, Antrim, London-Derrie, Donnegal, and Fermanagh, nor any the inhabitants thereof, other than such places, and inhabitants thereof, within the said counties, as the Commissioners of the publick revenue of the said counties, or any three or more of them (at or before the publication hereof) shall declare in writing, to be liable to the orders and resolutions abovesaid, and be subject to the penalties and forfeitures above specified.

Provided also, That this order shall be in force until the tenth of February 1652. and no longer, without further order or direction therein from the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, or the said Commissioners of Parliament, or others by the said Parliament thereunto authorized.

Dated at Kilkenny 13 January 1651[-2].

Edm. Ludlowe. Miles Corbet. Jo. Jones: John Weaver.

XXXIX. PATRICK ARCHER TO ORMONDE.

Bruxells, the 19th January, 1651-2.

May it please youre Excellencye,

I have departed Gallway the 20th of December last, in the small galliot wherein Captaine James Dillon commaunded, and sent over thither by the Duke of Loaraine, and wee arriued the 27th of the same in Ostend salfe according English computation. The next day after I came hither in my way where I thought to meete with Collonell John Murphy, to whome I was directed by my Lord of Muskery to shew and intimatt my letters and instructions,* vnto; before

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I had appeered before his Heighnes the Ducke of Loaraine, and had made knowen vnto him such orders, and instructions as I* . . . from my Lord; But Collonel Murphy his absence heere, has hindred me hitherto not to goe forward in any thing since my comming hither these 5 or 6 dayes, that I am heere; but the second day after my comminge hither I sent an expresse for him to Lyle, where his regiment garrisons, and besides I writt by the poast for feare that the messenger should faile, soe that this night or by to morrow night . . . expect to heere from him at farthest; but before he comes, or that I heere from him I am resolved . . . to appeere before his Highnes; but will goe accordinge my instructions given me.

The inclosed letters I send your Excellencye from my Lord with the true cōpye of my instructions given me by my Lord of Muskery, whoe employed me hither, as yow may see by the said instructions to serue my country. The smalest of both, he bidd me not to shew to any body, but to send a cōpye thereof to youre Excellencye vnlesse I had mett yow, and to shew it to Collonel Murphy, towhome my Lord layes a great deale of confidence;—the said paper or instructions is dated the 14th of December last, beinge the day before my Lord departed Gallway to goe to the countye of Kerry, whoe gott a very faire passadge, goeing thither, by sea, after beinge in Gallway about 6 weekes expectinge a passadge, or an opportunitye to goe thither.

The 3 packetts from my Lord Deputye I direct alsoe to youre Excellencye, he hauinge intrusted them into my hands, and did soe earnestly desire them to be safely conveyed to youre Excellencye; I would haue directed, and sent all by the last poast, but for feare of interceptinge or miscariadge; in hope I may hitt vpon so . . . securer or salfer way to haue them sent away; as alsoe expectinge Collonel Murphy his comminge . . . and that I may be in a way to signifie to youre Excellencye what answear the Ducke of Loaraine would give us vpon our application vnto him, but for feare that it may hinder the speedy releefes of our nation, and country, the delay in sendinge of them, I thought it very fitt to see them dispatched away.

When Collonel Murphy comes to towne, and that wee appeare before his Highnes, vnlesse I see gallant resolutions, and speedy releefes to be sent to releuee us; as soone as I heere from youre Excellencye by this poast, I am to come and kisse youre Excellencye's hand; wheresoeuer yow will be, and if his Maiestie be there to present my most humble seruice to him, and to kisse his hand too, as one of his poorest subiects; for ile never be the man that will receade of my former principles, and as for my true loyalty to him still, while I liue, God willinge, lett whoso will doe it.

I shall desire earnestly youre Excellencye not to faile vpon the returne of this poast, but to lett me only know how to dispose of meselfe heere, whether I shall goe or stay heere, vnlesse wee see good resolutions for our speedy releefes; for vnlesse the releefes be sent now within these two moneths and a halfe before the springe drawes on, I would not give 3d for all their releefes, soe many Parlement shippis will then be at sea: And I know . . . it lies much in youre Excellencye to woorke with his Maiestie to dispatche letters to . . . Ducke cheerefully for the more

* Defects in the MS. are indicated thus . . .

expeditinge of the said releefes, for the expedition of it is all that wee desire most. Ile referr youre Excellencye of all newes to my Lord Deputye, and my Lord of Muskery his letters, but for youre better comfort, and be very confident of it, that our men weare neuer soe prosperous nor soe successefull since this commotion, as they weare this last sommer, they haue done more service by partyes vppon the enemyes then was done this foure yeeres past both in Leinster and Monster. They haue cutt off, Ile assure you, aboue 1600 horse of the enemyes in the seuerall partyes that mett in both the prouinces, and to my owne knowledge I could shew youre Excellencye the very particulars of all, consideringe the 300 and odd horse of Coote's, that weare routed by Dungan vppon the releefe of Gallway but 10 mile from thence there were 11 score horses broght then for Gallway, and their baaggadges; and aboue 250 dead bodyes in the very place of the horsemen; wee lost but one man. Ile assure yow, Will Boorke was ther with Sir Walter Dungan in service. Wee haue as gallant and as good men as any men in Christendome, if wee had but means and mony to keepe them togeather; and commaunders to doe execution accordinge desert: they haue contribution to the very gates of Dublin, Waterford, Kilkenny and Limbericke, and as much as the enemy; not a man of the enemy dares pipe out 3 mile from their garrisons lesse then 30 or 40 horse, and seuerall tymes they are mett and cutt off; Dungan, Scurlogge and Naish, they are the onlye actiue men in Leinster all this last sommer and haue done very gallant seruices; and Grace and Fitz Patrick alsoe has done the licke in Millicke, and other places. Assure youre selfe Coote has lost aboue 800 men in Millicke vppon lewseinge of it, and regaineinge of it againe by Fitz Patricke's men, and at last gaue very good quarter to our Leinster men which forced it. But I must confesse my Lord of Muskery has the best commaunding partye in the kingdome, and that are best kept in order, and vnder commaund for the present, and dus very good seruices daily vppon the enemy;—As for the treacherous surrender of Limbericke, Ile referr you to his Excellencye and my Lord's letters; but when I come thither I can name yow p[riva]tely the traitors and that has beene actiue in the giueinge of it vpp; and where their meanes lyes in Holland, and Fraunce, and vppon whose hands. And if youre Excellencye thinckes it fitt you may moue this much to his Majestie and to haue their meanes confiscated for the vse of his Maiestie for their treachery, or for youre Excellencye's vse, for I know p[riva]tely amongst them, they can haue no lesse than £2000 ster. at least in Holland and France. If he weare my brother that had beene in the act, I would not spare him in this particular; vnlesse you sett this forward, keepe it secret; and I know it may be easily done and procured, if his Majestie be pleased to do it in tyme. The powder sent ouer heere since last by Dillon's vessell was not worth 2s. the barrell, it was the basest that euer was seene, but the Commissioners and Monsieur St. Catherin would not haue us speacke a woord of it to the Ducke for feare it should hinder the releefe. But if the releefes goes forward, and resolutions taken accordingly, with expedition. If youre Excellencye thinckes it soe fitt, desire his Maiestie to write but two lines in his next letter to the Ducke, that not a barrell of powder shall goe or passe for that kingdome at least for Leinster and Mounster, which both prouinces layes their trust in me; but such powder as I trye with my owne instrument and that shall passe thorough

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my hands, and if any barrell of powder be naught, or defectiue after I passe it over, then lett my head suffer for it: haueinge nought else but my best wishes and respects euer attend youre Excellencye, whoe remaines

Yourre Excellencye's owne faithfull frend

and most humble seruant,

PATRICKE ARCHER.

Peerce Butler, of Bansagh, is dead in Limbericke, that is all . . dead of youre nearest frends since youre departure.

For his Excellencye the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, Lord Leuftenante Generall of Ireland these present att Paris or Cane. Hast. Hast. Hast.

Endorsed: Patrick Archer. Dat. 19. Rec. 26. Jan., 1651-2.

XL. MONITION TO ULSTER REGIMENTS, 1651-2.

1651-2.
9. Feb.
Monition
to Ulster
Regiments.

In pursuance of the statutes made by the congregation of the clergy of this province, at Cloghwater the 29 of July last, against colonels, captains, and other officers, their regiments and companies of the Catholique army of this province that stay from the rendezvouz, being called by the Lord Generall, or Commiss' Generall of the province: We do by these presents straitly command all Col. commanders and officers of the said army (under pains of that censure cald Interdiction) within ten dayes after notice hereof, to obey the command of the Lord General and Commiss' Generall, and in case of disobedience, we doe admonish the within expressed Col. commanders and officers so disobeying, that we will declare against them the censure cal'd Excommunicatio Latæ sententiæ & excommunicatio minor against their adherents, and all that communicate with them. We do also forbid any of the clergy secular or regular, of the province (under pain of suspition [suspension] and other paines and penalties that by the law we can inflict in like cases) to admit to divine service, or minister any sacraments to any of the Commanders, Coll. or officers disobeying this order, or the Lo. Generall, or the Commiss' Generall commanding. In witnesse whereof wee have hereunto set our hands this 9. of Febr. 1651[-2].

H. Ardmagh:

The names of those cited by this Excommunication.

Col. Con Backagh ô Neile with his regiment of horse.

Col. Bryan mac Cell and his regiment of horse.

Col. Cormocke mac Bryan ô Neile with his troop.

Capt. Cormock ô Mulhallan with his troop:

Capt. Shane Oge ô Neile with his troop.

Capt. Hugh Boy ô Neile with his troop.

Sir Phelim ô Neile with his regiment of foot:

Col. Turley mac Art Oge ô Neile with his regiment of foot.

Col. Bryan mac Hugh Boy ô Neile with his regiment of foot.

Col. Art mac Hugh Boy ô Neile with his regiment of foot.

XLI. ORDER BY ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS FOR IRELAND, 1651-2.

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By the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affairs of Ireland.

Whereas the places hereafter mentioned, within the province of Leinster, are known harbors and receptacles for the enemy and other bloody & mischievous persons, who do there assemble and meet together, and from thence do take all advantages and opportunities to commit murders, rapines, thefts, and all kind of spoil upon the English, and others that live in the said province under the protection of the Parliament and their army and forces: for the discovery of such persons, and the better prevention of the mischiefs abovesaid, upon the advice of severall officers and commanders of the army, at a council of war holden at Dublin; It is ordered, that from and after the 28 of this instant February, until March 1. which shall be in the year 1652: or untill the said Commissioners of Parliament shal otherwise declare and order, the counties, baronies, and places hereafter mentioned (except hereafter excepted) and all such persons as shal continue, inhabit, or be within the counties, baronies and places (except hereafter excepted) from and after the said 28 of this instant Febr. shalbe, and are hereby declared to be places and persons excepted from the protection of the Parliament of England, and the army and forces under their command.

The places to be excluded from protection as abovesaid, are as follow, (viz.) All the county of Wicklow, and all baronies and places within the said county (except hereafter excepted) scituate and being without the line or common highway leading from Ross to Adams-town, and from Adams-town to Eniscorthie, and from Eniscorthie along the river Slane[y] to the sea, and which doe lye without the said line or highway towards the counties of Wicklow and Caterlough. And all that part of the counties of Dublin, Kildare and Caterlough, scituate and being toward the county of Wicklow without the line or way leading from Bullock to Deans-Grange, and thence to Dundrum, and thence to Rath-farnam, and thence to Temple-Oge, and thence to Belgarde, and thence to Rath-cool, and thence to Naass, and thence to Harris-town, and thence to Cloath-lands-town,* and thence to Grangebeg, and thence to Blackrath, and thence to Moon, and thence to Balle-Moon, and thence to Ballenekill, and thence to Killerick, and thence to Grange-Fort, and thence to Kels-Town, and thence to Nurney, and thence to Dunlickney, and thence to Sleigoff, and thence to the river called the Barrow. Except such castles, forts and places, within the said counties (and every of them as abovesaid) as now are, or hereafter shall be garrisoned or fortified for the service of the Parliament of England, their armie and forces; and except such persons (not being Irish or Papists) as shall be licenced to dwell in any garrison, castle or fort, or within musket-shot of any castle or fort within the said counties as is or shall be garrisoned and kept for the service of the Parliament of England, their armie and forces, (such licence to be in writing, under the hands of the commanders in chief of the said

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XLI. "Mercurius Politicus," London: 1652, pp. 1484 6.

* Cotlandstown, in Dublin and Kildare.

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counties, or one of them respectively, and describing the stature, age and colour of the person so licenced, and that not to exceed the number of two persons that shall be so licenced, to reside in any one of the said garrisons, castle or fort within the said counties.

And it is further ordered and declared, That all persons, inhabiting or being, or that after the said 28. day of this instant February, shall inhabit and be in any of the said places excluded from protection as aforesaid, are to take notice hereof, and that they do remove themselves, families, catle and goods from the said places.

And it is further declared, That if any person or persons (not in the service of the Parliament), shall (from, and after the said 28. day of this instant February, until further order) be found within the said barronies, and other places excluded from protection, as aforesaid, they shall be taken, slain, and destroyed as enemies, and their catle, and other goods there found, shall be taken or spoiled as goods of enemies.

And all such persons as shall (after the said 28 of February 1651) harbour or hold intelligence with any person or persons, residing or being in or resorting unto any the places excluded from protection, as aforesaid, (knowing the persons to be such) shall be adjudged, deemed, and taken as persons that do hold intelligence with, or that do give succour unto the enemie.

And for better preservation of such as (in obedience to this declaration) shall remove themselves, families, and goods from any the places excluded as abovesaid, and (having no other places to resort to for their relief and subsistance) shall desire to dwell upon any waste, or un-tenanted lands, within the protection of the Parliament; it is hereby declared, that upon the request of such person respectively, unto the Commissioners of the revenue, within the said precinct, wherein such waste and un-tenanted lands do lie (in whatsoever countie the same be), the said Commissioners for the revenue (with the approbation of the governour of the garrison within such precinct) are hereby authorized and required to assign unto all, and every such person and persons, in proportion to their families, tenants, and stocks which they bring with them, who may plow, sow, reap, grase, and take all other the profits of such lands so to be assigned to them respectively without disturbance or molestation, onely paying and contributing (proportionable with others) to the publick taxes and charges of the countie or barronie where such lands do lie.

Dated at Dublin, 13. of February, 1651[-2].

Edm. Ludlowe.

John Jones.

Miles Corbet.

John Weaver.

XLII. ANTHONY GEOGHEGAN, PRIOR OF CONELL AND
VICAR-GENERAL OF MEATH.

APPENDIX.

1. ANTHONY GEOGHEGAN TO FATHER WILLIAM SHIELL.

Sir,

To satisfy your desire of newes, you may understand that on the 28th of the last 1651-2.
moneth there came to Aren a merchant shipp of Lorreyne, loaden with wheat, rye, 4. Feb. |
and powder, and about the same time, as is confidently sayd, a friggatt with twoe Anthony
shippes more landed at Inisbofin. The particulars of the later we could not find, Geoghegan
but all gives out of great preparations to be made by his Highnesse the Duke of to
Lorraine for our releefe, which is soone expected; but there is little hopes of 8, for, William
as it is written by some of the agents abroad, he is not willinge to goe through the Shiell.
businesse you knowe, thinkinge himselfe unable to strive with 12. By this you
may iudge what 40 and the rest of his friends should doe by workinge their wayes,
for which I have layed a foundation, though it seemes they neglect me, notwith-
standinge I would not have them or any be at any losse for me. I shallbe better
able to iudge of mens intentions by what one of this townsmen, beinge last moneth
prisoner with the enemy, deposeth, on examination. He heard them privately say
there was 30 shippes of the Duke of Lorraine at sea, and for feare [of] the ships on
this bay, keepe a double watch continually; soone experience will teach us, etc.

The newes come to my Lord Deputy from 8 is, that he intends to send him speedy
reliefe. How he is able to doe it God knowes. Meane time he desires this nation
houlds out by all meanes against 12, and that they apply themselves for patronage
to the Kinge of Portugall, but the successfull gentleman considers but little what
preparations they make against sommer to receaue the brunt of 12. If the service
of God had bene as deepe in the hearts of our nation as that Idoll of Dagon, a
foolish loyalty, a better course for their honor and preservation had bene taken in
time.

Prince Condé is beaten by Condé Harcuir [d'Harcourt] and the Kinge his party in
France. The Hollanders are like to be troubled by the State of England, unless they
pay nine millions for freedome of navigation in the narrow seas. A coniunction
is afoot between them, the Dane, Sweden, and French against the State of England.
Yet the Emperor and French are uppon sendinge of ambassadors to the State. I
pray lett me now know soone the condition my friends lives in and especially my
uncle Terence after his sicknesse, and what resolution your Catholique forces have,
which hath need to be high at present. I desire you take a speedy course for my
reliefe, and by God's permission you willbe noe looser.

It is thought the Assembly which is to meet here, 6th current, will make proposalls
to 12 in the behalfe of the nation, and Captaine Cleark, a seaman, offers to transport
their agents to that purpose and gett a Cessation meanetime. Many are against

XLII. See *ante*, pp. 11, 53—56; and vol. ii. pp. 138, 148.

1. Clarendon Papers, 1651. No. 641, Bodleian Library.

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4. Feb.
Anthony
Geoghegan
to
William
Shiell,

any treaty at all. My service to Mr. Cluanmacnose and the rest of my friends, and I conclude with this assurance euer to be

Yours most assuredly to serve you,
Signed: Ant. Geoghegan.

Gallway, 4 Febr., 1651[-2].

Copia vera: Jo: Lambertt.

For Mr. William Shiell, my assured freind, these. Baltshiell in the King's County.

Endorsed: Chiefly about assistance from the Duke of Lorrain: One of Fa. Geoghegan's intercepted letters.

I haue examined Fr: Geoghegan uppon oath to decypher the contents of Father William Shiell's letter, and he affirmed the cypher of eight is put for fiae, that is the Duke of Lorryne, 12 is put for the Parliament, 40 is put for Terence Coghlan, the foundation layd for Father Geoghegan his friends is to stick to the body of the nation for application to the Parliament in case of necessity; the cypher 8 is meant the Kinge, the successiue gentleman for misuccessiue gentleman, and that for meere pittty of him, seeinge noe successe in his way as yet.

Signed: James Fallon,
Vicar-Generall of Tuam.

Copia vera: Jo: Lambertt.

2. ANTHONY GEOGHEGAN TO MR. HALY.

Gallway, the 4th of Febr., 1651[-2], stylo veteri.

Sir,

4. Feb.
Anthony
Geoghegan
to
Mr. Haly.

I am sorry not to haue the happiness to haue receaved any letter from you since yours of the 17th of August, wherein you assured me of monethly correspondency, which truly had bene very usefull to forward what 67 hath ingaged
Father Geoghegan 157 in, wherein the later is nothing remisse, as 67 may understand by his seuerall
Philip Croly letters, if they be come to his hands; yet he hath reason to conceave that 109 and
Rome his friends of 166 forsooke him, or at least forgetts him, beinge not one syllable hath
Abbot Crilly he gott from them or any of his friends abroad besides 67, to whome he cannot
The Assembly but owne great obligations. 72 is being prorogued the 10th of November at James-
the Machivillian towne is sayd to meet heere the sixt instant, for which 136 issued sumons; but most
Lorraine are of opinion few will come to him, and these only of his owne party, soe that
whatever they determine on, is not like to be of such force, as they will seeke to
give it a name; there is but small hopes now here of 99, seing they receaue not

much comfort though a shipp of 300 tunne, loaden with wheat, rye, and powder, came lately on his scoare. It is like that it willbe resolved soone that 68 willbe sent to 151 to propound in the behalfe of 118, and all my feare is that they will bee of 135 his faction as those formerly sent to 99 were. Yet will not 157 fayle to doe his best that they be not; but accordinge 67 his minde and to do accordinge as he will direct, that if otherwise it falles out 67 may take a course for it there, and 157 will doe his best here; I meane that a right understandinge may be betweene 124 and 90 that are true here. For I thinke it the safer way for 90 and the best means for 124 to curbe 158, who otherwise by the submission of 163 his party will growe very stronge. It is thought that a party out of 130 and 176 will soone come to joyne with the forces of 86. All of the well affected 90 which if oncè they joyne and doe some service on 52, 30, 30, 46, all 90 will declare against 136 and 163 his party, and for religion, and doe all according 67 his 125. Otherwise there willbe noe other end but every one to doe for himselfe, and I hope your promise to 157 his friends will take effect then, who desires you write in his favour to 57, 30, 41, 50, 45 and other your friends in this countrey, for he doth acknowledge you much obligation, and in case any thinge would be objected to 157 to be acted by him against 151 67 may assure himselfe and others he can not observe his orders otherwise then by doinge as he doeth, as is in soe doinge more usefull to 67 then else. If thinges come soone to a settlement here it had bene necessary that 67 himselfe should come over, for by what waye 157 would propound he may haue an influence over 89, and thereby ensure thinges between them and 124. This much I pray insinuate to your friends, and I am confident noe harme will come of it to them or you. I pray write to 109 that he may direct his letters unto me in your way; for 163 his party beinge most incensed against me for 157 his propension, and withall the truth of his affections in the behalfe of 151 of 70 and especially the 124, that they can not abide him, which you may certainly believe and informe your friends accordingly; yet I must acknowledge that 90, those that are right, conceave and doe object it to 157 that 135 hath such power with 151 that such as euer he favoured of the 90 are favored by 151, and those that are against him are most rigorously dealt with (as it appeared in Lymerick); which makes them startle very

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4. Feb.

Anthony

Geoghegan

to

Mr. Haly.

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Anthony
Geoghegan
to
Mr. Haly.

much and gaue the lesse beliefe to 157 in what good character he giues of 124 still
leauinge the blame on 198, to which he cannot perswade them without some
thinge in effect be shewen, though his labor is not wantinge, whoe is and ever
will be

Yours most assured to comaund,

Copia vera : Jo. Lambertt.

[Blank.]

I wrote lately to 132 propoundinge a necessity for 67 his beinge made 104 of
96 which, if use be for it, I will urge. I hope to gett an accompt from 67 of what
he wrote touchinge 40, 57, 53, 50, 41.
the Dean of Fermo, Abbot Crilley, Bishop
Meath Ecclesiastical promotions Abbot Crilly

For my honored friend, Mr. Haly, these [present] wheresoever.

3. ANTHONY GEOGHEGAN TO CORMACK O'DWIERE.

Sir,

4. Feb.
Anthony
Geoghegan
to
Cormack
O'Dwiere.

I haue nothinge at present to write besides what the inclosed will tell you, only
that your friends here would wish you should thinke of some wayes to secure
any goods you haue here, either by gettinge a passe to bringe them away or
otherwise; for it is much suspected thinges will not goe orderly very soone, and it
may be that uppon a breakinge out the soldiery would take all that may come in
their way.

I hope you are well, for which my poore prayers will not be wantinge. You need
not untill further advertisement send me any letters here but such as may overtake
me within three weekes to come, beinge, I believe, I shall shift hence about that time.
My hearty service to my aunt and friends at home who am

Your owne most faythfull humble servant,

Signed: A. G[eohegan].

Copia vera : Jo : Lambertt.

I need not urge you to haue those letters safely conveyed as directed, beinge I
feare not your faylinge.

For Mr. Cormack O'Dwiere, my assured friend, these.

Terence Coghlan is intended for Cormack O'Dwier.

For Sir Theophilus Jones, Knt., Governor of Westmeath, these.

Copia vera : Jo : Lambertt.

For Mr. Gualtier Frost, Secretary for the Councell of State, these are, at Whyte-
halle in London.

Copia vera : Jo : Lambertt.

4. THOMAS O'KENNEDY TO ANTHONY GEOGHEGAN.

APPENDIX.

Reverend Father, and my highly esteemed, I haue formerly written to your
 Reverence concerning my charge in Munster. I repayred towards the Viccar
 Generall of the Diocese of Killalooe and to the Deane, who tells me that they
 will doe any thing that you will haue them to doe; the Viccar Generall went to
 the Metropolitan, desiring his Grace to confirme the collation that he had from the
 Lord Bishop, who dyed in Lymerick; his answeare was, that he would not medle
 nor make with any thinge that concerned the clergy, as long as he was in the
 enemyes quarters. The Metropolitan himselfe keepes his residence at Doctor
 Fennell's since his comeinge out of Lymericke. Sic quod omnes sese putant habere
 manus ligatas ipso præsent et renuente ipsos consolari in ulla re spectante ad se
 aut ad illos. The judgment of this particular is referedd to your Reverence by such
 of the clergy, both of Cashell and Killalooe, as I haue seene. I findinge them
 unable to act any thinge, that should have bene to the good of the cause, I resolved
 not to impart any of the secrets of my charge to them in regard they could doe
 nothinge. A letter to this effect I sent to Collonell Burke in November last to be
 sent unto you, which I thought came to your hands. Your answeare and directions
 in all these particulars is expected, and be fully possessed that my endeavors will
 not be wantinge in dispatchinge the reliefe of this party thither. Thus with the
 presentation of my service to your owne selfe and Father Fr. Foxe, I take leaue,
 and will remayne

Your most affectionat freind and humble servant,

Signed: Thomas O Kenedy.

From our Guarrison of Fortell, the 6th of Febr., 1651[-2].

There is great alteration of thinges here since your goeing to Gallway. I assure
 you under God that Colonel Grace and Collonell Molloy willbe in the county of
 Gallway somewhere to wayte uppon that designe. For Colonell Fitzpatrick, I can
 not assure you of his comeinge soe soone for divers reasons.

Yours ut supra.

Signed: T. K.

Copia vera: Jo: Lambertt.

For my highly esteemed friend, Anthony Geoghegan, the Viccar Generall of
 Meath, these.

5. EXAMINATION OF ANTHONY GEOGHEGAN.

At Gallway, the 13th of Febr. 1651[-2].

The Reverend Father, Anthony Mac Geoghegan, being in question for a lettre
 sent by him to the enemyes quarters, was examyned by us the undernamed
 examynators about the said lettre and the chipers therein contained, in as much

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 Examination
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Geoghegan.

as concerned the suspicions conceived of him therein and in all the other partes of his said lettre as followeth :

1. First, the said Father swore by his holy function and priesthood he would disclose and open to us all keyes and secretts he had in the writeing thereof, without any equivocation or mentall reservation.

2. Wee haue by vertue of the said oath received from him to be read, examined, and perused by us the originall key (as hee called it) betweene him and his correspondent ; and after wee have conferred together carefully the figures in the said key contained, wee found that they varied from the exposition given by others to the figures contained in his lettres intercepted, as may appeere by the notes taken thereuppon, and now in the hands of my Lord Bishop of Kilmacduogh.

3. In verbo sacerdotis he affirmed that what ever he wrote touching or concerneing the provinces of Lynster or Vlster, and those he called the well affected of the said provinces, proceeded only from his owne thoughts and discourses, grounding himselfe uppon a certaine act made in the provinciall counsell of Lynster and Vlster, for obtaineing the benefitt of a certaine article made and concluded betweene Owen O'Neile and his Army, and the Lord Marques of Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant, and his party, and further he sayeth that he had neither secrecy nor chardge, neither commission, counsell, or advise from any one or more of the said provinces to write as he did.

4. Being questioned uppon oath, he sayd noe clergiemman now in this towne or out of the towne were privie to the said lettres neither to any thing contained in them.

5. And being alsoe examyned, sayeth that the superscriptions given to his lettres were soe written by order of his correspondent who is a man in trust from the Courte of Rome as the said Father Anthony did sweare as before.

6. Being alsoe uppon oath, sayeth, what written instructions he hath are onely from the Secretary de Propaganda Fide, and the same to be communicated with the Clergy for their governement and correspondence with Rome, which the Bishops and wee, who were in this towne the last yeare, haue seene and perused, and touched noe temporall matters.

7. As for his correspondents instructions, he had none in writeing but onely by words of mouth and directions, they being in one place together for two monethes, and afterwards haveing received divers lettres from the said correspondent whereof none he hath at the present.

8. As for the cyphers 57. 30. 41. 45. 50. the Lord Marques of Antrim is understood.

9. As for 70. it is a mistake for 71 : it is understood of England.

10. As for 40. 57. 53. 50. 41. they are for ecclesiasticall promotions understood.

11. As for 136. Machivilians are understood, who are the advisers for worldly interest.

12. As for the figures 163. the King's betrayers are understood, who gave upp his Majesties interest in Castles in Ireland and Scotland.

13. As for 108, *frater* is a mistake for 158, Presbyterians.

Walter, B[ishop of] Clunfert.

Fr. Hug : Duacensis.

Arth : Dunensis et Connorensis.*

Fr. Andreas Browne, P. Conventus

Sanctæ Mariæ Galviensis.

Copia vera : Jo : Lambertt.

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of Anthony
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Endorsed : Fa. Anthony Geoghegan's examination taken by some of the prelates and clergie, 1651.

6. PRIOR GEOGHEGAN HIS EXPRESSIONS TO SHEWE HIS INNOCENCIE IN WHAT IS LAID TO HIM, EITHER IN THE LORD DEPUTIE'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE INTERCEPTED LETTRE, OR OTHER ASPERSIONS.

Inasmuch as a lettre of myne directed to one in trust from the Court of Rome hath bene lately intercepted, and after a long debate (to avoid misconstructions) I was pleased to open the key and candid meaning of it to the Right Reverend the Lord Walter, Bishop of Clonfert, Arthur, Bishop of Downe and Conner, Hugh, Bishop of Killmacduagh, Doctor James Fallon, Viccar-Generall of Tuam, Doctor John Duly, and Father Anthony Browne, Pryor of St. Dominick's Convent of Gallway, tying them (according the trust reposed in me) to a secrecie; and, forasmuch as the contents of the said lettre is blazed over all this towne, the said Lords, Bishops and Fathers having onely communicated it to the Lord Deputy, I thought it expedient, for the avoiding of other mens fained commentaries and glosses upon the said lettre, to declare the points thereof, as they are, without any tergiversation, or by sence, that it may appeare. As the substance of it, if neede were, may prove advantagious for the intrest of the Catholick religion and the natures of this land, soe the population thereof may prove prejudicious.

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by
Anthony
Geoghegan.

The first point, which the Lord Deputy apprehends to speake of his person or authority, is that an Assembly being prorogued at Jamestowne, 10 November, is said to meete here the sixt of this moneth, to which purpose certaine men issued summons. I declare that by this clause I meant such advisers as hindred the Lord Deputy from going to Jamestowne Assembly, where his Grace, the Lord Prymatt, with the cleargy of Vlster and Leinster, and very many of the gentry came, and were to come with a resolution, as well to accept of articles concluded betweene the nation and his Highness the Duke of Lorraine, as also to procure that the censure hanging over this Catholick People from the Pope's Nuncio, and others which are conceived to be the cause of Gods heavy hand is stretcht forth against us, should be putt in a way to be taken of and thereby the blessings of God suffered to fall once againe on vs. And for this purpose the clause, it is thought that a party of Leinster and Vlster will come to joyne with those of Connaght all of the well affected Catholickes, and if they doe service on the enemy they will declare against such advisers and

* Walter Lynch, Bishop of Clonfert; Hugh Bourke, Bishop of Killmacduagh; Arthur Magennis, Bishop of Down and Connor.

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by

Anthony

Geoghegan.

for religion, signifieth that if the Catholickes that ever stood, and are still for the vallidity of the Lord Nuncius censure, have success in the designe mentioned, that they will declare for their conscience sake against such more pollitick then Catholicly advised men as will not submitt in the said censures and thereby give such as conditioned for it the benefitt of an article agreed and concluded upon betweene Generrall Owen O'Neill and the Commissioners of the Lord Marquess of Ormond, in the behalfe of the Government, to which purpose the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of the provinces of Ardmagh and Dublin have enacted that none of their prellatts should sitt in assembly without getting the benefitt of the said Article, and that none of the gentry should sitt likewise without protesting for the bennefitt of the same. And I further declare and protest the said Acts to have bene the onely ground of my thinking that the provinces aforesaid, or most of them, would declare for [King and religion], and noe other plotts, conspiracies, or intention in the said provinces of any member of them that may be against the present government or to make any particular quarters with the Parliament or any party thereof, other than in an extreame necessity the body of the nation would be pleased to doe.

As touching the parties of the Parliament of England as is conceiued mencioned in the lettre, it is meant that upon an inevitable necessity of application of this nation to the Parliament—such of it as are less bent against Catholick religion should be rather wrought with then those that are most inclined against it—some disposition being conceived to be in powerfull Catholickes in England and elsewhere in forraine countreyes to forward the same, which may be understood at large by the clause.

Yet I must acknowledge that the Catholickes, those that are right, conceaued that the Marquess of Ormonde hath such power with the Parliament that such as ever hee favoured are favoured by the Parliament, and those that were against him are most rigorously dealt with, as it happened in Limerick; by which words I declare and protest before God and his angells that I never meant a distinction betweene any of the Irish nation as more ancient or less ancient, but that takeing notice how those that stood for the censures aforesaid were not onely less favoured where euer the Parliament, or at least any party of it, gott the upper hand, but also were dealt with rigorously, as is apparant in the example of Limerick abovemenconed and other presidents; and apprehending that there were some exceptions against them more then others who stooke to Ormonde, I thought that the same favour might be therein, in case of necessity, to those Catholickes who were dealt rigorously with, as was to such as sided with the Lord of Ormonde without excepting any others, if it be not an exception that all of them, I meane the Catholickes of Ireland, may be equally looked upon and favoured, as is apparant by the said clause of my letter, wherein the parties mencioned, as are those who were putt to death in Limerick, are knowen to be promiscuously of the less and more ancient naties of Ireland.

Further, I protest and declare that as those who entrusted me for the propagation of the Catholick Religion never distinguished to me any Catholickes in Ireland, onely as in all nations are some lukewarme and some zealous, and that I never did any act in order to that imployment other than what tended to cherish the later and edifie the former.

I finally protest and declare that I laboured with all my weake endeavours as much as could lye in me to preserue this towne in the hands of its Catholick natives, and that I never did publickly or privatly any act, thought, or word that may wittingly preiudice it, and that I never found or understood either within or without the towne any plott or conspiracie, or the least thought, speech, or intention of it, betweene any men whatsoever, of what function, religion, or condition whatsoever, that may in any wise discomfort or prejudice it. And that my plaine lettre was onely to a friend by way of advise, grounded on the apprehencions and feare that I sawe here, to the end hee may take a course for the safty of his goods.

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by
Anthony
Geoghegan.

XLIII. ARTICLES FOR BALLYLEAGUE.

Articles of Agreement betweene the Honble Comissary-Gennerall Reynolds and Captain Fargus Farrall, Governor of the Fort of Ballileage,* for the surrendering thereof, being February 24th, 1651 [-2].

24. Feb.
Articles
for
Ballyleague.

1. That the fort be surrendred to the Comissary-Gennerall, or whom hee shall appoynte tomorrow, by tenn of the clock in the morning, being the 25th of this instant February.

2. That the goods there belonging to Captain Farrall he, or whom he appoynts, bee permitted, [*sic*] and to carry them away within the space of tenn dayes, during which time himselfe and two servants are to remaine in the said fort.

3. That hee shall bee received into proteccion, and live in the Island of Loughbanow, and have the liberty of 12 musqueteers to defend himselfe and familie from idle persons, provided he gives security that they shall not act anything prejudiciall to the State of England.

4. That the said Captain Farrall bee permitted to march out of the said fort with all his souldiers, with their armes, bagg, and baggage, and to return within 24 houres all his fire armes, about the number 30, to the officer now commanding the forte, by order from the Comissary-Gennerall, and to have allowed him three parts of a barrell of powder with a proportion of ball and match, out of the store of the said fort.

Fargus Farrall.

XLIV. COLONEL JOHN FITZPATRICK.

In consideration of the Articles and condicions to bee performed by Colonel FitzPatrick, agreed upon att Streamestowne in the county of Westmeath, and dated with these presents, wee doe promise to mediate effectually with the Right Honorable the Commissioners of Parliament of the Comonwealth of England for the affayres of Ireland, that hee, the said Colonel FitzPatrick shall enjoy his estate or the value thereof, and that if the same bee not thought fitt to bee graunted to him

7. March.
Colonel
John Fitz-
Patrick.

XLIII., XLIV. MS. in the Library of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, pp. 17, 4.

* For observations on the surrender of Ballyleague, or Bellaleige, see vol. ii. p. 193.

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7. March.

Colonel
John Fitz-
Patrick.

as aforesaid, then, and in that case, hee, the said Colonel FitzPatrick, shall bee freed from the obligacion in the said Articles at his eleccion, hee declaring his dissent to the Commissary-Generall at Athlone, or to the officer then commanding in cheife, within tenn days after intimation thereof given him.

Witness our hands and seales, this 7th of March, 1651[-2].
In the presence of

Hen: Owen.

J: Reynolds.

John Coghlan.

Hen: Jones.

W. Waller.

Wm. Ryves.

Cyprian Grace.

This I acknowledge to bee a true copie, as witness my hand,

John FitzPatrick.

XLV. ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT WITH COLONEL EDMUND O'DWYER, COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE IRISH BRIGADE IN TIPPERARY AND WATERFORD, 1651-2.

23. March.

Colonel
Edmund
O'Dwyer.

Articles of agreement, made and concluded at Cahir Castle, the 23 of March 1651.

Between Col. Hierome Zanchey, commander in cheife of the forces in the county of Tipperary, &c. Col. Salomon Richards, Adjut. Gen. Allen, and the rest of the Councel of War, for and on the behalfe of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, on the one part, and Col. Edmond O Dwyer commander in cheife of the Irish Brigade, in the countys of Tipperary and Waterford, Col. Walter Butler, Col. Donogh O Dwyer, and the rest of the Commissioners intrusted and authorized by that brigade on the other party, as followeth :

Imprimis,

That all the forces of horse and foot under the command of Col. Edmond O Dwyer shall, by the tenth day of April next, deliver up their armes and horses at or neare Cashell to Col. Zanchy, or whom he shall appoint, for the service of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

2 That in consideration hereof, the said Col. O Dwier, with his whole party that shall so deliver up their horse and armes, (except what is hereafter excepted) shall have protection for their lives, and personall estates, and liberty to live in such places at shall bee thought fit by Col. Zanchy, they acting nothing during that time to the prejudice of the Parliament, their forces or garisons.

3 That the horse-men in consideration of delivering up of their horse and armes, shall for their horses receive such competent satisfaction, as shall be thought meet by foure officers of each party.

4 That the aforesaid parties shal have protection given them, and quarters

appointed them, as shall be judged fit by Col. Zanchy, untill the 20. of April next. APPENDIX.

5 That as to the reall estates of any of this party, they shall have equal benefit with others under the like qualification in any offers that shall hereafter be held 1651-2.
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6 That such of them as desire to transport themselves to serve any forraigne Prince in amity with the State of England, shall have liberty to treat with any agent or agents for that end and purpose, as also to transport themselves if they can so agree to any such places. Provided, they give sufficient security that they be not transported any otherwise to the dis-service of the State of England. Colonel Edmund O'Dwyer.

7 To the end the country may receive the lesse prejudice, during their necessary continuance together, according to the time limited, and that they may be inabled to satisfie the country for their quarters, the said Col. O Dwyer shall have liberty to collect and receive a months contribution for all the officers and souldiers of his brigade, that shal at or before the tenth of April next, bring in their armes as aforesaid.

8 That the said Col. O Dwyer, with all commissioned officers of his brigade (except the excepted) shall injoy their horses and arms with such attendants as shall be thought fit by Col. Sankey.

9 That upon the submission of the brigade under the command of Col. Edmond O Dwyer, those prisoners now in restraint (who come not within the late qualifications of the late Lord Deputy, or of the Commissioners of Parliament relating to unprotected persons) shall (upon their giving in security for their future good demeanor) be set at liberty, and have protection for their lives and personal estates, and those who cannot get security, to be transported unto such places in amity with the Parliament of England, under such officers of their party as they shall chuse, that shal make such conditions with any forraign agent as is before mentioned.

Provided, That the benefit of all or any of the articles aforesaid extend not to any one that hath been guilty of the murthering or massacres of any of the English, or any adhering to them since the year 1641.

Also provided, That the benefit of them extend not to any priest or other of the Romish clergy in orders.

Nor to any that sat in the first General Assembly. Nor to any that sat in the first Supream Councill. Nor to any officer or souldier that hath taken away the lives of any of our party after quarter given.

Provided also, That the benefit of them extend not to any that have been formerly of the Parliaments party, and deserted their colours, since the Lord Lieut. Cromwells first arrival, and are or may be now in the said party.

Provided also, That all and every person and persons mentioned and included in these articles that were officers in the first year of the rebellion shal be lyable to a tryall at law for any action or thing done or committed by him or them in the said year :

10 And lastly, That if it appeare that any horse man imbezzles his horse or armes, or foote souldier his armes, or any part of them, shall upon the proof thereof forfeit the benefit of these articles.

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Colonel
Edmund
O'Dwyer.

And for the performance of what concerns the brigade of Col. Edm. O Dwyer, sufficient hostages be given to Col. Sankey, or whom he shall appoint.

Signed in the behalfe of our selves and
the rest of the Councel of War.

Signed in the behalfe of our selves and
the officers intrusted and authorized
with us,

Hie. Sankey.
Sal. Richards.
Wil. Allen,

Edm. O Dwyer
Walter Butler.
Donogh O Dwyer,

XLVI. LETTER FROM COLONEL SANKEY.

Sir,

1652.
27. March.
Letter from
Colonel
Sankey.

Being called hereunto by the speciall providences of the Lord, I thought it my duty to present a briefe account of this country, where your honour was pleased to leave me at your departure hence, and the chief charge of which my late dear Lord Deputy [Ireton] was pleased to continue me in.

After the last summers severall tedious marches (wherein I had many happy opportunities to enjoy the benefit of my Lord Deputies society) about the end of October, I drew my troopes, and some foot that I had the conduct of, into their winter quarters, the army being then in the field at the leaguer before Limerick, having oftentimes conferred and advised with my Lord Deputy, how the troops might be so placed that the enemy (who during the summer, much prejudiced us in severall places, though following and pursuing them) might (when the winter season and the necessity of living compelled them to their fastnesses of bogges, woods and mountains) bee pulled out of their holes, or destroyed in them.

And as the presence of the Lord did manifest it self abundantly in every thing whereto that good man put his hand; so was it most remarkable in giving of him such discoveries of his work and businesse here wherein hee was intrusted, that I beleieve never any age did produce in Ireland so dexterous and fit a workman for so intricate and knotty a peece as the work of this nation was. And having followed his advice in placing of garisons, and had his approbation in certain things of that nature, which I had the freedom to propose to him, it pleased the Lord to blesse us in the pursuit of his instructions, before hee took him out of this world. Our garisons (though many) were fewer then formerly, and though our forces were not neer so numerous (the quarters being enlarged) yet the garisons were much stronger than in the former winters, the troops and companies not being divided as formerly, but in some places where most action was required, as at Cahir, Thurles, Borrace, &c. under the command of Major Green, Major Moore, Cap. Whitlock, Cap. Godfrey, Cap. Ingolsby, who with the officers of the other garisons, so plyed their businesse, that Teige will hereafter acknowledge their heels in the midst of the bogs, as well as their hands in the plain fields, were forward enough to work their ruine.

In the beginning of the winter we spent much time in burning and destroying

the non-protected quarters, especially about the great bogge of Monely, where Col. Axtel and Col. Abbot met me according to appointment, when (through the benefit of the hard frosts, which are unusuall in this land) we burned and consumed most of their substance and store in three or four dayes time, that these wretched people had stole and took away by force from the protected people, and laid up there, where they thought (as they had good reason) they could not have found a safer place for their protection, and some hundreds of them there were destroyed with their ill gotten goods.

This course being taken as well in other fastnesses as there, where our parties were no lesse active in destroying, then they had been in theiving, the wretched creatures have been forced for these 3 or 4 months to very hard shifts for their subsistence, and what by parties that have surprized them in their fastnesses, and others that have light upon them in our quarters, I find upon account that (besides the unprotected people) there hath bin 400 and upwards killed of officers and inlisted souldiers, and 350 taken, 110 whereof I have sent away for Spain, according to orders of the Commissioners of Parliament, some I exchanged for prisoners in other parts, & the remainder that are left unchanged, are still in my hands, amongst whom I have 12 Captaines and many other commissioned officers, some of which will (as severall of their fellows lately have been) bee very fit objects of justice, and besides this successe, wee have taken many hundreds of their cows and garrons, and 300 and odde troop horses, and a very great number of saddles, pistols, pikes, muskets and other armes.

Many of them by this hard usage of their fellows, and for fear of what might befall themselves, have been earnest suitors to come into protection, and about 400 of them have been received amongst whom severall officers of quality, but none without security, nor upon any other termes then bare submission and protection, as the rest of the inhabitants, and this hath been occasioned not onely by the successe the Lord hath given, but by very seasonable orders issued out by the Commissioners of Parliament with the advice of the generall councill of warre at Kilkenny, to deprive those of the benefit of quarter who either ran out of protection since your Lordships first approach hither, or to be proceeded against and hanged as spies, if a few should come into the protected quarters, presuming to bee harboured by the protected people, as usually they formerly were, and after publication of those orders and notice given to Teige, we have put them in execution, and hanged fifty and odde since then.

And notwithstanding the unweariednesse of the officers and souldiers in the prosecution of the work (whose activity the Lord hath blessed with so good successe) wee have not lost above five men, that ever I did hear of, within this precinct, nor any one officer save Cap. Ball, shot by a kearn out of a thicket, whose singuler piety and love to the Gospel, and prizing the ordinances of Jesus Christ, causes his death the more to bee lamented. I understand he hath left many poor friends behind him, I pray God put it into the hearts of the authority he served, to give them some small recompence for his faithfull services, and their great losse. The Lord forbid that the sin of ingratitude of those who were once God's peculier people, should ever be charged upon you, that hee hath owned to be so. It is a

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Scripture record, Judges 8. 35, and therefore worthy, upon such an occasion, to be presented: Neither shewed they kindnesse to the house of Gideon, according to all the goodnesse he had shewed unto Israel.

Col. O Dwier and the rest of his officers finding themselves thus intangled, their quarters being destroyed, their men daily taken, kild, hanged, sent to long sea, and themselves put to that hazard and hardship that they usually removed two or 3 times a night, being moved thereunto sometimes with our parties, sometimes with their own fears, and were not inabled to doe us any mischief without a probability of more to themselves, are now by necessity driven to that which they formerly offered in policy, and that was to treat and submit: And truly my Lord, this businesse, from their first offer, hath been more formidable and distracting to me, then any undertaking that ever yet befell me, partly because wee are all of us very much in the dark, as to the knowledge of the mind of the Parliament, having not yet laid out the bounds and land-marks of their mercy and justice, as to these wretched people; and partly because the Lieut. Gen. and Commissioners of Parliament were at Dublin. And though I had received some former instructions from my Lord Deputy and themselves; yet their further rules at this present were very desirable: but above all, when I meditated upon the crying guilt of blood, the severe justice of God, the sore judgements to bee inflicted upon Babylon, which are now accomplishing, the severity of God against Saul, Jehosophat, courting those they should have trampled upon, and for sparing where the Lord commanded destroying to destroy, and the end for which I ingaged herein at first, which was sealed upon my heart: these with many other particulars left me so unsatisfied, as to duty herein, that I had no mind at all to the businesse. But on the other side when I considered it was Col. O Dwyer and his officers seeking to me, and pressing it upon me for some months before, and not my seeking to them directly or indirectly, and that that correspondency which I was forced to keep with him by his often pressing of this treaty, did not slack our hands from doing our worke as the Lord inabled; but that the severall officers of garisons being often pressed thereunto, had not onely done their duty in destroying them abroad, but in bringing of them to justice afterwards, (which blessed be God) in some good measure hath been executed. And having some consideration of Col. O Dwyer's owne carriage whose curtesie to some Englishmen, and to all prisoners, whose exact and punctuall performance of his word on all ingagements since your Lordship left me in this place, and whose very honest and friendly demeanour to Cap. Godfrey, Cap. Cuffe and other officers, whom I much respect, that were his prisoners last summer, and his speedy releasing of them, and that upon equall termes, notwithstanding my Lord Muskerries prohibition, and the president of Dungan, & others, who kept our officers prisoners many months, although they might be advantaged by their exchange. And having this principle, that rewards and punishments are for good and evill works, whatever the workers are, and this hath not only its foundation upon a Scripture rule, Math. 6. but, I humbly conceive, is the marrow as well as the strength of humane constitutions. And above all, having given such boundaries to the treaty before I sent them safe conducts viz. 1. It should extend to no condition for persons guilty of murther or massacres. 2. No mention of any

toleration for their religion or priests. 3. No capitulation for reall estates of any concerned, but what hereafter should bee held out by the Parliament.

I say, having thus bridled up the treaty, with the advice of severall officers within this precinct, and Adjut. Gen. Allen, Cap. Vernon and others at Waterford, for whose advice upon this business I made a journey thither, having procured the Adjut. Gen. to return back with mee to Clonmel, wee were resolved to treat with them, though wee knew not what to offer them, or how, without a snare, to receive any thing from them. And the counsell of war at Cahir, viz. Col. Richards, Adjut. Gen. Allen, Major Shepheard, Cap. Godfrey, Quartermaster Gen. Streater, Cap. Foley, Cap. Thornhill, Cap. Ingoldsby, Cap. Quelch, Lieut. Jones, Mr. Latham and my self, having bound up our selves only to two days treaty with them, who were about 12 or 14 officers chosen out and intrusted by the brigade, commanded by Col. O Dwyer consisting of the remainder of 5 regiments of foot, viz. his own, Col. Walter Butlers, Col. Donogh O Dwyers, Col. O Meaghers, and Col. Whites, and the fragments of his owne regiment of horse, formerly consisting of 14 troops. We having bound up our selves to the two days only, and having finished what wee had to say to them, dissolved and retired to our several garisons, giving them time till 12 a clock, to accept or wholly refuse the tenders offered, having resolved not to admit of further grants or alterations. And that day I understood from them, that they would receive the termes, which accordingly they did. A true copy of which inclosed,* I humbly present to your honour, together with this account of the discharge of my duty: which is evidenced to my conscience that, through grace, it hath been according to the light and ability I received from the Lord, whose acceptance in the first place I humbly implore, and pardon for the daily infirmities that have accompanied me. And in the next place I humbly desire the approbation of the authority, which my conscience likewise bears witnesse with me, I have to my ability under your Excellencies command, faithfully served: Hoping, through grace, the Lord who I belevee in this treaty, hath not suffered myself nor others, to fall into those sinfull compliances which above all other things my late dear lord and general, did most abhor and set himself and all those he truely loved (which were all those that loved the Lord) against; though accompanied with never so many seeming and reall pretences for publique advantage. The Lord prevent this growing evill of compliances, and in mercy give the like measure of the same spirit to my Lords worthy successor, and to the rest in authority here, as to the honour of his Maker he bestowed upon him. And then and not till then, this serpentine head in Ireland, which for these ten years hath bruised the heel of England, will bee utterly broken and dashed in peeces, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day, which is and shall be the daily prayer of

Your excellencies most faithfull and most obliged servant,

Clonmel, 27 March, 1652.

H. Sankey.

* For these Articles, see *ante*, p. 294. They were approved of, on the 8th April, 1652, by the House of Commons, London, who ordered a letter to be written to Colonel Sankey, taking notice of his good services, and giving him the thanks of the Parliament.

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XLVII. DEAN KING'S ACCOUNT OF AFFAIRS IN IRELAND, 1652.

Dean King's account of the affairs of Ireland delivered to his Majesty and read in Council, 1 April, 1652, at Paris.

May it please your Majesty,

1652.

1. April.

Dean King's
account of
affairs in
Ireland.

I most humbly presume to put into your royal hands a short accompt of my employment from your Majesty into Ireland, and of matters in that kingdom when I left it (Febr. 16), the last of your Majesty's Instructions of June 6 at Sterling requiring this from me.

I landed, June 20, within 6 miles of Derry, (Sir Charles Coote having advanced about 6 weeks before into Connaght with an army of 3000 foot and 1500 Ulster horse and 500 of Leinster, under the command of Reynolds) passed through the Parliament quarters and arrived at Gallway (newly blocked upon the east side) July the 2d, where the Lord Deputy* then was, with all his Majesty's dispatches. His Lordship exceedingly rejoiced to hear of your Majesty's then hopeful condition, and so did the officers of the Leinster army; yet there were divers persons of the Clergy (particularly the Bishop of Clonfert)† who suggested that I had not seen your Majesty since my first leaving Scotland; that I had ever since remained in Ireland, and that this was but a trick of the Lord of Ormondes. These suggestions grew so loud, that the Lord Deputy was constrained to expose all your Majestys [*sic*] by me unto the view of the Assembly then at Gallway.

A Scotch frier, Abercromway, was sent to examine me in the circumstances of places and times. I likewise wrote a letter to Sir Richard Blake, Chairman of the Assembly, recounting the occasions and causes of your Majesty's employment of me. These satisfactions given, the clergy promised their hearty and industrious concurrence with the Lord Deputy in your Majesty's service and pressed that the chief of the old Irish of Connaght (which province had been exceeding backward and slow in raising any forces considerable to join with the Leinster forces, consisting of 3000 foot and 500 horse, drawn by the Deputy into that country upon Coote's advance thither) might be made Colonels; that then no doubt there would be a power sufficient to oppose and repulse the enemy. But among ten new made Colonels, at 4 several rendezvous, I saw not any answered with above 500 new raised soldiers: but every man sought to defend his own castle: and into these castles (of which that country is too full) were drawn the best men, the armes, ammunition and provisions of the whole country. The Lord Deputy hereupon ordered the Castles to be demolished and the men to be drawn into the field; but there wanted obedience in all except in Mr. Lane, father unto the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, so that the enemy every day took these castles unto the publick prejudice. The Lord Deputy did also frequently importune the Ulster forces to a conjunction with those of Leinster and Connaght: but found no obedience from any, but Collonel Miles Reyly and Collonell Miles Swyney; both which seem to be of loyal and good

affections unto your Majesty, especially the latter, who is now the only Ulster Colonel in your present service with the Lord Deputy.

The Leinster forces, after long expectations, finding themselves abandoned by those of Ulster, neglected by them of Connaght; that by themselves they could not attempt any thing considerable; they besought the Lord Deputies leave to return into Leinster: unto which the Lord Deputy (perceiving their numbers daily decreased, that they only spoiled the country, and for that his Lordship had no money to keep them regularly together) he unwillingly yielded unto, upon an undertaking of all the chief officers under their hands to return upon his Lordships command.

The Leinster forces thus returned with a new General, the Earl of Westmeath, (for the Lord Viscount Dillon, their former General, lay under many distrusts for the rendition of your Majestys castle of Athlone unto the enemy; an account of which you have apart) some few days before I arrived, the Lord Deputy still continued his diligence to raise the Connaght forces, and commissioned his kinsman, Collonel Richard Burke, to raise the county of Gallway: with whom some others of that province joining their force, was 2000 foot and 500 horse in the county of Gallway, and keep together near the enemy at a place called Killeboggy.

Upon Ireton's death, the enemy drew into their winter quarters, and have attempted little these three months past, their head quarter in Connaght being at Loghreagh, an house of the Lord Deputy's, which they fortify as they do likewise Athlone. In Connaght this summer hath been little that is considerable acted, except a party of 150 horse cutt off by Sir Walter Dungan and the taking of Mutton Island by the Lord Deputy, wherein so many more of the enemy's foot were cut off, the recovery of Ballyleag-Castle by Collonel Hugh Kelly, the regaining and brave defence of Muleek by Fitzpatrick.

The principal impediments unto your Majesty's service in your kingdom of Ireland, if I can observe them, are

1. The ill affection of divers leading persons, especially of the Clergy, unto your Majesty's interest; who rather desire any other than the continuance of your Majestys government, which disaffections owe their growth (I conceive) unto the sense of their former disloyalties and disobedience unto your Majesty's authority; as likewise unto the Spanish infusions. Of this sort is the Lord of Taragh. His son, Sir James Preston, the Archbishop of Tuam, Sir Nicholas Plunket, the Bishop of Fernes, and Jeffery Browne; all which persons have been and continue active, especially the two last, (as in their late letters sent into Ireland, which I have seen, appeareth,) to advance and promise an accommodation betwixt the Parliament and the Irish.

2. The expectation of the Lorraine succours, which whilst every party in the kingdom waited for, they declined all engagement with the enemy, and have so preserved themselves to appear numerous and considerable upon their arrival that many fair opportunities of action upon the enemies have not only been neglected, but plainly refused unto the Deputy.

3. The Lorraine succours have been so relied upon, that all other means haue been neglected, which they might have found amongst themselves in that kingdom

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and chose received from the Duke of Lorraine have been so slender, and distributed by such hands as have made them of small consequence, viz. £20,000 in money, whereof £6000 defalked for the charge of the negotiation, a 1000 armes, 30 barrels of powder, the worst in the world, and 1000 barrels of rye, which came in so late and took such wet as may be feared will render it useless.

4. The late invidious and unseasonable revival of the Nuncio's excommunication by the P[opish] Prelate, Reyly, by Dempsy, Bishop of Leighlin, Dempsie, Vicar General of Kildare, and Linch, the Bishop of Clonfert, who pretend some authority to that effect from the Nuncio. These startle the conscience of the people and nourish disaffections and disobediences in them towards those who have laboured the preservation of your royal interest in that Kingdom: which hath moved such apprehensions in the best affected there, that they fear nothing more than the ill operation, as to themselves and your Majestys interest, of the Lorraine transaction, the whole process whereof, as it was managed by the Lord Deputy and concluded by the agents, I have in readiness to present unto your Majesty.

The several parties owning your Majesty according to their numbers and commands are these :

In Munster the Lord Muskery commands in chief : a person of great loyalty and prudence and action. He is above the practises of the clergy in his command. He is reported to have had a late success against Broghill : his army consists of 3000 foot and 500 horse, and is the most regular in that kingdom. His Lordship affirms that if he had armes, ammunition, and a little money he could double that number.

Edmond O'Dwyer hath in Tipperary 2000 foot and 700 horse : he is a person active in your Majesty's service, but complains of the want of ammunition and armes.

David Roch hath 1000 foot and 300 horse in the counties of Corke and Kerry.

Murtagh O'Bryan has 1000 foot and 200 horse in Thomond.

The Ulster forces will make 3000 foot and 500 horse : they pretend to have made the Lord Deputy their General, yet never answer his commands.

The forces of Connaght under the Deputy's own command will be 300 foot and 500 horse.

The Earl of Westmeath, whom I left with the Deputy, affirms himself able to draw together 3000 foot and 2000 horse in Leinster ; so that in these several parties there are about 21,000 foot and about 6000 horse, if there were means to draw and keep them together.

The great wants of the kingdom are money, armes, ammunition, and bread : yet if a little money, some armes, a quantity of ammunition and bisquet were speedily put into that kingdom, the enemy, by reason of the many fastnesses and retreats, might be a long time busied, and an accommodation betwixt that people and the Parliament prevented ; those making it their business to engage the Irish against the French, which matter is now upon the overture ; the speedy prevention whereof by some moderate supplies in these wants, is as well the present concernment of France as of your Majesty. The Lord Deputy will delay and draw forth this Treaty after the commencement of it, untill such time as it may be possible for

him to receive your Majesty's commands and directions either by some assurance of moderate and speedy supplies for the continuance of your Majesty's authority there, or your Majesty's toleration the best ways they can to preserve themselves for better times. The great love the generality of the Irish seem to have of your Majesty's regal government, the present dislike of the clergy (the most violent of which, excepting those named, are either extinct or have quitted the kingdom), the known perfidy, breach of faith, and ill usage of the Parliament party, inclines them, if supplied, to continue the war. The Earl of Castlehaven staid of purpose to bring your Majesty the result of the meeting appointed by the Deputy at Gallway.

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I most humbly conceive that all possible speed and diligence for the signification of your royal pleasure in the affairs of that your kingdom, is to be used, both by sending some frigott unto those parts which are open, (the names whereof are inserted,) as likewise through the enemies quarters, by means of some ships of Irishmen now in these parts of France, into which some faithfull persons may be put, who may arrive at the Lord Deputy and the Lord Muskery. I have a cypher with the Lord Deputy.

The names of the harbours open and free from the enemies shipping are these:—

In Connaght:

The harbours of Kellin,
Cashy, alias Casheen, by Littermullan, } All these lye eastward of Slynhead,
Roundstone. } towards Gallway.

Claggen, }
Downes, } These lye northward of Slynhead, towards the Bay of Barisowle,
Lillariroe. } in the county of Mayo.

Innis-boffin, alias Arskee, } These harbours are islands lying northward of
Accell head. } Slynhead.

Broadhaven, }
Moyne, } lye northward of Slynhead, towards the bay of Call-begs.
Sligoe, }

Captain Seares is now at Nantes, and is a skillfull pilot unto all these ports.

In Munster:

The river of Killmare,
The Isle of Valentia,
Castlehaven,
Broadhaven.

This accompt of my employment is most humbly prostrated at your Majesty's feet by, may it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most humble and loyal subject,
John King.

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XLVIII. ARTICLES BETWEEN COLONEL TEIGE O'CONNOR AND THE PARLIAMENT.

Articles of Agreement between Comissary-Generall Reynolds and Collonel Teige O'Connor Roe, concluded the 2nd day of April, 1652.

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2. April.

Col. Teige
O'Connor.

1. That Collonel Teige O'Connor Roe shall draw his regiment together at Tully, in the barony of Ballintubber, the 20 day of April, where they shall bee disbanded from the service of the Irish party, and deliver up their armes to Commissary Generall Reynolds or such as hee shall appoynt to receive them for the use of the State of England.

2. That to all the officers and souldiers of that regiment who shall desire the same, protections shall be given (except) they had a hand in the massacie of the English or robberies at the beginning of the first yeare of the warr.

3. That Collonel Teige O'Connor Roe shall haue liberty to transporte a regiment into Spaine if he can make conditions with the Spanish agent.

4. That Collonel Teige O'Connor Roe, his tenants and servants, shall not bee molested or troubled for any thing don during the late warr, except before excepted, and if upon the settlment of this nation the Parliament's declaracion concerning things to bee held forth shall be judged by him not satisfactory, it is hereby agreed that the said Collonel Teige O'Connor Roe, his tennants and servants, shall have three months time allowed to transporte himselfe and them into any parte of the dominions of any Prince or State in league and amity with the Comonwealth of England.

5. That Collonel Teige O'Connor Roe shall be received into the protection of the State of England with his tennants, servants, and family, hee and they submitting to all Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, and paying contribucion according to their visible substance in such a certaine sum as shall bee agreed on with the consent of the Commissioners of Revinew for the province of Connaght and no more.

Teige O'Connor Roe.

XLIX. ARTICLES FOR GARRISON OF ROSCOMMON.

3. April.

Articles
for
Garrison
of
Roscommon.

Articles of Agreement betweene Lieutenant-Collonel Francis Gore and Major John Disbrow, on the behalfe of the Right Honorable Comissary Gennerall Reynolds, on the one parte, and Captain Edmund Daly, on the other parte, concluded Aprill the 3rd, 1652.

1. That the Castle of Roscomon, now under the comand of Capitaine Edmond Daly, shall bee surrendred unto Comissary-Gennerall Reynolds, or to any other whom hee shall appoynt, by five of the clock in the afternone.

2. That all stores of amunition and provision shall bee delivered unto Comis- APPENDIX.
sary-Gennerall Reynolds, or unto any other whom hee shall appoynt, without 1652.
embezzillment.

3. That Captain Daly, Captain . . Meed and their officers shall have their horses, 3. April.
pistolls, and swords, the souldiers their swords, skeenes, and two servants belonging Articles
to the said Captaine, their horses and armes. for
Garrison
of

4. They are to haue liberty, for the space of twenty eight dayes, to carry such Roscommon.
goods as are properly their owne unto such places as they shall think convenient,
and enjoy their crops now in ground: Provided they come under protection and
pay their proportions of contributions, their Chaplaine and Chirurgion haue
liberty to goe with them.

5. That such goods as doe belong unto Collonel Richard Burke, except store of
amunition and provisions, shall bee disposed of by the said Captain, and conueghed
to such places as they shall think fitt; and such corne as belong unto the foresaid
Collonel shall bee preserved for his use to make sale thereof to the Parliaments
party: Provided hee come under protection within twenty eight dayes after the
date hereof.

6. That the said Captain Daly haue liberty to make use of the barne within the
bawne, to lay in his goods for the time above mentioned, and his wife, Ellis Nirine
alias Daly, is to bee freed from any debts untill there bee a settlement.

7. That Ensigne John McCooge, now in restraint with O'Connor Roe, shall have
his enlargement, provided the Comissary-Gennerall consent thereto, and shall
enjoy his crop now in ground: Provided, hee come under protection, and pay his
proportion of contribution. For the due performance of the above mentioned
Articles, I have heerto sett my hand, the day and yeare above written.

Edmond Daly.

L. ARTICLES BETWEEN PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND AND COLONEL MURRAGH O'FLAHERTY.

Articles of agreement made and concluded by and betweene Collonell John Cole, Colonel
Collonell Robert Russell, Lieutenant Collonell John Puckle, Major John Murragh
King, Major Alexander Brayfield, Adjutant Charles Holcroft, and Captain O'Flaherty.
Oliver St. George, Commissioners appointed for and in the behalfe of Sir
Charles Coote, Knight and Baronett, Lord President of Connaught, and
Comander in Cheife of the Parliaments forces in the said province, of the one
parte; and Collonell Murragh O'Flagherty, Major Robuck Martin, Captain
Edmond Tully, Captain Christopher Fleming, and Hugh Rochfort, Esqr., for
and on the behalfe of [blank.]

1. That the Governor, all comanders, officers, and souldiers of what quallity or
condition soever (without excepting any) shall parte the saide towne without any

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disturbance, impeachment, or molestacion, upon any colour or pretence, with all their horses, naggs, oxen, beasts of burthen, respectiue armes, bagg and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted att both ends, ball in bouch, bandilliers and flaskes filled with powder, in the same rank and forme that they are accustomed to march. And that their lives and the said baggage, shall bee sau'd, secured, and protected from any violence or prejudice of the Parliament's forces to such of them as shall march to Leinster, untill they come to Tullaghmore in the King's County, and for three dayes after that they may dispose of themselves as they shall thinke fitt, and unto them that shall stay in Connaught, untill they come to Ballyhaunus, or Conge, at their eleccions, where they may likewise bee secured for three dayes after to dispose of themselves, and that a convoy or hostages bee sent with the said officers and souldiers untill they come to the respectiue places aforesaid for their better safety, they giving in the security of the respectiue officers' words to act nothing prejudiciall to the State of England in the meane time.

2. That all the officers of horse shall march out of the said towne with their troopes, led horses and hacknies, standards flying, trumpets sounding, pistolls and carbines charged ; and the rest of their necessary armes and armour, their respective goods and baggage, with the same safety and time as the foote shall bee secured till they come to Bellahawanus or Conge aforesaid and at the elleccion of the said officers.

3. That the said officers and souldiers shall not bee obliged to march more than eight miles a day, and that they shall bee provided of carriage horses and accomodacion from the county through which they shall pass, paying reasonable rates for the same.

4. That all officers and souldiers now sick in the towne, or that happen to fall sick before they march out of the towne, may remaine in the towne without vigilance, and be maintained at the charge of the towne (if the towne consent unto it) till the recovery of their health, and then shall have passes to goe with bagg and baggage and goods, souldiers with their swords, and officers with their horses, swords, and pistolls, to any parte of this dominion that they shall desire to goe unto.

5. That the Governor, comandars, officers and souldiers of the guarrison of Gallway, who shall desire to goe beyond seas, or send their wives, families, or goods, shall haue passes for that purpose.

LI. ARTICLES FOR JAMESTOWN.

Articles of agreement betweene Comissary-Gennerall Reynolds and Collonel John Kelly, concluded on April the 7th, 1652.

7. April.
Articles for
Jamestown.

1. That Jamestowne bee surrendered by three of the clocke in the afternoone, with all the stores of amunicion and publique stores of provision.

2. That the governor, officers, and souldiers shall haue quarter for life, liberty to departe the towne, with their armes, colours flying, bullets in bouch, one barrell of

powder, match and bullett proportionable, and six dayes provision, bagg and baggage, with a safe convoy to any place desired. APPENDIX.
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3. That such of the inhabitants as desire to stay shall have protection, enjoy all their goods and corne in ground, paying contribucion according to their estates, and those who will remove, shall have six weekes time to remove their goods. 7. April.
Articles
for
Jamestown.

4. That Collonel John Kelly, and such of his friends as shall submit to the State, at or before the last of this month, shall enjoy their estates in lands, goods, and chattels as freely as others of their condicion, upon a gennerall settlement, and that such officers, souldiers, and others as desire the protection of the State shall bee admitted thereunto, provided they lay downe armes before the end of this month; provided, also, they are not guilty of the massacres and robberies comitted upon the English in the first yeare of the warr, nor under protection, nor served the Parliament in their Armies since the 11th of August, 1649.

5. That the said Collonel John Kelly shall have licence, any time, for 4 months ensuing the date hereof, to departe this nation, if hee shall desire the same; and in the meane time fowre servants, with their horses, and armes, bee allowed unto him in passing to and fro' (for his security), in the Parliaments quarters, where his occasions are, and that his wife and children shall enjoy the benefitt of these articles in his absence.

6. That Collonel John Kelly shall have liberty to reside in the Castle of Aharahan, or elsewhere upon his estate, free from molestacion, with twelve musquiteers for his defence, and that arreares of the contribucion there due bee not layd upon him for his estate lying in the halfe barony of Killian.

LII. ARTICLES FOR DRUMRUSKE, ETC.

Articles of agreement betweene Commissary-Gennerall Reynolds and Collonel Richard Bourke, concluded Aprill 8th, 1652.

1. That the guarrison of Drumruske shall be surrendered to the Commissary-Generall, with all the armes, amunicion, artillery and stores therein contained, by three of the clocke in the afternoone, except hereafter excepted. 8. April.
Articles
for
Drumruske,
etc.

2. That Collonel Richard Bourke, the officers and souldiers, shall have quarter of life, and liberty to march forth with their armes, horses, bagg and baggage, colours flying, drums beating, light[ed] matches, six shott of powder, and that such as desire the same shall bee admitted into protection of the State of England and receive passes to return to their severall habitations, where they shall reside free from prejudice or molestation; and that all others of his company, togeather with the said Collonel Richard Bourke, shall have liberty to march in the county of Gallway in order to their transportation, where they are to remaine dureing the space of two months, and to receive maintenance for that time out of their former quarters assigned unto them by the Irish party, in the halfe barrony of Loghreagh, and the halfe barrony of Athenry; and if, before the expiration thereof, agreement bee not made for their

APPENDIX.
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8. April.

Articles
for
Drumruske,
etc.

entertainment into the service of the King of Spaine, or some forraigne Prince, that then they shall lay downe armes and be received into protection, or that such of them as desire the same may have leave to transport themselves from any porte of Ireland into Spaine or any forraigne porte: Provided none of them had a hand in the massacres and robberies acted against the English in the first yeare of the warr, or that have not been in proteccion of the State of England or served them in their armies in Ireland formerly.

3. That all inhabitants of the guarrison shall enjoy their goods, cattle, and corne in ground, paying contribution according to their abilitie, and that such of them as desire to remove shall haue one month's liberty to convey their goods to any place they shall desire.

4. That Collonel Richard Bourke shall have a discharge for any goods left in the Castle to the use of the owner thereof.

5. That Collonel Richard Bourke give security to Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Conaght, that no hostile act shall bee comitted by his regiment during their continuance in armes, to any of the Parliaments forces, nor any other prejudice to the quarters then in receiuinge subsistance from them, according to their former assignations and noe more.

6. That Lieutenant Collonel William Tafe, with his company, shall bee admitted to the benefitt of these articles upon the surrender of Belanafad unto Commissary Gennerall Reynolds, and have two months' maintenance for his company allowed him in his former assignations in the county of Sligo.

7. That Major Walter Phillips with his company bee included within the same articles with Collonel Bourke, and out of the creghts in the barrowney of Costaloe hee is allowed to raise two months maintenance, for which charge consideration shall bee had unto them in their future contribution.

8. That Captain James Lambert and his company bee included within the same articles, with Collonel Bourkes company, and haue liberty to raise two months maintenance out of his former assignations in the barroney of Dunkellin and county of Galway.

9. That Captain Hugh Mac Dermott with his company bee included within the said articles, and haue two months maintenance allowed to him out of his former assignations in the barrony of Boyle and county of Roscommon.

10. That Captain Miles Phillips shall bee included within the same articles, and have two months maintenance allowed to him out of his former assignations in the barrowney of Gallinge and county of Mayo.

11. That Captain Murrough O Mac Loughlin and his company shall be included within the same articles, and have two months maintenance allowed to him out of his former assignations in the barrony of Longford and county of Gallway.

12. That the armes now in the possession of the respective companies of foot in the said Collonel's regiment, shall not bee willfully embeziled.

13. That the benefitt of these assignations shall not bee extended to any of that regiment who shall not departe the nation, and instead of those who shall withdrawe themselves, it shall bee lawfull for Collonel Burke to compleate his regiment by bringing any who are with the Irish party now in armes into those assignations.

14. That passes bee delivered unto Collonel Burke and his officers for their safe travelling in manner following, viz.:

To Collonel Burke, 4 servants, their horses and armes.

To Lieutenant Collonel Tafe, 3 servants, their horses and armes.

To Major Phillips, 2 servants, their horses and armes.

To each Captaine, 1 servant, his horse and armes.

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1652.

8. April.

Articles

for

Drumruske,
etc.

15. That Collonel Richard Bourke shall have liberty to convey all his goods, into the island of Insimutris and thence to Dunsandle in the county of Galway.

16. That Collonel Richard Bourke shall haue liberty to enjoy his land at Dunsandle, paying contribution, and his wife shall bee admitted into protection and haue the benefitt thereof, or whom hee shall appoynt, in his absence, as others in the settlement of his condition, who are admitted into protection.

17. That in case noe agreement can bee made by the said Collonel for the transportation of that regiment within that time, it is intended that the said Collonel shall have liberty to transporte his regiment any time, heerafter, provided they bee no charge to the country after the expiration of the two months above mentioned.

18. That the corne now sowen at Carricke Drumruske by the said Collonel shall bee [ap]praised by indifferent men, and paid him within one month and the growing contribution to bee deducted out of the price.

19. That Collonel Richard Bourke shall give sufficient security and hostages, out of each company of his regiment unto the said President of Conaght, or Comissary Gennerall Reynolds, within one month, for the performance of these articles.

20. That if agreement bee made with the Spanish agent, that the companies of Collonel Burke's regiment meet at a randevouse at Loghreagh in the county of Galway, and there lay downe armes, according to the agreement made upon the surrender of Drumruske, and if that agreement bee not made according to the time limited in these articles, that then the respective companies deliver their armes to the officer commanding the next guarison to the quarters assigned during the two months before mentioned, at or before the expiration of the said time, whereupon they are to bee admitted to receive the benefitt of the provision made for them by these articles, in case no agreement bee made for their transportation.

In witnes of the above mentioned agreement, I have hereto set my hand.

[Richard Bourke.]

LIII. ARTICLES BETWEEN CAPTAIN WALTER WELSH AND SIR HARDRESS WALLER.

1652.

19. April.

Walter
Welsh
and Sir
H. Waller.

Free graunts of Major-Gennerall Sir Hardress Waller, on the behalfe of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, unto Captain Walter Welsh, upon his voluntary rendring and submitting of himselfe, with all the horse and foote under his commande, to the subiectiion and the obedience of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, they rendring themselves up with their horses and armes, at or before May day next, 1652, to such persons and at such places as the said Major-Generall shall appoynte within this county of Lymericke.

1. They shall have pardon and liberty for their lives and personall estates, for all actions done in the warr, as souldiers, from the beginninge thereof to this day, excepting clergymen of all sortes and such as have comitted murthers upon men not in armes, nor inlisted as souldiers, runnawayes from our colors (if any such there be), and such as it shall plainly and evidently appear have killed souldiers after beinge knowne to have quarter given them, and those thus submitting shall have full liberty for themselves and families to live in protection and make any benefit of any lands they have of their owne, or shall take by farme as the rest of the country doe.

2. The officers and souldiers shall have the benefitt of selling their horses in our quarters, and the officers to receive their own, and armes, in such a number and with such servants (as I shall appoynt) to make use of for their owne defence in travailing upon their necessary occasions.

3. They shall receive one month's pay, by order, from May next, and likewise accompt with the country for what they demand of them, for which I shall give way to the country to compound with them, and if they cannot agree, I shall sett downe an indifferent rate betweene them.

4. The officers commissioned shall have leave for the space of a twelvemonth from May beforesaid to make any contract with any state, in amitie with the Commonwealth of England, for the transporting of themselves, and such voluntieres as they carry with them for any such service, giveing security that they shall not bee employed against the State of England.

5. I shall labor effectually and speedily to procure Captain Welsh the possession of his estate upon as good (if not better) termes and composicion as other protected persons doe or shall enjoy theirs.

As alsoe I doe undertake (upon further testimony of Captain Welsh and his brother's carriag and affection) to endeavour to have them trusted and employed in the State's service.

Upon the consideration of the above graunts and concessions I doe herby ingage and oblige myselfe punctually to observe and performe the surrender and submission of myselfe and party, according to what is herein declared, and doe further bynd

myselfe that either myselfe or my brother, Leutenant John Welsh, shall remaine as hostage for the due performance hereof, and that I shall within eight dayes after the date hereof send a list, in writing, of all the officers and souldiers, with their horses and armes, that shall thus submitt with mee upon the former concessions, as wittnes my hande and seale the 19 day of Aprill, 1652. [Walter Welsh.]

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1652.
19. April.
Walter
Welsh
and Sir
H. Waller.

LIV. ADVENTURERS FOR IRELAND.

[House of Commons, London.]

Tuesday, the 20th of Aprill, 1652.

Resolved by the Parliament: That it be referred to the Councell of State to consider of the propositions of the Adventurers for Ireland, and of the Act for their security, and prepare something for the judgment of the Parliament for the settling of the affayres of Ireland, and reporte it with all convenient speede.

20. April.
Adventurers
for
Ireland.

Resolved: That the qualifcations touching Ireland formerly read in Parliament be referred to the Councell of State to prepare and fit them for the Parliament and present them to the Parliament, when the reporte of the propositions is made.

Ordered: That it be referred to the Councell of State and that they bee impowred to give way for the transporting out of Ireland into forraigne partes such of the Irish as they shall thinke fitt for the advantage of the Comonwealth.

Resolved: That it be referred to the Councell of State that in the quallifications they doe make provision touching the transporting of persons from one parte of the nacion to another as shall bee most for the benefitt and advantage of the Comonwealth, and report their opinion to the house.

Resolved: That it be referred to the Councell of State to consider how the souldiers that have been or shall be disbanded in Ireland, and those officers there for whom there hath been no provision made here, may have reasonable satisfaccion given to them in Ireland for their service, and report their opinion therein to the House.

Hen. Scobell, Cler. Parliamenti.

LV. ARTICLES BETWEEN SIR HARDRESS WALLER AND COLONEL MURTOGH O'BRIEN.

Articles of Agreement made and concluded upon att Limerick, the 21 of Aprill, 1652, between Major-Generall Sir Hardress Waller, Collonel Peter Stubber, comander in cheife of the forces in the county of Clare, Collonell Thomas Sadler, Lieutenant Collonel John Nelson, Governour of Killmallock, and the rest of the Council of Warr, for and in the behalfe of the Parliament of England, on the one parte; and Collonel Murtogh O'Brien, Comander in Cheife of the Irish brigade in the county of Clare, Collonell Daniell [Mac] Namara and Lieutenant Collonel Fitz Gerald, Commissioners intrusted and authorized by that brigade, on the other parte, as followeth, viz.:

21. April.
Colonel
Murtogh
O'Brien.

Imprimis. That all the forces of horse and foote under Collonel Murtogh

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21. April.

Colonel
Murtoogh
O'Brien.

O'Brien's comand, shall by the 10th of May next deliver up their armes att or neer the Castle of Clare, or Inish, to Major-Generall Sir Hardress Waller, or whom hee shall appoint, for the service of the Comonwealth of England, and 'till that time the county where they now quarter is to provide for them.

2. That, in consideracion thereof, the said Collonell Murtoogh O'Brien, with his whole party that shall soe deliver up their horses and armes, (except what is hereafter excepted,) shall haue proteccion for their lives and personall estate, and live in such places as shall bee thought fitt by Major-Generall Sir Hardress Waller in any places within our quarters, guarrrisons excepted, they acting nothing during that time to the prejudice of the Parliament, their forces or garrisons.

3. The horsemen soe delivering up their armes shall have libertie to sell their horses in the Parliament's quarters to their best advantadge.

4. That the aforesaid partie shall have proteccion given them, and quarters appointed them as shall bee judged fitt by Major Gennerall Sir Hardress Waller untill the last of May next.

5. That, as to the reall estates of any of these partie, they shall haue equall benefit with others under the like qualificacions in any articles that shall hereafter be held out from the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England or hath been since the first of February last.

6. That such of them as desire to transporte themselves to serve any forraigne State in amity with the State of England shall have libertie to treat with any agent or agents for that end and purpose, for the space of one year after the date hereof, and allsoe to transporte themselves if they can soe agree to any such places : Provided they give sufficient securitie that they bee not transported any other wajes to the disservice of the State of England.

7. To the end the countrey may receive the less prejudice during their necessary continuance togeather according to the time limitted, and that they may be enabled to satisfie the countrey for their quarters, the said Collonell Murtoogh O'Brien shall have libertie to collect and receive a monthes contribucion for all the officers and souldiers of his brigade, that shall, att or before the 10 of May next, bring in their armes as aforesaid.

8. That the said Collonell Murtoogh O'Brien, with all comission officers of his brigade (excepting the excepted), shall enjoy their horses and armes with such attendance as shall bee thought fitt by Major Gennerall Sir Hardress Waller.

9. That, upon submission of the said brigade of Collonell Murtoogh O'Brien, all prisoners of both sides shall be enlardged and sett at libertie, and those of Collonell Murtoogh O'Brien to haue proteccion of their lives, they giving sufficient securitie for their future good demeanor; and those who cannott giue sufficient securitie to be transported for such places in amity with the Parliament of England under such officers of their party as they shall choose that shall make any such condicion with any forreigne nation, as is before mencioned : Provided that the benefit of all or any the articles aforesaid extend not to any one that hath beene guilty of murthers or massacres of any of the English or any adhearing to them since the yeare 1641. And for the avoyding of any scruples which att any time hereafter

may arise in the construccion of the word murders, it is hereby declared and intended that the said murder shall be construed and extend to such person or persons as haue in the yeare aforesaid or since murthered any English person or others not then in armes; and that the same shall not extend to any men killed where forts or castles were beseiged, in the yeare aforesaid or since; and that the same shall extend only to such person or persons as have comitted or acted any such murder, if any bee, and not to others.

10. That all crimes, offences, and trespasses, of what nature or condicion soever, done or committed as souldiers, since the first day of the warrs of Ireland in the yeare 1641, by the said Collonel Murtoagh O'Brien or any officer or souldier of the said brigade against any of the English nacion, or any of their adhearents shall be absolutely forgiven to the said Collonel and all others the officers and souldiers of the party, soe that the said Collonel nor any of the said party shall ever hereafter bee questioned for act or actes done since the warre (except before excepted).

11. Provided that the benefitt of these articles extend not to any priest or other of the Romish clergy in orders, further then the said Major Gennerall doth undertake industriously to sollicite the Commissioners of Parliament that such of the clergy in orders, having noe other act or cryme layd to their charge then officiating their function as priests, not being suffered to liue in quarters or proteccion, shall have passes and libertie to goe beyond the seas, nor to any other officer nor souldier that hath taken away the lives of our party after quarter giuen, and provided allsoe that the benefitt of them extend not to any that haue been formerly of the Parliament's party and disserted their coulours since the Lord Leiut. Cromwells first arrivall, and are or may be now in the said party.

12. That if it appeares that any horseman imbeazills his horse or armes, or any foote souldier his armes or any parte of them, hee shall upon the prooffe thereof forfeit the benefitt of these articles.

And lastly it is concluded and agreed upon that the breach of these articles in any one person shall not extend to reach further then the person that is soe found guilty of the said breach, and that if any of the said party, of what quality or condicion whatsoever, shall delay the accepting of the said articles, it shall bee free for as many of the reste as shall thinke fitt to come and enjoy the full benefitt of them; and moreover the Major-Generall doth give way, besides the moneth's pay allowed them at their comyng in, that they shall reckon and accompt with the countrey for what they can demand of them as pay, and as the countrey is able they shall satisfie them in a reasonable manner; wherein if the countrey and they differ upon the sum demaunded as to[o] heavy and burdensome, it shall be then referred to the Major Gennerall to sett downe what the countrey is willing and able to pay, as allsoe further to such of the said party as by their future carriage and demeanour shall give testimony and satisfaccion of their good affeccion and change of their judgments and waies, such endeavour shall be used as they be rendered or demed capable of imployment or trust in the Parliament service, soe long as it shall be thought fitt, and in regard that officers of Collonel Murtagh OBrien alleadge that they are under the comand of the Lord Muskry, it is concluded and agreed that if the Lord Muskry shall make better conditions for his party in Kerry then is

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21. April.
Colonel
Murtogh
O'Brien.

grauanted to Collonel Murtagh OBrien's party before the last of May next, then Collonell Murtagh O'Brien shall have the benefitt of such articles as shall be given to the Lord of Muskry's party, and lastly the Commissioners of Collonel Murt O'Bryen, whose hands are here subscribed, doe engadge themselves within six dayes after the date hereof to send to Collonel Stubber to Clare Castle, the number of officers and souldiers of Collonel Bryens party that accept of these condicions and sufficient hostage for performeance thereof. In testimony whereof wee, the under-named, doe interchangeably sett our hands and seales the day and yeare above written.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in presence of us,

William Miller.
Donogh McNamara.
Daniell McNamara.
Ben : Lucas.
Geo : Degor.

Peter Stubber.
Thomas Sadler.
John Nelson.

I doe heerby testifie that I received Collonel Murtogh O'Bryan's party upon articles which I well remember to be for the materiall and substantiall partes according to this copy, the originall being delivered and approved of by the then Commissioners of the Comonwealth, and the performance thereof att noe time questioned or infringed nor any complaint hitherto (that I have ever heard of) for any breach of any of the said articles, as witness my hand and seale, this 22nd of November, 1655.

Har : Waller.

I doe hereby further certifie that more particularly the 5th article was insisted upon by these with whome these articles were made, and that the Commissioners which I appointed to treat did fully conclude of the same, and afterwards I ratified and confirmed the said articles ; and therefore there is noe question but the parties concerned therein ought to haue the full benefitt thereof, as wittnes my hand and seale, this 19 of March, 1655[-6].

Har : Waller.

I doe certifie to the best of my knowledge that this is a true copy. In wittnes whereof I have hereunto putt my hand and seale, this 19 of March, 1655[-6].

Tho : Sadler.

LVI. ARTICLES BETWEEN MAJOR JOHN DESBROW AND CAPTAIN HUGH O'REILLY.

22. April.
Captain
Hugh
O'Reilly.

Articles of agreement betweene Major John Desbrow and Captain Hugh Rely aboute his submitting his officers and souldiers to the mercy of the Honorable Comissary-Gennerall Reynolds, Aprill 22nd, 1652.

1. That the said Captain with all his comission and non-comission officers and souldiers submitting to the mercy of Comissary-Gennerall Reynolds.

2. That the said Captain and his company shall have quarters for their maintenance for twenty eight dayes, or untill the Comissary Gennerall's pleasure bee knowne; and they to be quartered, according to Major John Desbrowe his order, in the barrony of Athlone and halfe barrony of Moycarnan.

3. That the said Captain give a sufficient security to Major John Desbrow that noe acts of hostillity bee comitted by himselfe, officers, or souldiers for the time above mentioned or untill the Comissary Generall his pleasure bee knowne; and that the said Captain, officers and souldiers shall not act any thing prejudiciall to the State, and that they content themselves with such maintenance, as the quarters will be able to provide.

4. That Major John Desbrowe mediate in the behalfe of Captain Hugh Rely, his officers, and souldiers unto [the] Comissary-Gennerall that competencie may bee allowed them for the future maintenance, in case the Comissary-Gennerall shall thinke fitt to impower the aforesaid Captain and his company for the destroying and ceazing upon Tories and idle persons, or that as many as is desirous to come under protection with the State, may be admitted, that nothing bee laid to the charge of the said Captain or officers since the yeare 1647, unless they have had a hand in the massacres or bloodeshed, or taken away the lives of any belonging to the Parliament's armie after quarters given them.

5. That the said Captain give unto Major John Disbrow as hostages for the performance of the above mentioned agreement Bryan Kely, his Lieftenant, and Edmond McKeogh, his Ensigne.

Hugh Rely.

Signed and delivered in the presence of Andrew Whirler, Scrib[e], the day and yeare above mentioned.

LVII. ARTICLES BETWEEN PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND AND PERSONS IN ARMS AGAINST THEM IN LEINSTER, 1652.

We doe declare that it is the intention of the Commissioners of Parliament that all persons living in the nacion of Ireland shall have the benefitt of the Act of Parliament intituled an Act for the reliefe of religious and peaceable people from the rigour of former Acts of Parliament in matters of religion, bearing date the 27th of September, 1650; and we doe further declare that it is their intencions and the intencion of their ministers heer not to compel any [of] the Recusants in this nacion to their worship or Divine Service contrary to their consciences. Dated Kilkenny, 12th May, 1652.

It is agreed: That in case two persons on each side shall differ concerning the

LVII. MS. in Library of the Royal Irish Academy, pp. 133—139. In this official copy, these Articles are entered after the matter which ends at page 99 of the "Aphorismical Discovery;" and, in addition to the names given in the text of the "Discovery," the following appear amongst those of the persons, who, with their regiments, were to lay down arms: Colonel Luke Toole, to surrender at Carlow; Colonels Grace, Molloy, Carroll, Bryan FitzPatrick, and Gawley, at Birr; and Lieutenant-Colonel Gerald Fitz-Gerald and Major Connor, at Kildare.

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Captain
Hugh
O'Reilly.

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price of any horse that then Comissary-General Reynolds, or whom hee shall appoynt, shall bee umpire for one moyety of the horses, and the Earle of Westmeath, Sir Walter Dungan, or whom they shall appoynt for the other moyety.

That, upon notice given to the Comander of the respective quarters or precincts of the submission of the said party and the Earle of Westmeath or Sir Walter Dungan shall have sufficient power to give passes which shall be allowed of untill the time of laying downe armes. Dated May 12, 1652.

Excepciions and doubts offered by Sir Walter Dungan and Sir Robert Talbott concerning the treaty and explanacions there upon made at Kilkenny 12th May, 1652.

1. That they conceive the second article is not performed unto them, because, notwithstanding the liberty therein graunted them to transporte themselves beyond seas within three months with their goods, Coll. Fitzgerald is sued in the Court of Administration of Justice.

2. The preyes taken from garrisons and other places not paying contribucion, within the last three months, bee not defaultked out of the officers' means, according to the aforesaid Article.

3. That the Commissioners of Revenew deny to allow them the rents and profitts of their reall estates, over and above their country charges, according to the explanation of the 6th Article, but would limitt them to the rent reserved on them that tooke them for this year.

4. The said Commissioners deny also to give the possession of lands sett by them after the agreement to the proprietors who have submitted.

5. It is also desired that the intencion of the article be declared thereupon; also the intention of the Commissioners of treaty for the twenty dayes' means to bee collected by them, before the laying downe armes not expressed within the articles.

6. That the Commissioners of the Revenew, who alledge they are not impowered to act anythinge in order to the performance of the articles, be authorized there unto.

7. That in regard of the slowness in performance of payment, agents being not yet dispatched to capitulate for the transportacion of our men, and the time limited in the 2 and 4 articles being neare expired, the six months further time promised by the Commissioners upon the treaty is now humbly desired.

8. That three companies formerly quartered in the King's County, whose quarters are possessed by Grace, may be paid out of the quarters in the county of Catherlough, and the orders to that purpose be sent to the Commissioners of the Revenew.

9. That the hostages be released according to the intention of the 10 article.

10. That it was agreed on upon the treaty that the General officers should not be liable to answer out of their personal pay for such preyes and robberies as were comitted by parties without authority: nor to abuse any thing but what they received of their said pay, for which orders is desired according to the article of arreare and the intencion of the Commissioners of the treaty there upon, it being not done.

11. That it was agreed that the arrears of the last three months assignacion should be satisfied for which orders is desired according to the said article. APPENDIX.
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12. That if any scruples shall hereafter arise upon the articles it is humbly desired that any of the Commissioners of the Treaty who shall be neare at hand be appoynted to expound the said scruples as often as they shall be present unto them. 12. May.
Leinster
Articles.

13. For as much as they who opposed the articles pretend that they stood out to adhere to the King's authority your Honors may be pleased to appoynt some officers to receive such of them as will submit now, in regard the said authority is withdrawne.

14. That such of our clergy as are prisoners be enlarged and possessed and protecion given them, and such others of our cleargy as shall desire the same in order to their transportation beyond the seas.

Walter Dongan.

Robt. Talbott.

Answers made by the Commissioners of Parlment to the excepciions and doubts putt in by Sir Walter Dongan and Sir Robt. Talbott.

1. To the first, wee refer to the explanacion of the 2d article aboute personall estate in which is declared in what cases they are to be freed from suite, and in what cases they may be sued, of which all officers of justice are hereby required to take notice and to proceed accordingly.

2. Whose preys haue been taken from garrisons within the comand of the said garrison or whose horses haue been taken from souldiers, no abatement ought to be made in payment of arrears in such cases: butt where preys haue been taken from any inhabitant of a barrony out of the comande of a garrison, in such case such preys are to be abated upon the account of arrears.

3. Here is no more to be challanged by the addicionall explanacions of the articles concerning reall estates then the rents and profitts to the State above country charges out of the estates.

4. That such estates as were lett before the Commissioners of the Renew that sett them had notice of their agreement made at Kilkenny, ought to remaine to such tenants as tooke them from the State. But those estates that haue been sett since the said Commissioners had notice of the above said agreement ought to be put into the possession of the respective owners who have the benefitt of Kilkenny articles, notwithstanding any bargaine or lease made by the said Commissioners after notice of the agreement aforementioned.

5. Of this there is no mencion made in the articles or explanacion. Yet if it shall appeare by due prooffe upon oath before the Commissioner of Renew of the respective precincts, that they received no free quarters within the said 20 days, but paid for what they received within that time; then wee are of opinion and declare that allowance be given for so much of the said 20 days pay as shall bee made appeare to bee unsatisfied as abovesaid.

6. The Commissioners for administracion of Justice and also the Commissioners of Revinew, within their respective precincts, according to their respective powers,

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12. May.
Leinster
Articles.

are hereby respectively authorized and required, to cause the articles of Kilkenny, with the explanacion of the said articles then and there made in writing, and this declaracion, to be put in execucion according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

7. That such officers of the Irish party as shall desire further time for transportation of their men in pursuance of the articles made att Kilkenny and shall bring in writing a lyst of their said men and places of their abroad and shall engage them selues that they and their said men shall not in the meantime be chargeable to the country: upon such engagement given to the Commissioners of Parliament, or to the Commanders in Chiefe of the respective precincts, further time shall be graunted for transportation, provided the time to bee given shall not exceed six months from the date of the said articles.

8. That the Governors in the respective precincts give all assistance and furtherance to the officers of the said three companyes for recovering their arrears and pay due to them by the articles out of their former quarters.

9. Order is already taken in that particular.

10. Orders shall be given for paying the Generall Officers' arrears with such deductions as are mencioned in the articles provided in that behalf and no other.

11. All arrears of the last three months' assignacions are to be collected and paid with deductions according to the additionall article for arrears.

12. We refer to the aunswer before given to the sixt excepcion, or doubt.

13. This is referred to the Comanders in Chiefe of the respective precincts, who are to doe therein according to the trust and power reposed in them.

14. All of the Popish clergy submitting to a tryall and not being found guilty of the offences mencioned in the seventh article shall have passes to goe beyond the seas.

Dublin, 31st. July, 1652.

Miles Corbitt.

Jo: Jones.

A true copy: Wm. Markham.

LVIII. ADVENTURERS FOR IRELAND.

By the Comittee of Parliament for proposalls from the Adventurers, sitting in the Speaker's chamber.

May the 12th. 1652.

12. May.
Adventurers
for
Ireland.

Resolved: 1. That, in consideration the Adventurers shall forthwith sett upon planting their proporcions following and within three years from the nine and twentieth day of Sepr. next shall fully plant the same with Protestants of any nacion (saving Irish) in such manner as shall be directed by Parliament: That the house be moved that there be set out unto them as manie forfeited lands within

the counties of Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary or within the counties of Limerick, Kerry, and Corke, or within the counties of Waterford, Wexford, Wicklowe, and Kilkenny, (at their eleccion) as their present Adventures amount to: APPENDIX.
1652.

2. And that, upon the consideracions aforesaid, the Parliament be moved that five hundred thousand acres more be given them towards their further charge in erecting buildings, planting the said lands, and forbearance of their monies, in such partes of the other provinces as the Parliament shall apoynt, all the said lands to be subject to the respective rents reserved in the Acts of Parliament. 12. May.
Adventurers
for
Ireland.

3. That also such houses and buildings belonging to the Comonwealth (and not already disposed of) in the respective townes and citties within the counties which they shall make eleccion of—be demised to the Adventurers, for one and twenty yeares or three lives, on such rents or tearmes as shall be judged meet, the same not to exceed a fourthe parte of what the same were lett for (or worth to be lett) in the yeare 1640.

4. And that the Adventurers have liberty to export into Ireland all comodities mencioned in their proposalls, which shall tend to the advancement of their plantacions for seaven years, custome free, from the 29th of September next:

5. And that not above a fifth parte of the true yearly value of the lands above said be (for the tearme of tenn years from the 29th of September next) paid in lieu of all taxes and that only for such lands as shall be sticked, husbanded, or otherwise managed.

Provided that such of the aforesaid lands as shall nott bee conveniently inhabited, and in some husbandlike manner managed, at the end of the said three years shall be forfeited to the Comonwealth.

The Adventurers are desired to return their answers to the premises on Thursday the 20th instant at three o'clock in the afternoone, in the Speaker's Chamber; and in case they shall not approve of the proposicions herein conteyned the Parliament will in convenient time proceed to set forth unto them the full proporcions of lands agreed on by the Acts of Parliament on which they made the adventures.

Signed in the name and by order of the said Comitee,
John Weaver.

LIX. ARTICLES FOR DROMAGH, CO. CORK.

Articles of Agreement for the surrender of the guarrison of Dromagh betweene Comissioners appointed by the Right Honourable Major Generall Sir Hardress Waller, viz. Lieutenant Collonell Nelson, Major Warden, and Comissary Yarwell on the one parte, and Comissioners appoynted by Captain Hugh O'Kyeefe, Governor, viz. Captain Charles McCarty, McHugh O'Kyeefe, and Mr. Naughten, on the other parte, the 23d of May, 1652. 23. May.
Articles
for
Dromagh.

1. That Captain Hugh O'Kyeefe shall deliver to Major Gennerall Sir Hardress Waller, or whome hee shall appoynte, the guarrison of Dromagh, with all the utensills of warr, tomorrow morning by seaven of the clock.

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23. May.
Articles
for
Dromagh.

2. That in consideration thereof the Governor with all the Castle, except such as hereafter excepted, shall march away with their proper armes, with matches lighted, bulletts in their mouths, twelve shott of powder, and fower dayes provision for their march :

3. That soe many of the said persons as shall desire protections shall bee admitted thereto upon the same accompt with the rest of the country, they now delivering up their armes.

4. That the articles shall not extend to any person or persons that shall bee convicted of murthers or massacres synce the first yeare of the rebellion, nor to any person or persons that have served the State synce the coming of the Lord Lieutenant Cromwell.

That Captain M^c Carty and Mr. Hugh O'Kyeeffe become hostages for the performance of the above mentioned Articles.

Signed : Charles Carty.

Hugh O Kyeeffe.

Edm. O Naghten.

Copia Vera.

LX. ARTICLES FOR BALLYSHANNON, CO. DONEGAL.*

26. May.
Articles
for
Ballyshannon.

Articles concluded and agreed upon by and betweene Collonel William Reeves Lieutenant Collonel Tristram Berisford and Major Robert Ormesby, on the behalfe of the Right Honorable Sir Charles Coote, Knight and Barronett, Lord President of Connaught, on the one parte, and Major Bryan ORourke, Captaine Thomas Mc Enward and Leiutenant Roger Merlicke on the behalfe of themselves, and the rest of the comandars, officers, and souldiers in the guarrison of Ballashanan, on the other parte, for the surrender of the said guarrison the 26 May, 1652.

1. It is concluded, and agreed by and betweene the said parties, that the house, castle, and guarrison of Ballishanan as it now is, without demolishing or slighting, shall bee surrendered to the Right Honorable Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Connaght, or whome hee shall appoynt, for the use of the State of England by twelve of the clock tomorrow morning togeather with all the armes, amunicion, artillery, provisions, and other furniture of warr thereunto belonging (except hereafter excepted) in consideration of the Articles heereafter mentioned.

2. It is concluded etc. that the said Major Bryan O Rourke and the rest of the comandars, officers and souldiers, and all other persons whatsoever now in the guarrison of Ballishanan, shall have quarter for their lives and liberties, to march away with their armes, bagg and baggage, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted att both ends, bandeleers full with powder, or six shotts of powder to each musqueteir, with ball proportionable, and a fathome of match, togeather with their wearing cloathes, without molestation and to carry with them six quartes of meale

for each souldier, provided the said six quartes of meale apiece exceed not the fourth parte of the provisions belonging to those in the said castle, and liberty to carry with them all their coves, oxen and horses that they brought with them to the said guarrison, provided also, that they carry nothing with them, but what properly belongs to them, except the said provisions, and that they shall have a sufficient convoy with them to Bundrowis.

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for

Ballyshannon.

3. It is concluded etc. that the said Major Bryan O Rourke and the rest of the comandars, officers, and souldiers now in the said guarrison, shall have a months time to make their election, either to receive protection, or transporte themselves to Spaine, they laying downe armes within the said month, and in consideration thereof they shall have liberty during the said monthe to eate and drinke, and live with their friends, provided in the meane time they act nothing prejudiciall to the State of England.

4. It is concluded etc. that such wounded men now in the said guarrison as are in a capacity to bee removed thence shall have liberty to departe to any other guarrison or holds, and also that such of the said sick and wounded men, as are not able to remove, shall have liberty to stay in or neare the said guarrison, and shall bee provided with chirurgions till the recovery of their health, and shall after enjoy the benefitt of this capitulation in the same manner as the rest, comprehended in the said articles, and that in the meane time such chirurgions and other necessary attendants as shall be left with the said sick and wounded men, shall bee protected and have liberty to furnish them from time to time with such necessaryes as they shall stand in need of.

5. It is concluded etc. that such of Collonel Hugh O Rourkes regiment or belonging to any other officer in the said castle (who are now in armes) as shall signifie their acceptance hereof, by laying downe armes at, or before the 6th of June next, shall enjoy the benefitt of the said Articles (provided that those articles extend not to any that had their hands in any murthers, masacryes, or robberyes of English, or Protestant people in the first yeare of the warr.

6. It is concluded etc., that Captain Thomas Mc Enward, Lieutenant Morris Mc Keane, and Ensigne Con O Rourke, bee this night delivered hostages for performance of the articles. In wittness whereof the said parties have hereunto sett their hands.

Rob. Multch. Thomas Mc Ward. Bryen O Rourke.

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LXI. ARTICLES FOR NEWTOWN, CO. LEITRIM.

1652.
3. June.
Articles
for
Newtown.

Articles of agreement made and concluded, by and between Donogh O Harte, of the one parte, and Major Robert Ormesby, on the other parte, in behalfe of Sir Charles Coote, Knight and Barronett, Lord President of Connaght, for and concerning the surrender of the Castle or holt of Newtowne, in the barrony of Drumaheare, unto the said Lord President or whome hee shall apoynt for the Parliamēt of the Commonwealth of England, June the 3d. 1652.

1. The said Donnagh O Hart doth conclude, and agree to deliver up the said holt of Newtowne with all the armes, ammunicion and necessities of warr not heereafter excepted, unto the said Lord President or whome he shall appoynt, at or by twelve of the clocke to morrow without prejudice or imbezilment. In consideration whereof the said Major Ormesby, doth conclude and agree that the said Donnagh O Hart and those souldiers in that holt shall haue quarters for their lives, and shall haue liberty to march away with their bagg and baggage, without impeachment, except armes, and amunicion.

2. The said Donnagh O Hart (if hee desire the same) shall haue a proteccion graunted to him, and his men, to live in the State's quarters, with his and their families, as to other protected persons.

3. That the said Donnagh O Hart shall haue the full benefitt of the little corne that hee, and those souldiers in pay in the said holt sowed themselves, without rent, or contribution for this yeare, and a howse assured them to keepe their corne in safe from any under the Parliaments comand.

4. The said Donnagh O Hart (if he submitt to protection) shall haue for this yeare the grazeing of twenty cowes free from contribucion.

5. The said Donnagh O Hart is to haue the small boat and cotts which hee hath on Newtowne Lough without any impeachment.

Lastly the said Donnagh O Hart is to haue six musquiteers and six pikes allowed him, and his men, out of theire armes which they are to deliver up with his owne sword, in case hee submitt to protection for his necessary defence against Tories, which hee is to give security shall not bee employed against the State.

LXII. LETTER FROM ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS FOR IRELAND.

To the Right Honourable William Lenthal Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

5. June.
State of
Ireland.

By our last, of the 13 of May from Kilkenny, sent by Captaine Vernon, we gave you account of the treaty then newly concluded on with the Earle of Westmeath, and the Leinster officers of the enemies party.

Since that we understanding that the Lord of Muskery, and his party in Kerry, that are very considerable did not accept thereof, but did expect some better termes.

LXI. MS. in Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, p. 48.

LXII. "Several Proceedings in Parliament." London, 1652, pp. 2230-31.

The Major Generall, and the Lord Broghil drew to Drumagh,* the onely considerable castle the enemy held in the county of Corke, and was indeed a strong and a secure hold for them, but by the blessing and helpe of the Lord, that was rendred to you, of which the Lieutenant Generall gave you former account from Youghal, and finding that party of yours that reduced that place not to bee sufficient for reducing Rosse, where the strength of the enemy lay.

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1652.
5. June.
State of
Ireland.

Upon debate, and conference with Sir Hardresse Waller, and divers of your officers at Corke, it was resolved to draw out what forces could best be spared from these parts to march into Kerry, and having gotten what supplies were necessary, and could be had, they marched hence to Mallow, and did expect to be at Rosse in Kerry on Sunday the 4 instant.

Since their departure from us, wee doe heare there was some distraction amongst the enemy at Rosse, so as the clergy party, and such as adhered to that interest, drew out of Rosse, but my Lord of Muskerry, and such as stood to him, doe keep in Rosse, what may bee the issue is not known.

The greatest body of the enemy is gathered together about Balleshannon in Ulster, under Clanrickhard. And by letters of the 30 of May, from Commissary General Reynolds from Athlone, and by others we do understand that the enemy hath besieged Balleshannon, a house of the Lord Eliots, and with two guns have made batteries against it, and having been two or three times repulsed, at last have gained it, and burnt it, before Sir Charles Coot could come to relieve it. And they have also taken the castle of Donegale, and all the enemies forces at Vlster, and Conought are there injoynd. But Sir Charles Coote with his owne party, and part of Commissary Generall Reynolds party, are in pursuit of them on one side, and Colonel Venables, and his party on the other side; and Commissary General Reynolds with a 100 horse from Col. Sankey is also marched up, and orders sent to Col. Hewson to draw downe that way also; so it is hoped (through the helpe of our Lord) they shall bee inabled to finde out that enemy, and to ingage with him. What horse and foot of the Leinster enemy doe come in, we cannot give you any account as yet, having not received our selves any account of the same, onely Grace his party which did infest your quarters in Leinster, most of his horse are come in, and submitted, and himselfe with twelve horse, and about seventy that marched before, are gone to Clanrickhard, and his foot being in all about 1000 are at present dispersed, but do lye scattered in the woods and bogs, and your forces in these parts do daily hunt and attend them. This is the present posture of your forces here, and in all parts their hands are full; and we doe hope you will not be unmindfull to continue your care in providing for them; the plentifull and good provisions you have formerly ordered to be sent hither, are for the most part all come hither, which is a great comfort to the poor souldiery, and we do wish we had more of the intended recruits, such of them as are come already being very able, and fit for your service, and were the residue that are appointed to come over (before the summer be too far spent) it would much advance your affaires as now they stand.

Your humble servants,

Corke 5, June 1652.

Miles Corbet, John Jones.

* For Articles of Surrender, see *ante*, p. 319.

[House of Commons, London.]

1652.

15. June.
Government
of Ireland
under Com-
monwealth.

Resolved: Upon the question: that the Parliament doth declare that the Act of Parliament constituting Oliver Cromwell Captaine Generall and Commander in Chiefe of the armyes and forces raised and to be raised by authority of Parliament within the Comonwealth of England doth and shall extend to the forces rayseed and to be rayseed in Ireland by authority of Parliament, as if Ireland had been therein particularly mentioned.

That the Lord Generall be required to appoint such person as he shall thinke fitt to comande in chiefe the forces in Ireland under him, and to give him a comission accordingly:

Ordered by the Parliament: That the severall military Commissions only which were granted by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland or his Deputy to the comandars and officers of the forces in Ireland shall continue and be in force from and after the 22nd of June, 1652, untill the Lord Generall shall giue other orders.

Ordered by the Parliament: That this order be sent by the Councell of State to the Commissioners of the Parliament now in Ireland and they be required to cause the same to be published there with all speed and see the same be observed accordingly.

Ordered by the Parliament: That it be referred to the Councell of State to consider what comission and powers are fit to be given to such as shall have the civill power in Ireland, and also the names of such persons to be Commissioners there for that purpose and to present the same to the Parliament for their approbacion:

Tuesday, the 15th of June, 1652.

LXIV. ARTICLES WITH LORD MUSKERRY AND ROYALISTS IN MUNSTER.*

22. June.
Articles
with Lord
Muskerry.

Articles of agreement made and concluded betweene Major General Sir Hardress Waller, Collonell Thos. Sadler, Assistant Generall Wm. Allen, Lieutenant Collonell John Nelson, Commissioners chosen and appoynted by Lieutenant Generall Edmond Ludlow, Comander in chiefe of the Parliament's forces in Ireland, on the one parte, and Collonell Edmund Fitzmorris, Collonell Garat Fitz Morris, Sir Robert Coppenger, and Collonell Callaghan O Callaghan, Commissioners, chosen and appoynted by the Lord of Muskery, Commander in Chiefe of His Majestie's forces in the province of Munster, on the other parte.

That Ross† with the island or islands thereof, with all the stores, armes, amunicion, and other furniture of warr bee delivered up to Lieutenant Generall Edmond Ludlow, Comander in Chiefe of the Parlment's forces in Ireland, or whome he shall appoynt, for the use of the Commonwealth of England by twelve a clock

LXIII., LXIV. MS. in the Library of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, pp. 200, 160.

* See *ante*, pp. 127-8.

† In the county of Kerry.

on Saturday next the 26th instant, and that all the forces both horse and foote now in the aforesaid garrison and islands deliver up their horses and armes att the above mentioned time and that likewise the Lord Muskerry doe undertake to deliver, or cause to be delivered, such other garrisons and forces as are under his comande by the first of July next unto the said Lieutenant Generall Edmond Ludlowe or whome he shall appoynt to receave the same, with all the armes, amunicion, stores and other furniture of warr without spoyle or imbeazlment.

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22. June.
Articles
with Lord
Muskerry.

1. That the Lord Muskerry doe by to-morrow morning by ten of the clock give in to Lieutenant Generall Edmond Ludlowe, or whom he shall appoynt to receave the same, a list of the regiments and troops and companyes under his comande, with the officers comanding them, that are to lay downe armes as aforesaid; and also that hee doe by Satturday twelue o'clock at noone endeavour to procure those officers to submit themselves and signe under their handes, thereby to engage themselves with him to use their utmost endeavors to bring their respectiue regiments, troopes, and companyes under their comande to lay downe armes and bring in their horses, according as is hereafter expressed in this article, by Monday the fifth of July next, viz. those in the county of Kerry to lay downe armes at or neere Killarney; those in Muskery and Carbry, at or neer Mackroome; the rest of the forces in the county of Cork and Limerick to lay downe armes at Kilmallock (except what is hereafter excepted) to the Lord of Muskery ten horses and five case of pistolls; to each Collonel of horse to bee allowed five horses and three case of pistolls; each Lieutenant Collonel and Major of Horse to have fowre horses and two case of pistolls; each Lieutenant and Cornett of Horse to haue two horses, and one case of pistolls; and to each Quarter Master of Horse one horse and one case of pistolls; each Collonel of foote to haue allowed three horses and two case of pistolls; each Lieutenant Collonel and Major of foote two horses and one case of pistolls; each Captain of foote to haue one horse.

2. That in consideracion hereof the persons aforesaid (except such as are hereafter excepted) shall haue pardon for life and protection for themselves and their personall estate, they submitting themselves to all acts and ordinances or Parliament; and also such as shall desire it shall haue passes to transporte themselves and their goods to any place beyond the seas, in amity with the Comonwealth of England, within three months after the date hereof, or such further time as shall bee judged reasonable, they actinge nothing prejudiciall in the intrim to the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England their forces and garrisons.

3. That the noncomissioned officers, troopers, and gentlemen, shall in lieu of their horses, receiue such moderate satisfaccion in ready money, as by two chosen on each party to apprize them shall be agreed upon.

4. That the Lord of Muskery shall haue liberty to transporte five thousand men to serve any foraine Stayte in amitie with the Comonwealth of England, and shall have liberty to treate with any agent or agents for that end and purpose, within three months' time next after the date hereof or such further time as shall be judged reasonable, the said Lord of Muskry undertaking that the men to bee transported shall not by any act of his will goe into any other place then such as they are designed to by agreement with the agent or agents aforesaid and that the

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said men be transported from such port or ports as the Lord Deputy or Comissioners of Parliament shall thinke fitt.

5. That after the time appoynted for the Irish party to lay downe armes is expired, one month's assignacion (according to the summer proportion of pay) shall be allowed to the forces which shall appeare and lay downe armes as aforesaid, to be raised and paied out of such places as by such persons as have paid contribution to them within three months last past: and that liberty shall be granted for the collecting the arreares of the last three months' assignaccions due to the forces comprehended in these articles concluded on, the respective barronies being thereout allowed such dues for quarters, preys, or otherwise as they can justly challenge from them for that time and the Generall officers likewise, if their pay bee not comprehended in the said assignacions, shall have liberty to collect the arrears of the last three months due to them out of such applotments whereout they were to bee paid, they abating to the country the just claimes from them due for that time: Provided that no English Protestants bee charged herewith except such as were in that time contributors, and the officers of the respective precincts are to see to the equall collecting thereof.

6. That as to the real estates of any comprehended in these articles they are hereby left to the pleasure of the Parliament, for the mediation with whome a safe conduct shall be given to such as the Lord of Muskerry shall nominate and apoynt, and the Commissioners of Parliament here shall approve of, to be sent as agents for him and his party to the Parliament of England and untill the pleasure of the Parliament be known herein; if any parte of their estates bee not disposed of to any other in custodium they shall bee putt into the possession thereof, and continued therein, paying their contribucion proportionable to the rest of their neighbours; and if it be disposed of, then after the expiration thereof they shall be putt into the possession of it. And in the meane time they shall receive the rents and profitts that shall be over and above country charges thereout payable, and that the Lord Muskerry and the other officers and gentlemen of his partie with him whose estates are lett in custodium or garrisoned shall have liberty to take such other convenient places in our quarters for the time they reside amongst us as shall be judged requisite by the Comander in Chiefe of those precincts or other superiour in authority to them, they paying contribucion out of such places equall with others.

7. That the benefitt of all or any the articles aforesaid extend not to the exemption of any person from being questioned, according to a due course of law, who had a hand or were actors in any of the murthers, massacres, and robberyes that were comitted upon the English and Protestants in Ireland during the first yeare of the warr, or any murthers or massacres since the said first yeare comitted by or upon any person not being in armes, nor to give protection to priests and Jesuits or other in Popish orders to live in the Parliaments quarters, nor the benefitt hereof to extend unto such who have murdered any of the Parliament's party after quarter given.

8. That for the performance of these articles sufficient hostages shall be given upon signing hereof.

9. In testimony whereof wee doe hereunto interchangeably sett our hands and scales this twenty second day of June one thousand six hundred fifty-two.

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22. June.

Articles
with Lord
Muskerry.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us: .

Hugh Rogers.
Fred: Mullins.
Andrew Elliott.
Francis Goold.
A. Leyner.
John Ustead.

Har: Waller.
Tho: Sadleir.
Will: Allen.
John Nelson.

Memorandum that in case of difference between the said two appraisers of both sides umpireships shall be refered halfe to Lieutenant General Edmund Ludlowe or whom he shall appointe, and the other halfe to the Lord of Muskerry or whom he shall appointe.

Har: Waller.
Will: Allen.

Thomas Sadlier.
John Nelson.

I doe hereby ratify and confirme that my Commissioners have consented and here subscribed unto

Edmund Ludlowe.

Explanacions on the articles made with the Lord of Muskerry.

Wee esteeme such persons only guilty of murther who during the first yeare of the warr have contrived, ayded, assisted, acted, or abetted, any murther or massacre upon any person or persons of the English not in armes but following their owne occupation in their farmes of freehoulds; by ayding, assisting, and abetting, wee understand such as have by acts of their will either precedently advised or comanded such murthers or massacres or subsequently approved thereof in sheltring such murthers and keeping them from justice.

Since the first yeare of the warr wee esteeme those only guilty of murther who haue killed any of our party after quarter giuen. Provided alwayes the person or persons who did soe kill did knowe, before or at the said killing, the said person and persons had quarter. Provided likewise the person or persons so killed did not by act of hostility against the Irish or otherwise legally forfeit his said quarter before the said killing.

Wee further esteeme such to bee guilty of murther as are guilty of breach of quarter or violation of safe conduct in the first yeare of the warr to the killing of any person.

Wee further esteeme such to be guilty of murther who killed or comanded to bee killed, and who so killed any of our protected who were protected by the Commander in Chiefe of the Irish party, or by any authorized to give protection on the behalfe of the Irish party, if the party so killing at the time of the said killing knew of the said protection. Provided the party so killed did not legally forfeit his said protection at the time hee was killed.

Wee further esteeme that if any person formerly under our protection which

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shall during that time haue killed or caused to bee killed any person under our protection and afterward shall runn to the enemy, this with any case of the like kind shall be judged murther :

That any countryman not in armes nor under our protection who have by any slight or promise of safety drawne or caused to bee drawne in any person under our protection to the taking away of his life, this with any case of the like kind shall bee deemed murther :

As to religion, wee doe declare that it is not our intention nor as wee conceive the intention of those whom we serve to force any to their worship and service contrary to their consciences :

As to personall estates, wee declare that no officer or souldier comprehended in the said articles shall be impleaded or sue at law for any horses, cattle, mony, or other provision or free quarter taken by them by order of the superior officers from any the inhabitants of this nation nor for any matter or thing comitted or don by them as souldiers in the orderly and usual course of warr. Provided this extend not to free any of them being impleaded for due debts according to due course of law :

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us :

Hugh Rogers.

Fred : Mullins.

Fran : Goold.

A. Leyne.

Andrew Elliott.

Iohn Ustead.

Har : Waller.

Thos. Sadleir.

Willm. Allen.

Iohn Nelson.

I hereby ratify and confirme these explanacions and declaracions made by my Commissioners

Edmund Ludlowe.

The 22d of June, 1652.

1. Memorandum that it is agreed by the Commissioners that the inhabitants of the island of Ross shall have fourteene days time for the carrying away their goods out of the said islands, and if by that time they cannot carry all their goods away, they shall have fourteene dayes more. Memorandum that such country gentlemen, now with my Lord of Muskery and [who] have not taken up armes and submit to the articles, shall have liberty to carry away their horses with their travelling armes not exceeding two horses each :

2. Memorandum it is agreed upon at the laying downe of armes all prisoners on both sides shall bee released, but this is not to extend to such as are in these or have been in former articles excepted.

Signed and delivered in the presence of

Hugh Rogers.

Fred : Mullins.

A. Leyne.

Fran : Goold.

Andrew Elliot.

Iohn Ustead.

Har : Waller.

Tho : Sadlier.

Willm. Allen.

Iohn Nelson.

We do not intend that persons who have in the time of warr set taken or lett any house or land belonging to absentees whether English or Irish shall for such acts as those be troubled or molested but are in such cases to receive and have indempnity for such acts according to the provision made in the explanacion concerning personall estates.

Har: Waller. Tho: Sadlier. Will: Allen. John Nelson.

That, whereas some scruples have been raised by some gentlemen of my Lord of Muskery's party, in regard there is not the same provision expressly made for them, concerning their liues, reall and personall estates, as for those in armes comprehended in the articles lately made and concluded with my Lord Muskrey; wee doe declare that it was and is our intention that [*sic*] and every of them doe enjoy equal benefitt as to their liues, reall and personall estates, with those other persons in armes and in like qualifications with themselves mentioned in the said articles. In testimony whereof wee hereunto sett our hands the 28th of June, 1652.

Edmund Fitz Morrisse.
Ger: Fitz Morice.
Robert Coppinger.
Call. OCallaghan.

Har: Waller,
Tho: Sadlier,
Will: Allen,
John Nelson.

I doe hereby ratify and confirme the above declaration.

Edmund Ludlowe.

This is a true copy of the articles and explanacions thereupon concluded betwixt Lieutenant Generall Ludlowe and myselfe. Witness my hand this 3d. August 1654.

Muskry.

LXV. ARTICLES BETWEEN LORD BROGHILL AND COLONEL FLORENCE MCCARTHY.

Articles concluded and agreed on betweene the Right Honorable the Lord Barron of Broghill, Collonel Phaire, [and] Major Wallis, on the one party, and Collonel Florence McCarthy, on the other.

Imprimis. That the said Collonel shall, by the fifteenth of January next ensuing, deliver in att the harbour of Corke, to such persons as the said Lord Broghill, Collonel Phaire, and Major Wallis shall appoynt, the number of six hundred men, which wee doe hereby ingage ourselves to transport for the said Colonel to [*blank*] upon the capitulation of [*blank*] for the service of the King of Spaine, the abovesaid number of six hundred men, supplying them with victualls, and providing them with shipping, without further charge to the said Collonel untill they bee arrived in the harbour of [*blank*] as aforesaid.

Colonel
Florence
McCarthy.

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Colonel
Florence
McCarthy.

2. That the said Collonel shall receaue for euery private souldier hee soe delivers in, as aforesaid, that lay'd downe armes, and are to bee allowed the benefitt of the Lord Muskery's articles (the three months arreares included) seaventeene shillings each man.

3. That the said Collonel shall bee allowed, for all such persons as hee shall soe deliver in as aforesaid, as are not allowed the benefitt of the aforesaid articles, twelve shillings, for each man he shall soe deliver in to be transported as aforesaid.

4. That the said Collonel shall have issued out unto him the sum of two hundred pounds, upon security that hee deliver unto such persons as shall bee appoynted att the harbor of Cork aforesaid the number of three hundred thirty foure men out of the aforesaid number of six hundred by the first of Ianuary next ensuing, or in failler whereof, upon demand to repay unto the said Lord Broghill, Collonel Phaire, Major Wallis, or every of them, the aforesaid sum of two hundred pounds.

5. It is further agreed and concluded that the said Collonel shall bee allowd, upon security as aforesaid, the sume of sixty pounds for every hundred men he shall deliver in as aforesaid, the remaining parte of the severall sumes before expressed to bee compleatly made up and paid to the said Collonel upon his producing of his men according to the aforementioned direction and authority aforesaid.

6. That the said Collonel shall bee allowed to every commissioned officer that shall soe engage with him, and that layd downe armes as aforesaid, three weeks' pay according to their respective quality they were in when they layd downe armes anl for all non comissioned officers, as did so lay downe armes as aforesaid twenty shillings each man, all which wee, the said Lord Broghill, Collonel Phair, [and] Major Wallis, ingage ourselves to pay at their going on shipp board.

LXVI. ARTICLES FOR BALLYMOTE.

Articles of Agreement betweene the Lord President of Connaght, on the one parte,
and Major Gennerall Luke Taaffe, on the other parte, concluded, June 24th.
1652.

24. June.
Articles
for
Ballymote.

That the guarrison of Ballimote with all the armes and stores of amunicion and provision bee surrendred by seauen of the clocke tomorrow morning to the Lord President, or such as hee shall apoynt (except hereafter excepted.)

That Major Gennerall Taafe, the officers and souldiers and all others now in Ballimote shall march forth with their armes, bagg and baggage, to such place as they shall desire.

That the goods belonging to any in protection as shall desire the same, bee preserved for the use of the respective owners, and that twenty dayes bee allowed for the removal of such goods, and that in the meane time a convenient place within the said castle bee allowed for the preserving them from imbezilment, and that

Major Gennerall Taafe with his family, not exceeding twelve persons in number, bee admitted to continue in Balimote during that time.

That Major Gennerall Taafe and such others as are in Ballimote shall have a safe conduct to continue within the quarters, during the space of three months, and att the expiration thereof bee received into the protection of the Parliament, if they desire the same.

That Major Gennerall Taafe and the tennants and others in Ballimote shall enjoy their corne in ground, paying contribution as others doe.

That the Lady Taafe shall haue liberty with her family to reside att Ballimote in the protection of the State of England, and that the said castle, if necessity doth not otherwise require, shall bee left free to her use after the expiration of two months from the date hereof, she giving or procuring sufficient security that it shall not bee possessed by any party in armes against the State of England, or become otherwise prejudiciall to their affayres, and that the castle of Ballimote, shall at all times bee free to give shelter to any party of the Parliaments forces, and redelivered upon demand to the use of the Parliament, and that the castle of Ballimote shall nott bee guarisoned afterwards butt upon apparent necessity.

That Major Gennerall Taafe shall have liberty to transport 1000 men beyond seas, if he can make his agreement with the Spanish agent, or any other in amity with the Comonwealth of England.

That Major Gennerall Taafe, and his wife in his absence, shall enjoy their estates as others of the same quallification.

That hostages be immediatly sent forth for the performance of these articles.

LXVII. ARTICLES BETWEEN MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE AND THE PARLIAMENT.

Articles agreed upon by and betweene Major Gennerall Lucas Taafe, Sir Ullicke Burke, Knight and Barronett, and Captain William Donellane, authorized by the Lord of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy Gennerall of Ireland, for his King, on the one parte, and Collonel William Rives, Major Iohn King and Captain Henry Sankey, Commissioners authorized by Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Connaght by authority of the Parliament of England, and Comissary Iohn Reynolds, of the other parte, the 28th day of Iune, 1652.

1. It is agreed that the said Lord of Clanrickarde with his necessary attendants (not exceeding twenty persons) shall haue a pass, or safe conduct to departe out of Ireland and to repaire into such foraigne kingdom or state, as hee shall make choice of, with liberty to remaine in Ireland free from all manner of prejudice in their persons, horses, travelling armes and goods, for three months next after the date of the said pass, for the better preparation and accomodation for his said voyage, and if, at the expiration of that time, want of convenient shipping, or contrary weather, should hinder his departure, noe advantage shall bee taken thereof, but the pass or

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safe conduct to continew of force, as to bee renewed untill shipping bee ready or the weather fitt.

2. That if by contrary windes hee shall bee driven back againe, or forced into England, or Scotland, hee shall not bee stayed, trobled, or molested, but quietly permitted to goe forward in his intended voyage, togeather with his goods, servants and attendants, without delay, loss, or prejudice to any in the Parliaments service or under their obedience.

3. That for the thousand pownds demanded from the Corporation of Galway by the Lord of Clanrickard, if the same upon just prooffe appeare to bee due, it shall bee paid by them, before his departure.

4. That as for the ingagment of the nation of two thousands pounds, challenged to bee due to the Lord of Clanrickard by consent and apoyntment of a Gennerrall Assembly of Conaght, the Lord President of Conaght and Comissary Gennerrall Reynolds will represent the same to the Commissioners of Parliament.

5. That the Lord of Clanrickard, Captain William Donellan, or either of them, shall not bee lyable to make satisfaction to any towne, county, or particular person, for any ingagments they or either of them have passed in the behalfe of their publique.

6. That James Davocke, steward, and Iohn Lambert, late Secretary to the Lord of Clanrickard and such others of the said Lords servants as have formerly attended upon him, and are now under protection, whom hee may have occasion to imploy for his helpe, and assistance, in the preparation for his departure, as also the said Captain William Donellane with his three servants, their horses, and travailing armes bee admitted to repaire unto him from time to time during his stay in Ireland, and that for conveyances passed from the Lord of Clanrickarde to his steward, and other his servants, if they bee of small vallue, they shall enjoy them, but if the same shall bee of considerable vallue, the Lord President of Connaght and Comissary-Gennerrall Reynolds will present it to the Commissioners of Parliament.

7. That as for those graunts passed by the Lord of Clanrickard in Ireland, unto Mrs. Lettice Burke, alias Sherly, so secureing her portion, left in his hands in England, being before the warr, the Lord President of Connaght and Comissary-Gennerrall Reynolds will effectually represent the same to the Commissioners of Parliament.

8. That the Lord of Clanrickard shall have liberty to transporte three thousand men (of such as shall be willing) out of this province for the service of any Prince or State in amyty with the Comonwealth of England, of which men such as are now in armes are to deliver up their armes to the Lord President or Comissary-Gennerrall Reynolds, or such as either of them shall appoynt within twenty dayes after the date hereof, and shall then receive one month's pay, according to their sumer allowance, out of their assignations for three months last past within this province, the said three thousand men to bee transported within three months after the date hereof, or sooner if it may bee.

9. That the Lord of Clanrickard shall with freedome resyde at Kilkolgan in the county of Gallway during the time limited for his stay in Irelande, in which time hee is not to act any thing to the prejudice of the Comonwealth of England, or the

present government thereof; and that the said Lord of Clanrickard shall withdraw the power and authority conferred upon him for further acting in this nation.

Lastly. That the said Lord President of this province of Connaght and Comissary-Gennerall Reynolds shall, within twenty dayes next after the date hereof, mediate with the Right Honorable the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affayres of Ireland to rattifie and confirme all those former articles. In wittnes whereof the Commissioners before named have hereunto interchangeably sett their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

Signed : William Ryves.
John Kinge.
Henry Sankey.

Wee doe hereby rattifie and confirme the aforementioned articles, the day and yeare aforesaid.

Charles Coote.
John Reynolds.

Copia vera.

Wee doe hereby undertake that the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affayres of Ireland, shall approve of and confirme the articles agreed upon with the Commissioners appoynted by the Lord of Clanrickard this present day, as wittnes our handes this 28th of June, 1652.

Cha: Coote.
John Reynolds.

LXVIII. ARTICLES FOR MULLAGH.

Articles concluded, and agreed on by and betweene Collonel John Fowke and Major Thomas Standley, for and on the behalfe of the Commonwealth of England, of the one party, and the Lord of Slane and Captain Marcus Cruce, for and on the behalfe of themselves, officers, and souldiers in the guarrison of Mullagh, of the other party, the 28th June 1652, as follows :

1. It is agreed by and betweene the said parties, that by eight of the clock tomorrow being the 29th of this instant, the guarrison of the Mullagh with the islands thereof, together with all the horses, armes and amunicion there (except what are hereafter excepted) shall bee surrendered.

2. In consideration thereof it is agreed by and betweene the said parties that the Lord of Slane, with the officers and troopers under his command in the garrison of the Mullagh, shall have liberty to receive foure months pay according to the establishment, the sune not exceeding ours, out of such assignations as formerly were made unto them, they discounting thereout any thing taken by them from the quarters synce the first of February last. And whereas the Lord of Slane is unsatisfied concerning his saifety for the death of one Pole, it is hereby agreed in case

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hee finds not fuller satisfaction therein, upon his application made unto the Comander in Chief of our army, that then hee shall have liberty to transporte himself to any part beyond sea, in amity with the Comonwealth of England.

3. Captain Marcus Cruce, for the officers and souldiers under his comand in the guarrison of the Mullagh, shall likewise have liberty to receive foure months' pay according to their establishment, the same not exceeding ours, out of of such assignations as were formerly made unto them, they discounting thereout any thing taken by them as aforesaid.

4. Fourthly, such as desire the same shall receive protections to live quietly in the quarters, they submitting to the Parliaments government, and paying proportionably contribucion with others where they live, and they shall enjoy the same benefitt which is held forth to others in the same condition in one article made at Kilkenny in respect of priuiledges from the prosecution of the inhabitants of the country for any act comitted by them upon the quarters.

5. Such as desire the same, shall have liberty to engage themselves to goe beyond sea, to joyne with any in amity with the Comonwealth of England, they declaring, when they shall have receaved their foure months' pay or meanes, their resolutions for so doing, and giving security for the same.

6. That the benefitt of these articles shall not extend to any person guilty of murther or otherwise exemted by the articles made att Kilkenny.

Lastly. It is agreed that the Lord of Slane shall march out of the Mullagh with and enjoy one horse, with a sword and one case of pistolls; Captain Marcus Cruce, one horse, a sword and one case of pistolls; Lieutenant Fay, one horse, a sword and a case of pistolls; Lieutenant Cruce, a sword, and Captain Cruce his Ensigne, one sword, and that all the rest shall march without their horses and armes. In wittnes to the above agreement the severall parties above mentioned have hereunto interchangeably sett their hands the day and yeare above written.

LXIX. ARTICLES BETWEEN COMMISSARY GENERAL REYNOLDS AND COLONEL MAC DERMOTT.

Articles of agreement betweene Commissary Gennerall Reynolds on the one parte, and Collonel McDermott, on the other parte, concluded June 29, 1652.

29. June.
Colonel
Mac Dermott.

1. That the regiment under command of Collonel McDermott, shall have such conditions as shall bee concluded upon at Dunmore, or the benefitt of the conditions of Leinster, concluded at Kilkenny May 12, if they shall desire the same within twenty dayes after the date hereof.

2. That Collonel McDermott shall bee received into the protection of the State, paying contribution, and enjoy the benefitt of his estate as others of his condition, upon a setlement at the expiration of twenty dayes, in the meane time to act nothing prejuditiall unto the State.

3. That Collonel McDermott shall give security that the Castle of Carrick shall not bee prejudiciall unto the State, and that hee receiue a ward into it after the expiration of twenty dayes, or at any time thenceforth (if desired) by Commissary Gennerall Reynolds, or the officer commanding the forces in the county of Roscomon in his absence.

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Witnesses : Edw : Richardson. McDermott.
 Rog : McDermott.

Copia vera.

LXX. ARTICLES BETWEEN COMMISSARY-GENERAL REYNOLDS AND
MAJOR CHARLES KELLY.

Articles agreed on by Captain Henry Sankey, by authority from Commissary-Gennerall Reynolds, on the one parte, and Captain Wm. Kelly, by authority and on the behalfe of Major Charles Kelly, on the other parte.

30. June.
Major Kelly.

1. That Major Charles Kelly, Captain Wm. Kelly, Captain William McDonogh Kelly, and Captain Hugh Kelly, shall, upon the eight day of July next deliver up at Roscommon to such as Comissary Gennerall Reynolds shall appoynt, the horses, saddles and armes, of the fower troopes under their comands, and that Captain Laughlin Kelly, Captain William Kelly, and Captain Ferdoragh Kelly, shall also at the time aforesaid at Roscomon deliver up the armes of the three foote companyes under their comande.

2. That the said officers, and souldiers both of horse and foote, shall upon delivering up their armes aforesaid receive one month's full pay, according to their sumer allowance, out of the places of their last assignations, and that the officers and souldiers of horse that shall then deliver up their armes, shall receive full payment for their horses, as they shall be rated by two officers of such party, and if they doe not agree, one umpire of each party to bee chosen which are to have voyces by turnes.

3. That the said Major Kelly and the officers abovesaid and all other officers and souldiers under their comand that shall deliver up their armes as aforesaid shall enjoy all their personall estates, and corne in ground, paying contribucion for the future as the rest of the country, and shall not bee questioned for any thing donn by them, during the warr (except what is hereafter excepted) and shall upon a settlement, have the benefitt of such a favor extended to them, for their estates reall, as the Parliament of England shall give to any of this nation in their condition or quallification.

4. That the said Major or any other of the said Captains by his appoyntment shall bee allowed to transporte, for the service of any forreigne Prince or State in amitie with the Comonwealth of England, a regiment of foote consisting of a thousand men of the said persons laying down armes, and such other of the family of Kelly and their friends as shall goe with them, the said regiment to bee transported

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within three months, or sooner if it may bee, to which purpose it shall bee lawfull for them to employ a messenger into Spaine, (if they cannot agree with the Spanish agent here,) and if they cannot effect the same within the three months aforesaid, upon application to the Commissioners of Parliament or others in cheife comand, a competent enlargement of time as they shall thinke fitt is to bee given them, during all which time, it shall bee allowed the said Major to keepe 4 horses for himselfe, and three servants, who may ride with their armes; each Captain of horse, three horses for himselfe, and two servants; each Captain of foote, two horses for himself, and one servant, each Lieutenant, Cornett, and Quarter Master of Horse, one horse; all which officers and their said servants may ride with their armes, and each Lieutenant and Ensigne of foote to weare theire swords, they acting nothing prejudiciall to the Comonwealth of England or present government.

That such prisoners belonging to the said troopes and companyes in laying downe armes, as are in the handes of any of the Parliaments forces, and such of theirs as are in the hands of the said Kelly's shall bee also enlarged.

That the benefitt of these articles shall not extend to any person guilty of the murders, or robberies of the first yeare of the warr, nor to any murders after quarter given, or by or upon persons not in armes.

That the said Major shall give unto Commissary-Generall Reynolds hostages for performance of all the articles. In wittnes whereof the said Captain Henry Sankey and Wm. Kelly have hereunto sett their hands and seales the last day of June, 1652.

Signed: William Kelly.

Witnesses: Iohn Samon. Sam: Wilson.

LXXI. ARTICLES BETWEEN COLONEL VENABLES AND GENERAL FERRALL.

8. July.

General
Ferrall.

Articles, made, concluded, and agreed, by and betwixt Collonell Robert Venables, and the Councell of Warr, on the one parte, and Collonell Myles Rely, on the behalfe of Lieutenant-Generall Farrell, Collonell Phillip Rely, and the party under their comand, on the other parte.

That all persons that now are, or hereafter shall bee taken prisoners on either partie (except Genneral Officers or persons excepted from mercy) shall bee exchanged for persons of equall quallity, or ransome for one months pay as is now established and paid to the English forces.

That this agreement continew for six months, next ensuing the date hereof, and that the Commissioners of Parliament bee informed of the same to have it approved by them, and in the intrim thatt all prisoners bee enlarged, and in case they doe not confirme the same, that then all the said prisoners shall bee returned unto that party with whom they are now in durance.

And for performance of these articles the parties have heerunto sett their hands at Ballynacargie, July 8. 1652.

Copia vera concordans cum originali.

LXXII. ARTICLES BETWEEN PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND AND ROYALISTS IN APPENDIX.
CONNACHT.

Articles agreed on by Collonel Richard Coote, Major Robert Ormesby, Captain 1652.
Henry Lestrangle, Captain Henry Sankey, and Adjutant Charles Halcroft, by 14. July.
authority of the Right Honorable Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Conaught Royalists
and Comissary Iohn Reynolds on behalfe of the Parliament of the Comon- in
wealth of England of the one parte; and Theobald, Viscount Mayo, Major Connacht.
Genneral Lucas Taafe, Collonell Gerritt Moore, Collonell Hugh O Connor, and
Hugh O Kelly, for, and in behalfe of themselves and in behalfe and by authority
of Sir Ulick Burke, Barronett, Collonell William Bourke, Collonell Francis
Taafe, Collonell Donogh Kelly, Captain Thomas Burke, Captain Sir Iohn
Bourke, Collonell Terence Mc Dermott, Lieutenant Collonell Mc Donnell
O Connor, Captain John Burke, Lieutenant Collonell Bryne O Kelly, Collonell
Tiege O Connor Sligo, Collonell Ulick Bourke, Lieutenant Collonell Teige
O Rourke, Lieutenant Collonell Teige O Dowde, Captain Con: Farrell,
Captaine Edward Bourke, Collonell Teige O Kelly, Lieutenant Collonell
Dermott O Daly, Captain Cormuck O Hara, Captain Wm. Donellan,
and Captain Carbry McEgan, and in the behalfe of all others comprized in
these articles, and now in armes in the province of Connaught against the
Parliament, of the other parte, this fourteenth of July, 1652.

1. It is agreed that the said Sir Ulick Bourke, Barronett, Collonell Richard
Bourke, Collonell William Bourke, Collonell Francis Taafe, Collonell Donogh
O Kelly, Captain Thomas Bourke, Captain Sir John Bourke, Collonell Terence
Mc Dermott, Lieutenant Collonell Donnell O Connor, Captain John Bourke,
Lieutenant Collonell Bryne O Kelly, Collonell Teige O Connor Sligo, Collonell
Ulick Bourke, Lieutenant Collonell Teige O Rourke, Lieutenant Collonell
Teige O Dowde, Captain Con: Farrell, Captain Edmund Burke, Collonell Teig
O Kelly, Lieutenant Collonell Dermott O Dayly, Captain Cormuck O Hara,
Captain William Donellan and Captain Carbry Mc Egan.

And also the said Lord Viscount Mayo, Major Gennerrall Lucas Taafe, Collonell
Garrett Moore, Collonell Hugh O Connor and Collonell Hugh Kelly, and all other
the officers and souldiers under their comands in this province of Connaught, shall,
on the last day of this instant Iuly, deliver up into the handes of such as the said
Lord President, or Comissary Gennerrall Reynolds shall appoynt, all their horses,
armes, and amunicion belonging to them, and to the severall troopes and compa-
nies, under their comands, and all the castles, islands, forts, artilleryes and stores
belonging to, or in the power of them, or any of them without spoyle, wast or
imbeazlment except unto Theobald Lord Viscount Mayo, Major Gennerrall Lucas
Taafe, and Collonell Richard Bourke, to each of them six horses and six case of pistols,
to each Collonell of Horse five horses, and three case of pistols, each Lieutenant
Collonell and Major of Horse, fower horses and two cases of pistols; each Captain

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of Horse three horses, and one case of pistols; each Lieutenant and Cornett of Horse two horses and one case of pistols, each Quarter Master one horse and one case of pistols; each Collonell of Foote three horses and two cases of pistols, each Lieutenant Collonell and Major, two horses and one case of pistols, each Captain of Foote his horse and each comission officer his sword, the Auditor Gennerall Marshall Generall and Quarter Master Generall, to each of them two horses and one case of pistols, the said horses and armes to bee delivered up as follows, viz.

The forces of the county of Roscommon to deliver up their horses and armes at Roscommon, the county of Letrim at Jamestowne; the county of Sligo at Ballymote; the county of Mayo at Moyla; the county of Gallway at Loughreagh; and the officers of the respective troopes, and companyes, shall give in a true list of all the officers and souldiers comprehended in these articles, and also of the horses and armes, to bee delivered up at the places appoynted for laying downe armes, which is to bee sent to the officer comanding the adjacent guarrison to that place of rendezowze, at least three dayes before the day appoynted for the laying downe armes.

2. That all persons comprized in these articles shall be secured, and protected, in their lives, and personall estates, they submitting themselves to all acts and ordinances of Parliament, and that such as desire it, shall have passes, to transporte themselves and their goods, beyond seas, to any place in amity with the Comonwealth of England, within three months after the date hereof; they in the meane time acting nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth or present Governement, and that all prisoners relateing to the parties herein concerned bee mutually sett at liberty.

3. That all such officers and souldiers as shall deliver up their horses and armes as aforesaid shall receive full payment for their horses as they shall bee then valued by two officers for each party, and if they cannot agree, one umpire of each party to bee chosen, who are to have voyces, by turnes, and that all officers and souldiers shall, upon delivering up their armes as aforesaid, receive one whole months pay, according to their summer allowance, out of the places of their last assignations, and that then noe officer shall have pay but such as bring in forty foote of each company and twenty five horse of each troope; and that such as doe not bring in their men, shall have proportionable defalcation made for want of numbers out of their pay.

4. That the said Lord Viscount Mayo, etc., Sir Ulick Burke, etc., or such other of the said persons aforesaid as shall undertake the same, shall bee allowed to transporte for the service of any forraigne Prince or State in amity with the Comonwealth of England, five thousand men of the persons comprehended in these articles and that within three months, or sooner if it may bee, to which purpose itt shall bee lawfull for them to imploy a messenger into Spaine, or any other country in amity with the Comonwealth of England if they can nott agree with the King of Spaines agent here, and if they cannott effect the same soe soone, the Lord President and Comissary Gennerall will moderate with the Commissioners of Parliament for a convenient enlargement of time.

5. That those comprehended in these articles shall have the full benefitt of all

such concessions, conditions and explanations thereupon as have been granted and passed to any the forces of this nation, since the tenth of May last, and that shall bee graunted hereafter to any forces of the Irish party now in armes in this nation who shall submitt to the Government of the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England: Provided that it bee not intended that any arreares bee hereby allowed to any the forces now agreed with. Provided that from the date hereof, none of the said officers or souldiers of the said party take more then necessary foode for themselves and their horses from their former quarters or the places where they now are or shall march through to their rendesvouze appoynted for laying downe armes, and that without plundering or destruction to the country in any measure, (Provided) that the persons aforesaid, and others the persons under their respective comand, that shall deliver up armes as aforesaid, shall bee comprized in, and haue the benefitt of these articles, and noe other, Provided alsoe that the benefitt of these articles shall not extend to any person guilty of the murthers or robberies comitted in the first yeare of the warr, or that any time since haue comitted any murthers after quarter given, or that are guilty of any murthers comitted by or upon any persons not in armes.

Lastly, it is agreed upon that five hostages to bee named by the said Lord President, and Comissary Gennerall Reynolds shall upon perfecting hereof bee given in for performance of these articles, that is to say, one for each of the said countys, who shall bee accountable only for the forces of the county, for which hee is engaged and if any particular person shall make a breach of these articles, it shall bee answered by himselfe, and noe other, the officers comprehended in these articles endeavouring to bring him to justice.

For true performance of all which articles aforesaid the aforementioned persons authorized on both parties, have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

Lucas Taafe.

Hugh O'Kelly.

Mayo.

Hugh O'Connor.

Garrett Moore.

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LXXIII. LETTER FROM COMMISSIONERS IN IRELAND FOR PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, 1652.

For the Right Honourable Wil. Lenthall Esq; Speaker unto the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, These present.

Mr. Speaker,

Our last from Corke gave you an account of the then present condition of your affaires, since then the Lord of Muskerry after the treaty concluded at Rosse, hath been industrious to make the submission of his party as considerable as he could, so as in several places there have of his party 3000 foot and 700 horse men mounted, and 300 unmounted, brought in their horse and armes, and the Lord Muskerry himself doth (as he saith) intend presently to go for Spaine, and carry with him 1000 men, and himselfe to return again, if he can obtain any

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considerable command, upon the carrying over of the residue of his party, for whom he is there to make his conditions. There is now in the fastnesses of Kerry one Murtoogh O Brian who is in the head of such of the Irish Rebels as have not submitted, and come in with the Lord Muskerry: and Sir Hardreds Waller with a considerable party is left in Kerry to clear that county, and to make such garisons therein, as may enable the party there to prevent the gathering together of the enemy, or others that may come to them.

The Earle of Clanrickard and the body of the rebels that were in a conjunction with him, being beaten from their garisons and castle by a considerable party under Sir Charles Coot, and Commis. Gen. Reynolds on the one side, and Col. Venables with some part of the Leinster forces, sent from Col. Hewson on the other side, and by planting of garisons at Belturbet, in Cavan, and securing several passes, have been so attended on all hands, that they could not continue any longer together in a body, and the Earle of Clanrickard, for himselfe, and the several officers of the Connaught forces for themselves, and the party under their command, have also come in and submitted; and on the last of this instant are to bring in their horse and armes; and have desired leave to transport 5000. so as all Connaught (if they performed their conditions) will be clear of any enemy that we can heare of: and those rebels that are left in Vlster, are attended by Com. Gen. Reynolds in Longford, and by Col. Venables in Cavan, and those parts, so as it is hoped they will be reduced to such a condition, as they shal be disinabled at least to infect your quarters, some part or other of our forces continually falling upon them, as they doe move out of their fastnesses. Since the rendition of Rosse in Kerry, a considerable part of your forces under the conduct of Lieut. Gen. Ludlow had some resolutions to march into the north, to make that body of your forces there more considerable; but upon the submission of the Connaught enemy, and that there is sufficient force there, to attend the remainder of the Vlster rebels at present, it is now held most advisable that the Lieut. General doe forthwith march into Wicklow and Wexford, and to beat those woods and mountaines, and to find out the enemy, and to plant some garisons in those fastnesses, and then to move further, as shal be most conducing to your service.

There hath been a meeting of very many of the officers at Clonmell, of which they gave us notice at Corke, and desired our comming thither to them, and we were present with them in all their debates and consultations; the result whereof was put in writing, and sent by Col. Hewson, and Adjutant Gen. Allen, and we did observe in every one there met, a general desire to testifie their duty, and thankfulness for the great care of the Parliament in the plentiful provisions made for them hitherto, and that nothing should be by them presented that might any way seem to be contrary to any resolutions of the Parliament concerning them, but in all things are most willing to be ordered by you, as God shal please to guide and lead you.

We are this day to march to Kilkenny, and thence to Dublin from whence we hope to give you further account as occasion shal be offered, and at present shal only subscribe our selves,

Your most humble servants

Jo. Jones.

Miles Corbet.

Waterford, the 22th. of July, 1652.

LXXIV. SURRENDER OF CAPTAIN GARRETT BYRNE.

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Sir,

Captain Garrett Byrne with Captain James Huett, condescended to your agreement desiring your civill favor for longer time to bring their men in, to receive your favour if possible can be granted to gett 14 dayes bread and cheese to give them, these are left to your favours before Edmund Quine, theire families to bee at Ballearneey till Wednesday, which day they will waite on you to subscribe themselves your Servants.

Your faithful Servant,
Isack Dobson,

Wickloe, the 9th. August, 1652.

Witness : Edm. Quine.

That if Captain Gerrald Byrne and Captain James Birne and their party doe come in and lay downe their armes within tenn dayes after the date hereof and submitt themselves to a triall for any murthers and massacryes and robberies comitted upon the English and Protestants during the first yeare of the rebellion or of any other murther comitted at any other time since or before the said first yeare of the rebellion, upon any other person not in armes, such persons soe submitting shall have liberty to live in protection or three months time to transporte themselves beyond the seas. Dated at Rathdrum, the 12th. of August, 1652.

Wm. Arnop.

LXXV. ACT OF ENGLISH PARLIAMENT FOR THE SETTLING OF IRELAND.

AN ACT FOR THE SETLING OF IRELAND.

Whereas the Parliament of England, after the expence of much blood and treasure for suppression of the horrid rebellion in Ireland, have by the good hand of God upon their undertakings, brought that affair to such an issue, as that a totall reducement and settlement of that nation may, with God's blessing, be speedily effected: To the end therefore that the people of that nation may know that it is not the intention of the Parliament to extirpate that whole nation, but that mercy and pardon, both as to life and estate, may be extended to all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort, in maner as is hereafter declared; they submitting themselves to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and living peaceably and obediently under their government: And that others also of higher rank and quality may know the Parliament's intention concerning them, according to the respective demerits and

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LXXIV. MS. of the Library of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, p. 110.

LXXV. An Act for the Settling of Ireland.—Thursday, 12th August, 1652: Ordered by the Parliament, that this Act be forthwith Printed and Published. Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.—Printed at Waterford, by Peter de Pienne, 1652.

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considerations under which they fall; Be it enacted and declared by this present Parliament, and by the authority of the same, that all and every person and persons of the Irish nation, comprehended in any of the following qualifications, shall be lyable unto the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned and contained; or, be made capable of the mercy and pardon therein extended respectively, according as is hereafter expressed and declared; that is to say,

I. That all and every person and persons, who at any time before the tenth day of November, one thousand six hundred forty two (being the time of the sitting of the first Generall Assembly at Kilkenny in Ireland) have contrived, advised, councelled, promoted or acted, the rebellion, murthers or massacres done or committed in Ireland, which began in the year one thousand six hundred forty one; or have at any time, before the said tenth day of November, one thousand six hundred forty two, by bearing armes, or contributing men, armes, horse, plate, money, victuall, or other furniture or habilliments of war (other then such which they shall make to appear to have been taken from them by meer force and violence) ayded, assisted, promoted, acted, prosecuted or abetted the said rebellion, murthers, or massacres, be excepted from pardon of life and estate.

II. That all and every Jesuit, priest, and other person or persons who have received orders from the Pope or Sea of Rome, or any authority derived from the same, that have any ways contrived, advised, councelled, promoted, continued, countenanced, ayded, assisted or abetted; or at any time hereafter shall any ways contrive, advise, counsell, promote, continue, countenance, ayd, assist or abet the rebellion or war in Ireland, or any the murthers or massacres, robberies or violencies committed against the Protestants English or other there, be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

III. That

James Butler, Earl of Ormond,
James Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven,
Ullick Bourk, Earl of Clanrickard,
Christopher Plunket, Earl of Fingal,
James Dillon, Earl of Roscomon,
Richard Nugent, Earl of Westmeath,
Morrogh O'Brien, Baron of Inchiquin,
Donogh MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry,
Theobald Taaff, Viscount Taaff of Corren,
Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret,
[Blank] Roch, Viscount Fermoy,
[Blank] Montgomery, Viscount Mont-
gomery of Ards,
[Blank] Magennis, Viscount of Iveah,
[Blank] Fleming, Baron of Slane,
Dempsey, Viscount of Glanmaleer,
[Blank] Bermingham, Baron of Athenry,
Oliver Plunket, Baron of Lowth,
Robert Barnwal, Baron of Trymletstown,

Miles Bourk, Viscount Mayo,
Connor Maguire, Baron of Eniskellen,
Nicholas Preston, Viscount Gormans-
town,
Nicholas Nettervil, Viscount Nettervil
of Dowth,
John Bramhal, late Bishop of Derry,
James Cusack, Esquir,
Thomas Tyrel, Esquir,
Peter Clinton, Esquir,
Sir Phelim O Neil, Knight,
Sir George Monroe, Knight,
Sir James Montgomery, Knight,
Sir Robert Stewart, Knight,
Sir Con Magennis, of the county of
Down, Knight,
Sir Luke Fitz Gerald, of Tecroghan,
Knight,
Sir Richard Barnwal, of Crickstown,
Knight,

Sir John Nettervil, Knight,
 Sir Thomas Esmond, of the county of
 Wexford, Knight,
 Sir Johnⁿ Magrath, of the county of
 Tipperary,
 Sir Theobald Bourk, son of the Viscount
 Mayo,
 Colonel Thomas Preston,
 Hugh Buy O Neil,
 Luke Taaff, brother to the Viscount
 Taaff.
 Geoffrey Brown, Esq;
 Geoffrey Baron, Esq;
 Patrick Darcy, Esq;
 Nicholas Plunket, Esq;
 [Blank] Fennel, Doctor of Physick,
 Hugh Mac Phelim Birn, of the county
 of Wicklow,
 Florence Fitz-Patrick, of the Queen's
 County, Esq;
 Colonel John Fitz-Patrick, son of
 Florence,
 Roger Moor, of Ballyna, in the county
 of Kildare,
 Tirlogh Roe O Neil, brother to Sir
 Phelim O Neil,
 Mulmurry Mac Swyne,
 Donnel Oge Magennis,
 John Mortimer,
 Rory Magwyre, of the county of
 Fermanagh,
 Rory Mac Brien Oge Magennis,
 Ever Magennis, of Castle-Vellan,
 Edmund Buy Magennis,
 Shane Mac Brien O Neil,
 Tirlogh Magrath, son of James
 Magrath,
 Tirlogh Mac Caffry O Donnel,
 Brien Modder O Quynne,
 Brien O Mulcrevy,
 Patrick Groom O Mulcrevy,
 Tirlogh Groom O Quynne, of Monag-
 owre, in the county of Tyrone,
 Colonel Manus Roe O Cahau,
 Toole Mac Macan,

Walter Bagnal, Esq;
 Edmund Bourk, of Cloghan in the
 county of Mayo,
 [Blank] Pursel, of Tipperary, Baron of
 Loghmo,
 Thomas Cantwel, of Cantwels-Court in
 the county of Kilkenny,
 Edward Hussey, of Moyl Hussey, in the
 county of Meath,
 Hugh Hussey, of Galtrym,
 John Bellew, of Willystown, in the
 county of Lowth, Esq;
 Philip Mac Hugh O Reyly, of the
 county of Cavan,
 Mulmurry O Reyly of the county of
 Cavan,
 Colonel Mac Brien Mac Mahown, of the
 county of Monaghan,
 Lysagh Moor, brother to Roger Moor
 before mentioned,
 Neil Mac Kenna, of the Trough, in the
 county of Monaghan,
 Richard Belling, Esquire, son to Sir
 Henry Belling, Knight;
 Laurence Dowdal, of Athlumney,
 Esquire,
 Captain Arthur Fox, of Crumlin, in the
 county of Dublin,
 Brien Mac Phelim Birn, of the county
 of Wicklow,
 Colonel Luke Tool, of Castle Kevin, in
 the county of Wicklow,
 John Crean, of Sligo,
 Anthony Brabazon, of Ballinsloe, in the
 county of Roscommon,
 Piers Fitz Gerard, of Bullisonan, com-
 monly called Mac Thomas.
 Lysagh Demsey, of the King's County,
 Esquire,
 Charls O Connor Dun, of Ballin-
 tober in the county of Roscomon,
 Esquire,
 Dermot O Brien, of the county of Clare,
 Richard Grace Mac Iasper, of the King's
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Philip O Dwyre, of the county of Tipperary,	Teige O Connor Sligo, of Sligo,
Owney O Dwyre, of the county of Tipperary,	Redmond Bourk [of] Kileernan in the county of Gallowey,
Murtagh O Brian, of Annagh in the said county,	Thomas Bourk, of Anbally in the county of Gallowey,
John O Kennedy, of Donnally in the said county,	John Brown, of the Neal in the county of Mayo,
Murrough ne Mart O Flagherty, of the county of Gallowey,	Charls O Connor and Hugh O Connor, brothers of Teige O Connor Sligo ;
Tiege O Flagherty, of the said county,	James Dillon, Brother to the Viscount Dillon of Costillogh,
Tiege O Connor Roe, of the county of Roscomon,	[Blank] Touchet, brother to the Earl of Castlehaven,

be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

IV. That all and every person and persons (both principals and accessaries) who since the first day of October, one thousand six hundred forty one, have or shall kill, slay, or otherwise destroy any person or persons in Ireland, which at the time of their being so killed, slain or destroyed, were not publicly entertained and maintained in arms as officers or private souldiers, for and on behalf of the English against the Irish ; and all and every person and persons (both principals and accessaries) who since the first day of October, one thousand six hundred forty one, have killed, slain, or otherwise destroyed any person or persons entertained and maintained as officers or private souldiers, for and on the behalf of the English against the Irish (the said persons so killing, slaying, or otherwise destroying, not being then publicly entertained and maintained in arms as officer or private souldier under the command and pay of the Irish against the English) be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

V. That all and every person and persons in Ireland, that are in arms or otherwise in hostility against the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and shall not within eight and twenty dayes after publication hereof by the Commissioners for the Parliament, or Commander in Chief, lay down arms and submit to the power and authority of the said Parliament and Commonwealth, as the same is now established, be excepted from pardon for life and estate.

VI. That all other person and persons (not being comprehended in any of the former qualifications) who have born command in the war of Ireland against the Parliament of England, or their forces, as Generall, Lieutenant General, Major General, Commissary General, Colonel, Governor of any Garison, Castle or Fort, who have been imployed as Receiver-General or Treasurer of the whole nation or any province thereof, Commissary-General of Musters or Provisions ; Marshal-General, or Marshal of any province, Advocate of the Army, or Secretary to the Council of War, or to any General of the Army, or of any the several provinces, in order to the carrying on the war against the Parliament or their forces, be banished during the pleasure of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and their estates forfeited and disposed of as followeth, viz. that two third parts of their respective estates be had, taken, and disposed of for the use and

benefit of the said Commonwealth; and that the other third part of their said respective estates or other lands, to the proportion and value thereof (to be assigned in such places in Ireland, as the Parliament, in order to the more effectuall settlement of the peace of this nation shall think fit to appoint for that purpose) be respectively had, taken and enjoyed by the wives and children of the said persons respectively.

VII. That the Commissioners of Parliament and Commander in Chief have power to declare, that such person or persons as they shall judge capable of the Parliaments mercy (not being comprehended in any of the former qualifications) who have born arms against the Parliament of England or their forces, and have laid down arms, or within eight and twenty days after publication hereof by the Commissioners for the Parliament, and the Commander in Chief, shall lay down arms and submit to the power and authority of the said Parliament and Commonwealth, as the same is now established (by promising and ingaging to be true to the same) shall be pardoned for their lives, but shall forfeit their estates to the said Commonwealth, to be disposed of as followeth, (viz.) two third parts thereof (in three equal parts to be divided) for the use, benefit and advantage of the said Commonwealth, and the other third part of the said respective estates or other lands, to the proportion or value thereof (to be assigned in such places in Ireland, as the Parliament, in order to the more effectuall settlement of the peace of that nation shall think fit to appoint for that purpose) be enjoyed by the said persons, their heirs or assigns respectively. Provided, that in case the Commissioners and Commander in Chief, or either of them shall see cause to give any shorter time than twenty eight days, unto any person or persons in arms, or in any garison castle or fort in hostility against the Parliament, and shall give notice to such person or persons in arms, or in any garison, castle or fort, that all and every such person and persons who shall not within such time as shall be set down in such notice, surrender such garison, castle or fort to the power of the Parliament and lay down arms, shall have no advantage of the time formerly limited in this qualification.

VIII. That all and every person and persons of the Popish religion, who have resided in Ireland at any time from the first day of October, one thousand six hundred forty one, to the first of March, one thousand six hundred fifty, and have not manifested their constant good affection to the interest of the Commonwealth of England (the said persons not being comprehended in any of the former qualifications) shall forfeit one third part of their estates in Ireland to the said Commonwealth, to be disposed of for the use, benefit and advantage of the said Commonwealth; and the other two third parts of their respective estates or other lands, to the proportion or value thereof, to be assigned in such place in Ireland, as the Parliament, for the more effectuall settlement of the peace of that nation, shall think fit, to appoint for that purpose, be enjoyed by such person or persons, their heirs or assigns respectively: And that all other persons who have resided in Ireland within the time aforesaid, and have not been in actual service for the Parliament, or otherwise manifested their good affections to the interest of the Parliament of England, having opportunity to do the same, shall forfeit one fifth part of their estates to the use of the said Commonwealth.

IX. That all and every person and persons (having no reall estate in Ireland, nor

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personal estate to the value of ten pounds) that shall lay down armes and submit to the power and authority of the Parliament by the time limited in the former qualifications : and shall take and subscribe the engagement, to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, within such time, and in such manner as the Commissioners for the Parliament, and Commander in Chief shall appoint and direct, such persons (not being excepted from pardon, nor adjudged for banishment by any of the former qualifications) shall be pardoned for life and estate for any act or thing by them done in prosecution of the war.

X. That all estates declared by the former qualifications concerning rebels or delinquents in Ireland to be forfeited, shall be construed, adjudged, and taken, to all intents and purposes, to extend to the forfeitures of all estates tail, and also of all rights and titles thereunto, which since the five and twentieth of March, one thousand six hundred thirty nine, have been, or shall be in such rebels or delinquents, or any other in trust for them, or any of them, or their or any of their uses, with all reversions and remainders thereupon, in any other person or persons whatsoever : And also to the forfeiture of all estates limited, appointed, conveyed, settled or vested in any person or persons declared by the said qualifications to be rebels or delinquents, with all reversions or remainders of such estates conveyed, vested, limited, declared or appointed to any the heirs, children or issues of such rebell or delinquent ; which estate or estates, remainders or reversions since the five and twentieth of March, one thousand six hundred thirty nine, have been or shall be in such rebels or delinquents, or in any their heirs, children or issues of such rebels or delinquents ; and to all estates granted, limited, appointed or conveyed by any such rebels or delinquents, unto any their heirs, children or issue, with all the reversions and remainders thereupon. Provided, that this shall not extend to make void the estates of any English Protestants, who have constantly adhered to the Parliament, which were by them purchased for valuable consideration before the three and twentieth of October, one thousand six hundred forty one ; or upon like valuable consideration mortgaged to them before that time, or to any person or persons in trust for them for satisfaction of debts owing to them.

Provided, that if any person or persons excepted by name or otherwise, comprehended in these qualifications, have been comprized within any articles granted unto them, or agreed upon between them and any Commander of the Parliaments forces thereto authorized ; that such person or persons shall nevertheless enjoy the benefit of those articles, in case the Commissioners of Parliament in Ireland shall adjudge them to be comprized therein ; and that they have observed and kept, and continue to observe and keep the articles on their parts. And that nevertheless it shall be in the power of the Parliament, or their Commissioners, if they see cause, to transplant such persons from the respective places of their usuall habitation or residence, into such other places within that nation, as shall be judged most consistent with publique safety, allowing them such proportion of land or estate in the parts to which they shall be transplanted, as they had or should have enjoyed of their own other where, in case they had not been so removed.

LXXVI. ARTICLES BETWEEN PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND AND IRISH IN ULSTER. APPENDIX.

Articles of agreement drawne betweene Comissary Gennerall Reynolds and Collonel Robert Venables, on the behalfe of the Parliamēt of England, on the one parte, and Collonell Miles Rely, Lieutenant Collonell Phillip Rely, Major Hugh Magneisse, and Captain Lewis Ferral, on the behalfe of themselves, and the rest of the officers of the Irish party in Ulster, and others now in armes against the Parliamēt, and by comission from Lieutenant Gennerall Ferral, the Lord Viscount Iveagh, and Collonell Phillip Rely, on the other parte, to bee offered and presented to the Commissioners of Parliamēt.

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1. That all the forts, castles, islands, and all other places fortified, and guarri-
soned, now under the comand of the Irish party in armes in the province of Ulster,
bee delivered up to the Comander in Cheife of the Parliaments forces in Ireland, or
whom hee shall appoint, together with all armes, amunition and habilliments of
warr, and stores, without any spoile or embezelment, and that the officers and
souldiers comprehended in these articles shall deliver up to the Comander in Cheife
of the Parliaments forces in Ireland, or whom hee shall appoint, all their horses and
armes, at, or before the 18 day after the articles are confirmed, by eleaven of the
clock in the forenoone, at such places as the Comander in Cheife shall appoint,
except that is hereafter excepted, viz. to Lieutenant Gennerall Ferral tenn horses
and six case of pistolls; to each Collonell of horse five horses and three case of pis-
tolls; each Lieutenant Collonell of Horse and their Majors fower horses and two
case of pistolls; each Captain of Horse three horses and two case of pistolls; each
Lieutenant and Cornett of Horse two horses and one case of pistolls; each Quarter
Master one horse, and one case of pistolls, each Collonell of foote to bee allowed
three horses and two case of pistolls; each Lieutenant Collonell and Major of foote
two horses and one case of pistolls, each Captain of Foote one horse: to each com-
mission officer his sword and the officers servants, their swords; Turlogh O Neel,
Esqre. fowre horses and two case of pistolls; Quarter Master Gennerall and Clerk
of the Councell, two horses apeece, and one case of pistolls.

2. That in consideration heerof the persons afforesaid (except such as are heerafter
excepted) shall have pardon for life and proteccion for themselves, and personall
estates; they submitting themselves, to all acts and ordinances of Parliamēt and
also such of them as shall desire it, shall have passes to transporte themselves, and
goods, to any place beyond the seas, in amity with the Comonwealth of England
within three months after the date hereof, they acting nothing in the intrin-
prejudiciall to the Parliamēt of England, their forces and guarrisons.

3. That as to the reall estates of any comprehended in these articles, they shall
have equall benefitt with others under the like qualifcations with themselves, in
any offers, that is or shall bee held forth by the Parliamēt of the Comonwealth of
England, and that they shall have liberty to send agents to England, as the Irish

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party in other provinces, and shall have the benefitt of all such concessions, as shall bee graunted to any of the said agents, in the behalfe of the Irish party in Ulster for estates or otherwise.

4. That the non comission officers, troopers and gentlemen in lieu of their horses shall receive such moderate satisfaction in ready money as by two chozen on each party, with an umpire for each, to apprise who are to have voyces by turnes shall bee judged fitting.

6. [*sic*] That the Comanders and officers included in these articles shall have liberty to transporte beyond the seas, five thousand men, to serve any forraigne State in amity with the Comonwealth of England, and shall have liberty to treat with any agent, or agents for that end and purpose within three months after the date hereof, or such further time as shall bee judged reasonable, the said Commissioners and officers undertaking that the men to bee transported, shall not by any of their will goe into any other place, such as they are designed unto by the agreement made with the agent, or agents aforesaid and that the said men bee transported from such porte or ports as by the Comander in Cheife of the Parliaments forces in Ireland, or Commissioners of Parliament shall be thought fitt, and also give their engagements, not to returne without lycence from the Parliament or their officers comanding in cheife or ministers of State in this nation.

6. That at the time appointed for the Irish party to lay downe armes, a months pay shall bee allowed to the forces which shall appeare to lay downe their armes out of their former assignations, according to their Sumers proportion of pay, provided every Captaine of horse bring in with him twenty five horses and men, at least; and each Captaine of foote forty men at least beside all officers, and what of these numbers shall bee wanting, a defalcation shall bee made out of the pay of the officers rateably, as they were to receive the same; and for each horseman who is afoote, upon delivering of their furniture, shall receive, horsemans pay, and such as have noe furniture, halfe pay.

7. That the benefitt of all or any the foresaid articles, extend nott to the exemption of any person from being questioned according to due course of law, who had a hand or were actors in any murthers, massacres, and robberies, that were comitted upon any English and Protestants in Ireland, during the first yeare of the warr, or any murthers and massacres synce the said first yeare of the warr comitted by or upon any person nott being in armes, nor the benefitt thereof to extend to any other who have murdered any of the Parliaments party after quarter given, nor to any who have been in protection since the 12 of August 1649, nor extend to give protection to Preists, Jesuites or any other in Popish orders, otherwise, then to grant passes to such as had no hande in the massacres and robberies comitted upon the English att the beginning, to transporte themselves into Spaine, or any other country in amity with the Comonwealth of England, within three months, and if any such through sicknes or disability of person shall not bee able to transporte themselves within that time, such further time to bee allowed them, as by the Comander in Cheife or Commissioners of Parliament shall bee thought fitt, provided during their stay they act nothing to the prejudice of the Parliament of England.

8. That the said officers comprehended in these articles shall bee delivered to

the Comander in Cheife of Parliaments forces in Ireland, or whome hee shall appoynt by the first day of October 1652, a true list of their respective regiments, troopes, and companies, under their comand, with their officers commanding them that are to lay downe armes, for whose performances accordingly hostages are to bee delivered, viz. one hostage for the forces of each county, who is, to bee such an officer as the Comander in Cheife shall make choise of out of the forces of the said counties respectively.

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9. That the same liberty shall bee given to those of Ulster as to the Irish forces in other provinces to send agents to the Kinge of Spaine or his agents, or any other State in amity with the Comonwealth of England and there to make conditions for the Ulster forces, and that they shall have three months time to transporte themselves, and if after the expiration of the first six weekes for which the months pay is to bee their subsistance, conveniency cannot bee had for their transportation, that such further time, shall bee allowed for their continuance in their assigned quarters, and enlargement of time for their transportacion, as by the Commissioners of Parliament shall bee thought fitt, provided they bee not further chargeable to the country then as is above mentioned.

10. That Collonel Miles Rely, Captain Ferrall or any two officers whom they shall make choise of, shall have liberty to goe to the Commissioners of Parliament for the rattification of these articles, and if this agreement shall not bee confirmed by them, that then the hostages shall bee returned and all things touching the same bee annulled.

11. That Collonel Bryan McPhelim Byrne, Collonel Donogh OConnor and Collonel Mortagh OBrian, Collonel Cavenagh, Collonel Dudley Costellogh and the parties with them shall have the benefitt of these articles, (Provided they send hostages within six dayes after notice, and deliver up their armes at the time mentioned for the laying downe armes by the forces of Ulster.

12. That if any person or persons shall violate these articles, it shall bee answered by the person offending and none others (Provided) that the officers commanding those persons who shall make a breach of these articles shall use their utmost endeavour to bring them to justice.

13. That all prisoners on both sides bee sett at liberty without exchange or ransome.

Wee doe hereby undertake on behalfe of ourselves, and those by whom wee are or shall bee authorized, if the above written articles and explanations bee rattified and confirmed by the Comander in Cheife, and Commissioners of Parliament that wee will performe, and observe them.

Wittnes our hands, 21st of September, 1652.

Present: Garrett Moore.

Lewis Farrall.

Miles Relly.

John Penifather.

Hugh Magneisse.

Phillip Relly.

LXXVII. ACCOUNTS OF STATE OF IRELAND, IN 1652.

I. CAPTAIN WILLIAM HEALD TO MR. HOLDER.

Sir,

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Since my discours with you, in pursuance of your desires and my duety; I have done something by way of narrative for his Majestie's satisfaction, touching the condition of his kingdome of Ireland, and doe now make you tender of it, having dealt therein with that ingenuity the matter requires, and with as much brevity as I thought it could admit of, to render things playne. I have run over all businesses as farre as the meanesse of the command I had gave me liberty to observe; and in the perusall of my discourse by yourself or any other, I am an humble suitor that my profession of a soldier may excuse the defects of my pen.

Sir, as to the present state of Ireland, in my opinion it stands more easilie reduceable into intirety for his Majestie then it did at any tyme these two yeares last past. My reasons [are] from these particulars following, viz.

1. From the late laying downe armes in Munster, Leinster, and Conaght.
2. From the (almost irreconcilable) differences betwixt the Independant parties of Munster; and Leinster, appropriating to themselves the title of English army, and those under the conduct of Sir Charles Coote by the former branded with the appellation of Tame Tories.
3. From the brave parties yet in armes for his Majestie in Munster, Leinster, Vlster, and Connaught.

But before I come to discours of these particulars, I will lead you to them with the storie of what immediatly proceded and occasioned the first of them, viz. the late laying downe of armes etc.

At what tyme the sad and too frequent discontents of the army under the conduct of his Excellency the Marques of Clanrickard gave oportunity to Coote and his party to advance through the province of Connaght without the least opposition; till at Logh-Reagh some light skirmishes gave evident proof, that had it been agreed upon to have (in that place of advantage) fought the English, if not a generall overthrow yet a most considerable defeat had inevitably followed. The reason inducing this opinion is; the posture of Coote's army, at that tyme consisting of above 4000 foot and horse marching in two onely divisions betwixt which were his canon, carriages and all other baggage of his army disposed; so that in case of an onfall from the towne on either van or rere, it had been impossible for either of them to have afforded relief to the other, the passe being so narrow and boggie, that foot nor horse could march above 7 in front and were there enforced to an halt, for the space of 7 or 8 hours till way was made to trayl his carriages through the bogge. But the omission of this oportunity gave fresh encouragement to the staggering and overweariet troopes of the English, then even at poynt of dispaire.

Whereupon Lieutenant Gennerall Burke (foreseeing the sad consequence of the

slightest opportunity) exprest his distast therof, in such termes as gave a breach to his whole party, who for a farewell, first plundered the towne, and then disbanded; upon which two motives viz. Coote's successfull progresse, and civill march through the province; and the desertion and plunder of the towne and country by the Irish army: agents are sent from severall parts to treat with Coote for safe conduct and protection, both which readily obtaine draw the whole country to contribution.

Nor did any thing more conduce to Coote's reduction of the province then his regular austerity in punishing with death the least violation of his granted protection, even to the taking up of a mutton; which punctuallity of his gave great confidence to the Irish army, that if conditions could be gained from him it were better in tyme to enter capitulation with one of so experimented integrity and a native, then to run the hazard of a future necessity to treat with Ludlow or any of the Munster or Leinster agents whose articles they had seen so often (and that very lately) without scruple violated.

Whereupon the Marques of Clanrickard, seeing the defection of his party, and his little hopes to be able to do any service for his King or country had resolv'd to quit the nation; and for that purpose had made provision of a vessel for his transport, but being invited againe by those who by theyr divisions and disagreements had formerly retarded the service, upon theyr engagements to reforme all disorders in the future, he reassumes his charge; And like that brave Generall who slew his only horse, to manifest his resolutions to live and die with his army, sends away his ship, and with a new vigour retakes the field, having 5000 foot and 600 horse of the Ulster and Connaght forces, expecting the promised addition of the Munster and Leinster auxillaries under the conduct of Sir Walter Dungan and Lieutenant Colonell Grace, who in the interim both failed in promis; the first, by laying downe armes, the other, by an unfortunate defeat received from Colonell Richard Coote, then deputed Governor of the towne of Galloway.

Whereupon those of Ulster (being the major party of the Marques's army) finding themselves altogether abandoned and frustrate of the expected and promised supplies, take a new resolution to decline fighting with Coote, (who hotly with his army pursued their motions,) and so reserve themselves till fitter opportunity for action. In the interim, the Marques Clanrickard (onely attended by his owne small party) thinks on his personall security, and retires himself to a castle in Lough Dermotte; where hee had not remaynd full four hours, before the English avant-curriers appeare, closely followed by the whole army who there besiege him, so that (desperate of all relief) entring capitulation with Coote hee contracts conditions for himself and the whole province, (provided they please to accept thereof,) having 11 dayes safe conduct for his whole party. In fine, at Dunmore, Mac-Keoris come to enterview Commissioners on each party, and agree, Armes thereupon layd downe, on such termes as (I am confident) have allready come to your knowledg.

So farr worthy Sir, to the historicall part. It now rests that I produce my reasons for my former assertions. As to the first, viz. of laying downe of armes etc., I argue that whereas the discontents and particular competition for superiority in his Majestie's army in Ireland, interrupted union and hindred expedition, in

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which two the life of our military undertaking lay. Every one seeing the inevitable approach of ruine (without study to redresse it by mutuall connexion) attended his private interest and sought after his owne peace, whereby the army shrunk almost to nothing; which no sooner done, but they who thought all quiet in reference to their persons and estates; find the sword wrested from them, their persons on strange and unexpected pretences arrested, their estates contrary to faith and engagement confiscate; and no lesse then life and all exposed by faithlesse and arbitrary tyranny of those to whom they had so tamely made surrender of their freedoms liues and fortunes. Those seeing their mistake, and the ill consequence of their former compliance, through their feares do banish all such for future, and instead thereof poure out their vowes and with unanimous vigour (more then at any tyme synce the first rise of warre in Ireland) are resolved to expiate their past errorrs with the victime of their dearest bloods, and doe engage not to retract from thence till God shall either in mercy blesse his Majestie with his crowne or call them to their graves.

Now wheras the laying downe of armes may seem totally to have disfurnished them of all provision of warre, I do assure you that none came to the English, but such as were altogether broken and unserviceable, as myselfe can experimentally testify, who receiving the armes of two troopes of their horse under the conduct of Sir Vlicke, and Sir John Burk, found with them onely 7 pistolls and 9 swords, not one of the pettronells in case to give fire, the Capitanes whispering to mee that they had better armes for a new buisines. Against which tyme they have had this advantage, which will avayle them not a little in any new undertakings to observe and see into the strength and quality of the English army and take strickt survey of all their actions and manageries of affaires as well under the civill government of Commissioners and Committees as the military strength of their garrisons, musters, arises and accrues of moneys and provisions. The weight of all which by deare and smarting experience they now find unsupportable, not onely for the damnable, illegall, and vexatious proceedings of the civil power; but also in respect of the subjection and poverty the sword will keep them under, and upon consideration of the force and numbers of men that at present keep them under, they find it despicable and infinitely condemne themselves for taking such a fright as to lye downe so tamely at the feet of soe inconsiderable a party; and for the money that supports their oppressours (subsisting meerly out of the contribution from the natives) they see plainlie that the same or lesse summe, with an unanimous resolution among themselves, would haue been sufficient both to have settled his Majestie in his throne and themselves happily again under his protection; this experience they have got synce their laying downe their armes and minglement with the English: which will certainly strengthen the Irish resolutions in their next undertakings and may soon be encouraged by any little help afforded them, as they are already therunto provoked by the slavery they are under; and towards his the persons of better quality haue been and still are daylie called upon by the prayers and teares of their deare countrymen; that those very leaders that so lately layd downe armes are not likelie to enioy any rest till they reassume them. For which purpose missives were dispatcht on all hands with all possible secrecie, yet the enemy grow-

ing jealous of such meetings as the Catholick gentry used to have, but dissembling it, called to Kilkenny the aforesaid gentlemen with many others of his Majesties more eminent subjects of the provinces of Munster and Leinster ; where, charging them with unlawfulness of meetings, breach of articles, combination, conspiracy plotts and projects without admission of defence, plea of justification, they immediately sentenced them to death, which was accordingly out of hand put in execution, and they most inhumanely massacred some, others they murdered closely in prizon, the rest publicly butchered, all quartered and dissected, their heads and other parts fixt on stakes in the most conspicuous places of their townes, garrisons and castles. Nor is the project peculiar alone to those of Munster and Leinster, but also to those of Connaught, who receiving the like summons to appeare at a certaine day at Logh-Reagh, Galloway, and the townes of their respective baronies throughout the province, by God's mercy gayning some premonition of the impending dangers did absent themselves at the tyme appoynted. Amongst them Sir Theobald Burk, Lord Viscount Mayo, gave the first leading to open action by rallying his dispersed men and fortifying himself in a strong castle in the county of Mayo. So farre my reasons for the bettering of theyr resolutions by the laying downe of armes.

Now to my second particular, viz. the divisions amongst themselves, I mean the Parliaments forces, 'tis not questioned but if they may be hightned it wilbe of great advantage to his Majestie and that this may be done, and how to doe it, I will tell you presently. Let a fit person be chosen and imployed therein (such a one as the chief officers in Coote's army will credit), and commissioned from his Majestie to treat and grant what shalbe fit, upon theyr compliance with him. If this person so to be chosen doth allready understand the temper of Coote and his officers, theyr state, quality, affections, and discontents, it wilbe much the better, but if such a one cannot be met with, I will give him some light into theyr present discontents, which must be his mayn work to take hold of and to foment all hee can. They are so many and such as at the severall rendezvous, it is hard either for the officers or soldiers in Coote's army to conteyne themselves from fighting with the other upon such bitter provokements from them, calling them Tame Toryes, and these againe provoke the other with termes of Round-heads, the officers also not forbearing one another even at the counsell of warre ; which hath so instigated the Independants against Coote and his Presbiterean rebels, (as they terme them, that they have endeavoured to frustrat both him and them of the arreares of their expected pay, so that not longer able to brook the indignity offered to theyr Generall, officers, and selves, they have severall tymes burst out into this imprecation, God damm him, that hath not as good a sword to draw against thes Independant doggs as against the archest rebell breathing.

Nor are these discontents peculiar to the private soldiers onely, but also frequent amongst the principall Commanders and officers, as was lately manifested by a letter sent from one Captain Potter to his father in England ; wherein, recounting the state of Ireland, hee intimates that having almost reduced the whole nation to the obedience of the Parliament, there will remayne little to doe but to fall on Sir Charles Coote and his Tame Rebels ; which letter, in its dispatch for England taken

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by one of his Majesties fregates, was sent to Sir Charles Coote, who, not meanly incensed both at the abuse and intent of the Munster party, as also that these intestine divisions should be knowne, and the little esteeme of him manifested to the Catholick party, upon receipt of the letter chargeth the Captaine with the indignity, who, after some faint denyalls, upon production of his paper affirms it was not solemelie his act, but many others, whom Coote was pleased to overpasse and smother with silence, had given their opinion of a necessity to disband his party. Howeuer, Coote sequestering his company, commands him to prison, hee with some others being sent as auxilliaries to Coote's army; but within few dayes by order from the Lieut: Generall hee is restored both to his liberty and company; and Coote soundly rebuked for his exercise of authority over any of the Munster army; who, seing himself bearded by so meane a creature, resolv'd to quit his command and give up his charg, till being urged by a very able Commander and friend of his, that it could not be secure for him, to resigne his power to them, of whose disaffections hee had so many evident testimonies; and who would greedily catch at that as an occasion whereupon to ground an imputation not onely of disaffection to, but also defection from the Parliament's quarrell, and from thence draw such consequences as might bring on the hazard of his life; hee finds so much reason in what his friend advised him to, that hee took full resolucion to maintayne his conduct in anger their designes, and by communicating his resolves to his officers to fortify himself and them by mutuall confederacy never to subject themselves to the English party, who, making it theyr most important business, endeavour by all meanes to out him of all his forts, fortresses and garrisons; and in pursuance of theyr designe they effected the resignation of Athlone, Logh Reagh, Achenure, and such other places; Galloway onely (being newly surrendered) at present reserved; from whence immediately hee is commanded to draw his party to the field and to admit of a Munster regiment into the towne; which refusing to doe, hee is called to Dublin and there imprisoned; but for his enlargement subscribes to their order; which, known to his army, (which in the interim had drawn to the field,) stirrs up in them such furious motions against the Munster men that had not the Marques Clanrickard (in that very conjunction of tyme) appeared with new life in the field they had inevitably fain to sturdy blows, which are in that particular but onely raked up in embers.

Nor terminates here the discontents of his party; a new act stageth itself; betwixt the officers of Coote's army and the Commissioners of the Revenue Publique; the first for the most part being natives of Connaght, and estated formerly in the same province, who conceive themselves in respect of theyr service to be capable to repossesse and enioy their pristine estates free, and exempt from contribution, but find the sense of the Parliaments agents farre different from that opinion. For at a generall meeting in Roscommon where the Comissioners were canting and letting to farme the estates of Major John King, sonn and heire to Sir Robert King, as also of Major Ormsbye, with severall other of like quality; no sleight occasion did arise amongst them, hearing theyr lands valued by canting who bids most: whereat Major King, with a furious violence followed by the other of Coote's officers enforcing passage through the croud with a stern countenance makes this enquiry,

My Friends; what meaneth this valuation of my estate. The Commissioners, startled at this unusuall manner of gesture, after some pause made this reply; Sir, that the Common-wealth of England may from thence as from all conquered lands receive the improvement of their moneys disbursed for the reducing of this nation. To which he answered I hope the States of England have not more right to my lands then myself; who besides my birthright have purchased my freedome and interest by my sword as well as given them a power to governe. To which was answered; Sir, if you did any service for the State, you had the State's pay for it, or at least their debenture; but if you please to take the proffits thereof till such tyme as your arreares be cleerd, you may haue it at such rates as shalbe by others offered; if otherwise, wee shall proceed to let it to the best advantage of the Parliament. But gentlemen sayd he, I doubt t'will pussle you to find a tennant, for if this be a hand (holding upp his hand) who ever attempts to enter on any foot that's myne I'll send his soul to Heaven or Hell, and you shall know that having fought for liberty and gain'd my freedome, I scorne to be enslaved by any mechannick amongst you; and so farewell. Next Ormsbye at theyr departure gives this adieu: Gentlemen, if this be the justice wee may expect at your hands before you be well seated in security, I'll not this yeare become your tenant, nor shall my sword turn plowshare. Thus much touching the occasion of their discontents, which every day augments and are ready to fall to action; did not the good succes of the Catholick party in Vlster tye them to attend theyr motions and waue their owne intestine discontents till Coote shalbe settled in agreement with the King's party.

For my 3d reason, viz. the partyes yet in armes for his Majestie, I shall, according to the best and latest musters, giue you a brief and true list of the forces that have at and since the laying downe of armes in Munster, Leinster, and Connaght, kept theyr swords in theyr hands, fortified with loyalty to withstand the assalts of Parliamentiall tyranny.

In the Province of Leinster :

	Foot.	Horse.
The county of Wicklowe with Lieut: Generall Hugh Birne	800.	80
The counties of Wexford and Cauterlogh [Carlow], with Colonell Daniel Cavenagh	750.	80
The King and Queen's Counties and the county of Kilkenny, with Colonell Roger More, Laghlin More, Colonell Molloy, Lieut.- Colonell Dun and the gentlemen of those parts.	1000.	80

In the Province of Vlster :

The countyes of Ardmagh and Dungannan with Sir Phelim O'Neale and Con Backagh O Neale	1500.	100
The counties of Cavan, Monaghan and Downe with Lieut.- Generall Ferrall, Colonell Phillip Reyley, Colonell Miles Reyley, the Lord of Evagh and Col: Manto Mac Mahun.	2000.	150
With the Lord of Iniskillinnne, Colonell Miles Sweney and Col Hugh Mac-Guire	1000	00

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In the Province of Connaght :

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The county of Roscommon, with Col Donnoghy O Connor, }		
The Kellyes of that county with Colonell Dudley O'Castelogh }	1500	110
The county of Letrim Lieut.-Colonell Teige O Rurek	200	60
The county of Mayo with Colonell Theobald Reagh Burke	600	00
The county of Galloway with Colonell Synette and the O Flag- }	400	00
hertyes with the O Mayleys		
The Iles of Inis Boffin and Clere with Colonell George Cusacke	500	50

Thes besides many more (whose names for brevity I omitt) have by a publique remonstrance protested to live and dye in the defence of his Majesties rights; the freedoms of themselves and nation; all members whereof they have by theyr said declaration invited, conjur'd and (on penalty of forfeiture of theyr interests) commanded to joyne with them, in the generall endeavour of the nations redemption from so servile captivity: Synce which tyme it hath pleased God to blesse them with two considerable successes, the one against Venables the other against Reynolds Commisary-Generall of the Parliaments forces of cavalry: In the first Venables commander of the Parliaments forces in Vlster receiv'd a dangerous wound, but a worse blow by the losse of 800 of his men slayn in the place, his whole party consisting of 3000 foot and 500 horse totally routed by Lieut.-Generall Ferrall; the other by his onfall on Reynolds his quarter nere Bellturbutt whence himself with 30 horse narrowly escaped to James Towne; leaving the rest of his regiment a prey to the victors. For these two notable losses Coote is not cleer from suspicion, in the opinion of the Munster and Leinster men; who object his non compliance with the two defeated partyes and summon him to appeare at Dublin which he refuses to doe but upon safe conduct a demand of so high a nature, as if hee should fall into theyr hands will render him guilty of more then I beleieve they will forgive him.

Nor is that pattern of loyalty patriot of his country Colonell Murtagh O Bryan in the interim idle, but gives encouragement to his Majesties party by brave undertakings, and succesfull perfourmances not onely in Munster but also in Connaght, who not contented to have taken intelligence on trust, puts himself in disguise, and like a bold espye passing through the Parliaments garrisons comes to Galloway, whence after intelligence of the quality of the garrison hee posteth to Inis-Boffin to meet the supplies of armes ammunition and moneys which fame spoke lowdly to be there arrived, that which occasioned this fame of relief etc. arrived from the King, was the coming of the Francis and Patrick and some other of his Majesties fregats, with a little fregate from the Duke of Lorrain into that island, though it proved nothing so as hee expected, yet before hee parted from thence hee got out of that little that came armes and powder for 100 men and within 10 dayes after his departure from the island falleth upon some castles in Ir-Connaght, which without other artillerie then an heroick resolution, fire and smoak, hee reduceth, taking in one of them the Governour of the Isles of Arran, then prosecuting his designes advanceth to the very gates of Gallway, driving away at mid-day despite of all opposition the townes cattell, to his regiment in Munster acting in the interim

things very considerable, where his strengths are daylie improved, by the comeing in of some cavaliers who formerly necessitated to serve the Parliament hearing of a relief haue (bringing away their horse and armes) deserted that service to take on againe for his Majestie thereby much weakening the enemies cavalrye; hee is thought to be with himself in one party and his Lieut-Colonell in another about 2000 in both but of these I did not see the musters.

Thus farre, worthy Sir, for that nation which so resolutely labours its owne relief, that if any supply of men, armes, ammunition and money for their encouragement were but tymely afforded; no doubt, but it would with much facility be reduced, sithence so worthy things have beene and are daylie on all hands done synce the comeing in of that small but wellcome relief.

Sir,

Your humble servuant,

Will: Heald.

Brest, 12 Decemb: 1652.

A note of the Parliaments Forces in Ireland :

	Foot.	Horse.
In Munster (wherof Colonell Stubbers Regiment is engarrisoned } in Gallway) are about	5000.	400
In the province of Leinster are about	4000.	400.
In Vlster are 3 regiments of foot and one of hors	3000.	300.
In Connaght are 3 regiments of foot and two regiments of } horse about	2700.	600.

The whole party in Aprill last throughout the garrisons of the nation being mustered did amount to the number of 18000 foot horse and mattrosses with baggage men and the trayne of artillerye.

Sir,

Your humble servant,

Will: Heald.

For my honour'd Friend Mr. Thomas Holder :

Endorsed : Mr. Healde's paper of the state of Ireland to Mr. Holder.

Sir,

In my narrative of the state of Ireland, I have purposely omitted the occasion of my repayre hither conceiving it might be not onely a prejudice, but also a ruine to his Majesties secret friends, to have theyr names published and theyr intents manifested (however confident both of your fidelity to his Majestie and to us, I referre it to your care to impart it so to his Majestie that hee may make use of this intelligence so much importing his service, and yet not expose his friends to the hazard of being ruined before they can come to serve him) and therefore addressed this second paper apart (supposing the other may fall into other hands besides his Majesties, which I would not haue this doe) to acquaint you that in August last, at what tyme his Majesties fregates the St. Francis, St. Patrick, St. Peter, and the Cornelius came to Inis-Boffin with the Duke of Lorrain's agent,

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Colonell Vicourte, a large report bruted through the Parliaments quarters, that an agent from his Majestie with supplyes of men amunition, and armes were there arrived; which in the Parliament army stirrd up different affections, some of joy; others of feare; In the number of the first were the officers of Colonell Russells regiment theyr whole party being 970 private soldiers, the 3 field officers, 9 captaines, with the other inferiour officers of that regiment, together with Captain Henry Ellis Commander of 120 firelocks, who meeting and debating how to effect their returne to his Majesties quarrell resolv'd to dispatch one to treat with his Majesties agent to make conditions with him; and in regard of my acquaintance in those parts of Connaght they make choyce of mee and impos'd the charg of that negociacion upon mee, and according to that trust I went to Inis-Boffin, where I did not find things as both they and I hoped, the buisines being onely some little supply from the Duke of Lorain, and an Agent of his with it, not the King's; soe fayling of our purpose, all the service I could doe his Majestie by being there was (which I did) by private agents and letters to confirme these gentlemen in their former intents and to wayt for another opportunity, and for myself after some stay there and a great expence I embarqued for France with intent to make knowne to his Majestie all the aforesaid proceedings; but wind-bound in the port the space of six weekes and defrauded of my moneys which by bills of exchang I was here to have received, I cannot yet make good that purpose personally myself; and thus destitute must goe into some imployment for prsent support; Noe more Sir but I beseech you soe present this buisines to his Majestie that hee may afford some fitt dispatch to the parties abovenamed who are in the interim labouring his Majesties interest in Cootes army with all diligence and sedulitie, the effecting whereof is the fervent desire of

Sir,

Your humble servant,

Will: Heald.

Brest, 12 December, 1652.

To my honour'd friend Mr. Thomas Holder.

Endorsed: Some dispositions in the Parliaments army in Ireland appeared on a report that his Majesty had sent over an agent with a supply; which proved afterwards to be a very small remittance sent by an agent of the Duke of Lorrain. This to be signified to his Majesty that he find some means to encourage those affections.

2. THOMAS HOLDER TO CHARLES II.

May it please your most sacred Majesty,

Sir, being here at Brest by command from his Royal Highnes about the affayres of your Admiralty, amongst divers persons lately arived from Ireland, Captain Heald falling short of his purpose which was to have kissed your sacred hand, desires my help to convey his errand with his most humble

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beseech also unto your Majesty that this inclosed paper which hee sent mee apart from his narrative of the present state of Ireland (which I have putt into Mr. Chancellor Hides hand for you) may not be communicated further then to those you shall imploy in the busines hee discourses in it or to such select person your Majesty shall trust with your counsells about it, the reason hee gives (which I am sorry to meet with from so many others as I do) is, that the party now left to serve you in Ireland cannot assure themselves that they have any friend now about your Majesty that will be very willing and forward to lett you see that probably they might have done, and with a little help yet may do that work for you which some others attempting to do without them have unfortunately failed in, and from this indisposition in somebody towards them, they doe verily beleeeve also that to this houre your Majesty never had a perfect true relacion of your affayrs there from the beginning: Sir, this gentleman is a Catholick as the rest to serve you there are all but such as may revolt from other partyes to them. And that busines talked of in Scotland amongst the Highlanders is upon a Catholick bottom too, over whome Major-Generall Middleton's generalship (which I hear is intended) will not do well, as I am advertised, but rather spoil all; he is a gallant man and will be very acceptable in conjunction unto them, with any other command you shall conferr upon him over the Lowlanders. Sir since Providence still offers you Catholick assistance, if you think either theyr parties at home or theyr interest abroad may be serviceable unto you; with all submission I beseech you consider whither the want of a person such as they might be confident of, admitted to your counsells do not still prejudice your affayrs seing busines of this nature cannot bee managed without trust, and there can be no trust amongst persons doubtfull of one another and it may be thought too much (it is so in the opinion of all the world besides) for any one being of your present counsells to beleeeve himself fitt to receive those applications the Catholicks would draw neer to you with: from hence it is Sir, that matters stick still in generalls between you and them, (which signifies little) and till you vouchsafe the expedient, it may be long before either you come to a particular understanding of theyr ability to serve you, or they to a knowledge of what gracious inclinations are in your sacred breast towards them. Sir by what I have addressed to Mr. Chancellor Hyde for you and to Mr. Attourney Herbert for his Royal Highnes your Majesty will see how much your two fregats, St. Francis and St. Patrick (they are Catholick too as well as theyr Captains) have contributed to these persons stirrs both in Ireland and Scotland. And here I take boldnes to acquaint you that this late voyage they made brings in great proffit to the owners of those frigats and that your Majesty may thereby serue yourselfe of a considerable summe of your own money if you please: The Captains will punctually obey all orders from you and do justify themselves that they never yet disobeyed any, as black as somebody hath endeavoured to paint them unto your Majesty for his own ends: They are both gallant men and have done you good service and vow to serve you to death, theyr names are a terror to your enemyes they have sent in many good prizes this voyage already and here is now one of sugar etc., by theyr sides worth at least tenn thousand pounds sterling at the first value charges undeducted. Sir, that Major King you find mentioned by Capt: Heald is a notable

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stirring bold person and would take hold of any action to manifest those good affections he hath putt on towards your Majesty (though his father I think continues still nought) and generally there is a great aptnes amongst all of that party to take fier, if your Majesty can find means to add but a little fewell to it : I know not how Colonell Trevors that lives in Ireland amongst them stands fitt either in your opinion or in his own resolutions for your service to negotiat for you there nor whither your servant, Mr. D : O Neal, may properly be sent about it, but your service seems to require the imployment of some fitt person therein as soon as may be to gain the advantage of this winter season to act in.

Sir having presumed all this, I humbly prostrat myself at your sacred feet presuming one thing more that according to your accustomed clemency, your Majesty will vouchsafe your gracious pardon for this assumed (but dutifull) boldnes of

Sir,

Your sacred Majestie's most humble, loyal, and most obedient subject,

Tho : Holder.

Brest, 13 Dec. 1652.

Sir,

That small supply of armes etc., sent by the Duke of Lorayn when your two frigats were there, came seasonably to prevent the rendition of Inisbofin and to furnish some others.

Sir,

Sir Rich : Forster will convey your Majesties commaunds to mee if there be cause, and as farr as you shall think fitt to imploy him Captain Heald desires to trust him in what may concern him to know of your Majestyes pleasure.

Sir,

This address had been sooner with your Majesty but that Captain Heald was absent from hence some weeks after his arrival in pursuit of some moneys due to him and what alteracion hath happened in Ireland since his departure from thence hath not been advertised.

For His Most Sacred Majesty.

Endorsed : Mr. Holder's letter of advise to the King, the 13 of December, concerninge Ireland etc., 1652.—See Heald's letter of 12 December.—That his Majesty can never be served effectually by any but Catholicks. Wishes he had some Catholick counselor with him, by whom they might make their proposals.

LXXVIII. PROCLAMATION BY CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

APPENDIX.

By the Commander in cheif of the Parliaments Forces in Ireland.

Whereas the Lord in mercy hath been pleased to blesse the indevours of his poore unworthy instruments in this army, in bringing the work of war in this nation to so hopefull a period ; yet withall considering that every condition hath its temptations, and even outward peace and successes attended oft times with the greatest and most dangerous appearing in a spirit of carelesnesse and negligence, arising much from inconsideratenesse and sleighting of enemies (because but few, and their condition low,) too little minding how God can, and oft doth make poore despised handfults of the enemy, prevalent against (or at least vexatious to his own instruments, whom hee hath before eminently used) when they are given up to, or acted by the forementioned spirit of negligence in the duties of their places, and having too evident grounds to fear and beleve, that such an evill temper, is much broken in upon this army, since the dayes that God lessened the number of their enemies, so as that that conscientious care which hath formerly been observed in the keeping close to duty, is much abated, partly through the officers absenting themselves too frequently from their respective commands, or in being too carelesse and remiss when present with them to execute the duties of their charges, whereby the thorow and effectuall prosecution of the enemy yet remaining, is not only neglected, but some of the officers themselves become incapable of giving a due account of the trust committed to them.

1652.

21. Dec.

Proclamation
by
Fleetwood.

As particularly appears in the supine carelesnesse and negligence of Cap. Deyas in the late losse of the fort of Archeon, in the Isle of Arran : for prevention of which evils in future, and the sad consequences of them ; I thought it my duty, with the advice of a councill of officers, to publish this, which I desire and hope, may be in mercy a warning to all, both officers and souldiers under my command, who are hereby required diligently to observe and execute the ensuing articles, according to their capacities respectively, viz.

1 That no Commander in cheife of the forces in any precinct, be absent a night out of the said precinct, unlesse upon publicke service or business relating to his charge, without leave from my selfe or other superior officer, upon penalty of losse of place.

2 That no governour of a garison in any precinct, do leave his government or command, or be absent a night from his charge, unlesse upon publick service against an enemy, or upon necessary businesse relating to his command, without leave from a general officer, or the officer commanding in cheife in the precinct, or whom he shal authorize so to give leave, upon losse of place.

3 That no inferiour officer whatsoever, be absent without leave, a night from his charge, upon penalty of cashiering.

4 That no private souldier shall depart a mile from his garison or colours,

LXXVIII. "Several Proceedings in Parliament." London : 1652, pp. 2734-46.

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21. Dec.

Proclamation
by
Fleetwood.

without leave from his officer, upon the penalty provided in the first article, concerning duties in camp and garison, exprest in the book of articles.

5 That the commanders of the forces in their respective precinets, or such as shall be impowred by them, in giving leave to any under them, doe both respect the season of doing it, the number they give leave unto, and other circumstances, so as the publick work may not suffer thereby; and likewise that the said commanders do as oft as they can, take a view of the forces under their charge, inquiring diligently after their discharge of neglects of duty, and cause such neglects to be punished.

6 That a strict care be alwayes had in the disarming all Irish whatsoever, or others who have been in armes against the Parliament at their entering into any garison, upon penalty of casheiring the officer commanding the guard, who shall be negligent herein.

7 That the officer commanding any guard, doe not set forth a centinel without a match lighted, except he have a firelock musket: and that no officer bee absent from his guard nor suffer any souldier to be off from his guard, but upon a justifieable occasion, untill they be relieved, upon penalty of cashiering.

8 That at no time, above the number of two Irish at once, (and those unarmed) be suffered to enter into any castle, fort or citadel upon any occasion whatsoever, without special order from the governor, nor the grate or doore of any castle, fort, or citadel, stand open but at the time of passing in and out upon penalty of cashiering the officer commanding the guard wherein they entred, or such grate or doore stood open.

9. And lastly, for the due and frequent exercise of troops and companies (whereof there is lately too much neglect) as also touching defending of garisons with care, and to the utmost extremity, and in all other particulars requisite for preserving the discipline of the army, the officers are required to observe and put into execution the printed book of articles, which are to bee published once every month at least by the cheife officer present with every troope or company, or upon default thereof, the said officer shall for the first offence forfeit one moneths pay, for the second two moneths pay, and for the third be cashiered.

And all Officers whatsoever, who are now absent from their charges without speciall licence, are required to repaire unto their respective commands, within three daies after publication hereof,

Dated at Dublin. December 21. 1652.

Charles Fleetwood.

LXXIX. ARTICLES FOR ISLES OF ARAN.

APPENDIX.

January, 15th 1652[-3].

Articles of agreement concluded, and agreed upon the day and yeare, above written
 betweene Major James Harrison and Captain Wm. Draper, Commissioners
 appoynted on the behalfe of the Honorable Commissary Gennerall Reynolds,
 Commanding in Chiefe the Parliaments forces in the Isles of Aron on the one
 parte, and Captain John Blackwale and Captain Brein Kelly, Commissioners
 appoynted by and on the behalfe [of] Collonell Oliver Synnott, Commander of
 the Forte Arkyn, on the other parte; for and touching the surrender of the
 said forte, armes, amunicion, provision, boats, shallops, and all other utensills
 of warr, to the said Commissary Gennerall or whom hee shall appoynt for the
 service and interest of the Commonwealth of England.

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 15. Jan.
 Articles
 for
 Isles of
 Aran.

1. It is concluded and agreed by the Comissioners aforesaid, that all the officers and souldiers both belonging to sea and land, shall have quarters, as also all others the clergymen and all other persons within the forte.

2. It is concluded and agreed upon by the Commissioners aforesaid, that they shall have six weeks liberty for their transportation, into Spaine, or any other place, in amity with the State of England; And that sufficient hostages bee given by Collonell Synnott Comander of the forte of Arkyn for the civill and orderly deportment of the officers and souldiers in all places where they shall come, during the time lymitted them before their transportation and for the punctuall performance of all particulars concluded of in theis articles.

3. It is concluded, and agreed upon, by the Commissioners aforesaid that Collonell Oliver Synnott shall deliver up the forte Arkyne, with all the armes, amunicion, gunns, provision, boats, shallops, and all other necessaryes of warr, as alsoe that none of the stores of provision, or amunicion, be spoiled or imbezled, butt all to be delivered to the Honorable Commissary Generall Reynolds, or whom hee shall appoynt, to receave it in good order and condition by the hower of three of the clock this instant 15 day of January, 1652, before which time both officers, and souldiers belonging to Collonell Synnott in the fort of Arkyn, shall march with drummes beating to the church neare Arkyn forte and their lay them downe.

It is further agreed that Collonell Synnott with all the Captaines, eight in number, shall have libertie to carry their swords and all the other officers and souldiers to lay downe their armes.

4. It is further concluded and agreed upon by the Commissioners aforesaid that the Honorable Commissary Gennerall Reynolds shall nominate foure officers belonging to Collonell Synnott in the forte of Arkyn as hostages who shall imediately upon concluding of the articles bee sent fourth unto the said Commissary Gennerall.

5. It is concluded, and agreed upon, by the Commissioners aforesaid that Collonell Oliver Synnott, with the rest of the officers and souldiers and all other persons in

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for
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the fort Arkyn, shall upon delivering their hostages, and laying downe their armes bee protected from the violence of the souldiers, and with the first conveniency bee sent to the county of Gallway, and there to remaine in quarters for six weekes, in which time they are to bee transported as aforesaid.

Provided that no person whatsoever belonging to the forte Arkyn, and found guilty of murder, bee included or comprized in these [articles] as to have any benefitt thereby.

And for the due and punctuall performance of all and every the above mentioned articles, wee the foresaid Comissioners on the behalfe of the Honorable Commissary Gennerall Reynolds, have hereunto sett our hands and seales, January the 15. 1652.

I doe approve and confirme the above articles :

J. Reynolds.

James Harrison.

Will : Draper.

LXXX. ARTICLES FOR INISBOFFIN.

[See *Ante*, p. 143.]

14. Feb.

Articles
for
Inisboffin.

Articles of agreement betweene Lieutenant Collonell Henry Flower, Captain Edward Landen, Captain Martin Jubbs, and Captain William Wade, by authority from Commissary-Gennerall Reynolds, on the behalfe of the Commonwealth on the one parte, and Collonell Richard Bourke, Collonell William Jordan, Lieutenant Collonell Dudley Costelloe, and Captaine George Cruse, on the behalfe of themselves and Collonell George Cusack, Governor of Ines buffine, on the other parte, for the surrender of the Island of Inesbuffine and other adjacent Islands, concluded on February 14th, 1652[3].

1. That Collonell George Cusack doe deliver unto Commissary-Generall Reynolds, or whom hee shall appoynt, the Island of Inisbuffine, castle, fortes, armes, amunitior, ordinance, publique stores, and all other utensills of warr within the said island, without any manner of spoyle or embezilment, for the use of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England by Thursday next, being 17th Instant, at tenn of the clocke in the forenoone.

2. That all officers and souldiers under the command of Collonell George Cusack and Lieutenant Collonell Dudley Costello, within the Island of Clere and Enisturke, shall there deliver up within six days after the date hereof all their armes, amunitior, publique stores, and all other utensills of warr to Commissary-Generall Reynolds or whom hee shall appoynt, and that the said Island shall bee left to themselves, and the rest of the regiment in order to their transportation untill they bee shipped, they giving Captain Maly as hostage for the delivery of the same, and that all others of the same regiment now out of the afforementioned Islands, which are to repaire thither, shall, within two dayes after being there, deliver their armes in the said Island, to the Comissary-Gennerall or whome hee shall appoynt to receive them.

3. That in consideration of the premisses all officers and souldiers and all others included in these articles shall have quarter for life and an Act of indempnety for any thing donn by them from the first day of the warr to the date hereof, murther excepted, of which those who are guilty are not to bee comprehended in these articles or receive any benefitt thereby.

4. That Collonell George Cusack, and all officers and souldiers of what quallity soever, shall enjoy what goods and cattle as are properly theire owne within the said Islands or elsewhere, and that they and every of them bee allowed 28 dayes time after the surrender of Inisbuffine, winde and weather serving, to take with them, sell or dispose of the same into any of the States, quarters or elsewhere to their best advantage, and passes granted to them for that purpose.

5. That Commissary-Generall Reynolds undertake to transporte Collonell Cusack, Lieutenant Collonell Costello, or either of them with one 1000 men, or as many of them as they can produce by the time hereafter limited from Clere Island, to Bilbo, Sebastian, or any other convenient porte in Biskey, within 21 dayes from the date hereof and upon their shipping shall receave for each man 12s. and theire being landed shall receive the benefitt of as good conditions as was made with any that have made any contract with the Spanish agents here, and upon laying downe armes, they shall receive one months pay, according to the States rate for their officers and souldiers to the above number, or so many of them as they shall produce, and that from the 7th of March next both officers, and souldiers respectively, shall bee provided for with shipping and provision, untill they bee landed in Biskey, and that at the Commissary-Gennerall's charge, and that such of them, as shall not then bee produced, shall, within six weekes from the date hereof, bee transported from Gallway, and receive the like provision and conditions for them as for the rest, both here, and in Spaine, and an order of thoroughfare in their march thither.

6. That Collonell George Cusack shall have allowed unto him, to travail about his occasions, 4 horses, 4 swords, and 4 case of pistols; and to Lieutenant Collonell Bourke, the same, to Lieutenant Dudley Costello, and their field officers, 3 horses, 3 swordes, and 3 case of pistols; to each Captain, one horse, one sword, and one case of pistols; to each Lieutenant and Ensigne, his sword.

7. That all the Prelates and clergymen in Buffine and in the Islands aforesaid shall have protection for their lives, and goods, and bee transported with the rest of the party.

8. That all officers and souldiers now submitting upon these articles shall have as much interest in their owne estates, and as much favor shewed unto them as any other officers and souldiers that laid downe armes since the first of March last shall have of theirs; that such of their wives as shall not bee transported shall bee protected in their bodies and goods, and have free liberty to live upon their owne estates or elsewhere in the quarters, paying contribucion, and if any officers shall have occasion to returne hither to their wives, and families, and to transport into Spaine, or to live with them heer, shall bee permitted soe to doe, they acting nothing prejudiciall to the State.

9. That all inhabitants, merchants, strangers, forrainers, and all others in the

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said Islands shall be protected in their persons and goods and estates, paying their contribution, and all such as shall transporte themselves by the 7 of March shall pay no contribution, butt have free liberty to make sale, or transporte by sea or land, to any parte of the Parliaments quarters or elsewhere for their best advantage, all their goods, cattle, and merchandize unto them belonging, and shall have their severall passages to that purpose.

10. That all manner of persons comprehended in these articles shall have free liberty to sue, arrest, or implead any person justly indebted to them, and have the full benefitt of the law, as to that effect.

11. That the inhabitants of Ballenehensy barony as are now residing in Buffine, or elsewhere under the said Collonell Cusack's command shall have free liberty to repaire to their former dwellings, with their goods and cattle and there to be protected, paying only their contribution for the time to come.

12. That it bee allowed to Lieutenant Collonell Costello's wife, [and] children, for their family and tenants, to live in the Island of Clounty, in the county of Mayo, where now she liveth, for two yeares yet to come with 4 ploughs and 200 cowes, or as many of them as she or they may have in the lands about the said Island; she and they paying their contribucion accruing due in that country and acting nothing prejuditall to the State; And the said Lieutenant Collonell, his wife, tenants, children and family shall not bee arrested either in body, or goods, for any act by them or any of them comitted, since the beginninge of the warr, to the date hereof; nor for arreares of contribution challenged, pretended to bee due upon the said Lieutenant Collonell other then due debt appearing by bill, cond' or wittnes.

13. That if any person shall violate these articles, it shall bee answered by the person offending, and no others, and their officers endeavouring to bring them to justice; and that Captain Moylett and Captain George Cruse, shall be delivered up as hostages for the surrender of the Island of Inisbuffine by the time aforesaid. In wittness of our assent unto, and conclusion on all and every the abovementioned articles, wee have heerunto sett our hands the day and yeare above written.

Rich : Burke.

Hen : Floure.

Wm. Jordan

Ed : Landon.

Dudley Costollo,

Mart : Jubbs.

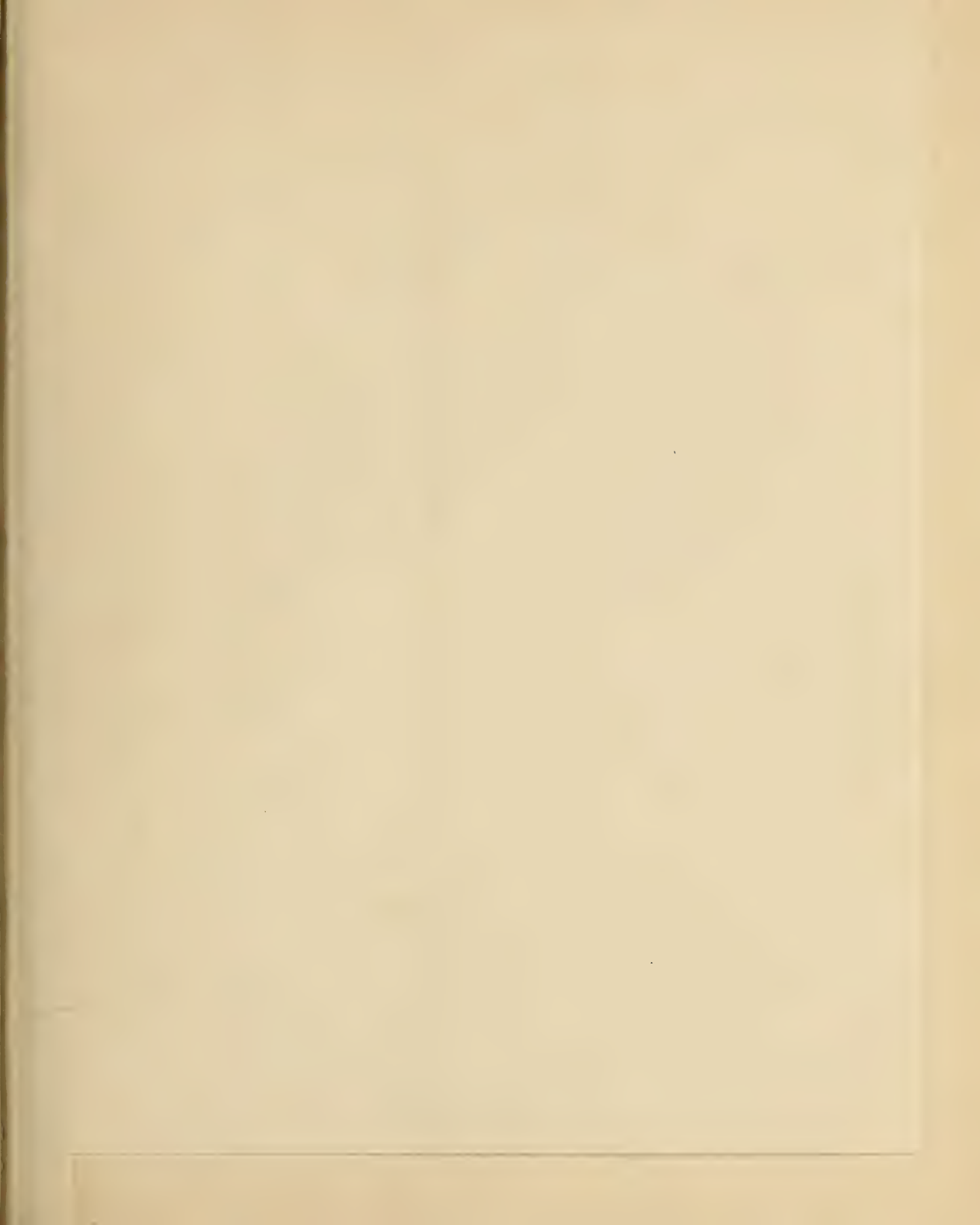
George Cruse.

Wm. Wade.

It is agreed upon the signing these articles that if any men shall appeare who doe belong to Collonell Cusack who shall not bee armed, to each man, so appearing, nine shillings shall bee allowed, upon the muster taken of them in order to their transportation, besides the 12s. for each souldier at the entring on ship board.

I doe heerby ratifye and confirme these articles.

George Cusack.



EXAMINATION OF SIR PHELM O'NEILL. 1652-3.

2507 2507

E for faith that soon after the death of 1641
 at a meeting at Monaghan the said was
 chosen Governor in Chief of Ulster by
 Phillipps and Hugh O'Kelly Colonel Maghera
 and Magnyns and Bndrall, of Ed O'Neale
 and M. Mahon ^{Magnyns and Bndrall} and a Commission for that purpose
 given to him by Edm. That afterwards
 by order of the Supreme Council at Keshm
 the said was made ~~and~~ Lord of Ulster,
 the said that ~~was~~ he was chosen Earl
 of Tyrone at the hall of Tulloghoge on that
 day was affirmed that little or a full year
 any ^{or within 3} at Earl of Tyrone, ~~the said that~~
 the said that the said Colonel John Barry
 being very intimate with the Lord of Ormond
~~the~~ ^{was} rounded that the said Colonel Barry was
 at the said meeting by 7th primitive and
 appointment of 7th of Lord of Ormond, the said
 that it was resolved at ^{some of} the said meeting that
 upon the change of the Government the said
 Lord of Ormond and the Lord of Gormanston
 were to be appointed Lord Justices of Ireland
 and that the said should be appointed Governor

Ch. Cote, Ld. Mayor
 Mr. M. J. Hon. Secy. H. J. Morgan

LXXXI. SIR PHELM O'NEILL.

1. EXAMINATION OF SIR PHELM O'NEILL.

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of Sir Phelim
O'Neill.

The Examination of Sir Phelim O Neile taken the xxijth of February 1652[-3] before [blank].

Whoe beeing examined saith that, about a quarter or halfe a yeare before the beginning of the Rebellion in Ireland, the plott of the said Rebellion was discovered to him by the Lord Magwyre and Roger Moore, and they two and Phillipp O Rely and the examinat have seuerall tymes in Dublin mett and discoursed of the said plott. Hee saith that, at other some of the said meetings, Collonel John Barry, Sir James Dillon, Anthony Preston, and Hugh Mc Phelym were present. Hee saith that there was an oath of secrecie administred to such persons as were made priuy to the said plott, [and] that the said oath was giuen to the examinat, at his chamber in Nellson's house in Castle streete, by the Lord Magwyre and the said Roger Moore. Hee saith that at their meeteings it was agreed that the seuerall fortes in Ireland should bee taken, and to that purpose the examinat was appointed to take Charlemount, the Lord Magwyre to take Eniskillyn, Collonell Barry, Anthony Preston, Roger Moore, and Collonel Plunkett, to take the Castle of Dublin, Sir James Dillon to take the Fort of Gallway, Sir Morgan Cauenagh and Hugh Mc Phelym to take the Fort of Duncanan. That when the fortes had beene taken, then the Gouernement to bee altered and new Lords Justices to bee made and addresses to be then sent to the King. Hee saith that after the rebellion at the tyme of the seidge of Drogheda, the examinat with his forces in Vlster were invited to come to the said seidge by seuerall of the Lords and gentlemen of the Pale both by message in writeing and otherwise. Hee saith that the lettre for his invitacion was subscribed by the Earle of Fingall, the Lords of Gormanstowne, Slane, and Lowth, and by most of the gentlemen of the Pale and Comanders then at the seidge. That when hee and his forces came thither, the said Lords and gentlemen of the Pale, at a meeteing at Beuly, gaue a comission to the examinat, signed by the persons aforesaid, appointing the examinat Comander in Cheife of all the forces then at the said seidge. Hee saith that soone after the xxiith of October, 1641, at a meeteing at Monaghan, the examinat was chosen Comander in Cheife of Vlster by Phillipp Mac Hugh O Rely, Collonell Mac Mahon, and Magwyre, and seuerall of the O Neales and Mac Mahons, Maguynes, and others, and a comission for that purpose giuen to him by them. That afterwards by order of the Supreame Councell at Kilkenny the examinat was made President of Vlster. Hee denieth that hee was chosen Earle of Tyrone at the hill of Tulloghoge or that euer hee assumed that title or subscribed any lettre or writeing as Earle of Tyrone. Hee saith that the said Collonell John Barry, beeing very intimate with the Lord of Ormond, it was considered that the said Collonell Barry was at the said meeteings by the priuitie and appointment of the said Lord of Ormond. Hee saith that it was resolued at

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some of the said meeteings that, vppon the change of the Gouvernement, the said Lord of Ormond and the Lord of Gormanstowne were to be appointed Lords Justices of Ireland, and that the sword should be given to them.

Cha : Coote.

Hie : Sankey.

Rob : Meredith.

Hen : Jones.

Phe[lim] O'Neill.

Ant : Morgan.

W. Allen.

Endorsed : The Examination of Sir Phelim O Neile, February 23, 1652[-3].

2. DECLARATION BY JOHN KER, DEAN OF ARDAGH.

Sir Phelim
O'Neill.

I, John Ker, Dean of Ardagh, having occasionally discoursed with the Right Honourable George, Lord Viscount Lanesborough, concerning the late Rebellion of Ireland, and his Lordship at that time having desired [me] to certifie the said discourse under my hand and seal, do declare as followeth :

That I was present in Court, when the Rebel, Sir Phelim Oneal, was brought to his tryal in Dublin, and that he was tryed in that Court which is now the High Court of Chancery ; and that his judges were Judge Donelan, afterwards Sir James Donelan, Sir Edward Bolton, Knight, sometimes Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer ; [*blank*] Dungan, then called Judge Dungan, and another Judge, whose name I do not now remember. And that amongst other witnesses then brought in against him, there was one Joseph Travers, Clerk, and one Mr. Michael Harrison, if I mistake not his Christian name ; and that I heard several robberies and murders proved against him, the said Sir Phelim, he having nothing material to plead in his own defence : And that the said Judge, whose name I remember not as abovesaid, examined the said Sir Phelim, about a Commission, that the said Sir Phelim should have had from Charles Stuart, as the said Judge then called the late King, for levying the said war : That the said Sir Phelim made answer, that he never had any such Commission ; and that it was proved then in Court, by the testimony of the said Joseph Travers and others, that the said Sir Phelim had such a Commission, and did then, in the beginning of the said Irish Rebellion, shew the same unto the said Joseph, and several others then in Court. Upon which, the said Sir Phelim confessed, that when he surprised the Castle of Charlemount, and the Lord Caulfield, that he ordered the said Mr. Harrison and another gentleman, whose name I now do not remember, to cut off the King's broad seal from a patent of the said Lord's, they then found in Charlemount, and to affix it to a Commission which he, the said Sir Phelim, had ordered to be drawn up. And that the said Mr. Harrison did in the face of the whole Court confess, that by the said Sir Phelim's order he did stitch the silk cord or label of that seal, with silk of the colours of the said label, and so fixed the label and seal to the said Commission ;

2. An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State. By John Nalson, LL.D. London : 1683, pp. 528-30.

and that the said Sir Edward Bolton, and Judge Donelan, urging the said Sir Phelim to declare why he did so deceive the people? He did answer, that no man could blame him, to use all means whatsoever to promote that cause he had so far engaged in. And that, upon the second day of his tryal, some of the said Judges told him, that if he could produce any material proof that he had such a Commission from the said Charles Stuart, to declare and prove it before sentence should pass against him, and that he, the said Sir Phelim, should be restored to his estate and liberty. But he answered, that he could prove no such thing; nevertheless, they gave him time to consider of it till the next day, which was the third and last day of his tryal. Upon which day, the said Sir Phelim being brought into the Court, and urged again; he declared again, that he never could prove any such thing as a Commission from the King: And added, that there were several outrages committed by officers and others, his aiders and abettors in the management of that war, contrary to his intention, and which now pressed his conscience very much; and that he could not in conscience add to them the unjust calumniating the King, though he had been frequently solicited thereunto by fair promises and great rewards while he was in prison. And proceeding further in this discourse, that immediatly he was stopt [and], before he had ended what he had further to say, the sentence of death was pronounced against him.

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Sir Phelim
O'Neill.

And I do further declare, that I was present, and very near to the said Sir Phelim, when he was upon the ladder at his execution; and that one Marshal [blank] Peake, and another Marshal, before the said Sir Phelim was cast, came riding towards the place in great haste, and called aloud, Stop a little, and having passed through the throng of the spectators and guards, one of them whispered a pretty while with the said Sir Phelim, and that the said Sir Phelim answered, in the hearing of several hundreds of people, of whom myself was one, I thank the Lieutenant-General for his intended mercy, but I declare, good people, before God and his holy angels, and all of you that hear me, that I never had any Commission from the King for what I have done, in levying or prosecution of this war, and do heartily beg your prayers, all good Catholics and Christians, that God may be merciful unto me, and forgive me my sins. More of his speech I could not hear, which continued not long, the guards beating off those that stood near the place of execution.

All that I have written as above, I declare to be true, and am ready, if thereunto required, upon my corporal oath to attest the truth of every particular of it. And in testimony thereof do hereunto subscribe my hand, and affix my seal, this 28th day of February, 1681[-2].

John Ker, Locus Sigilli.

APPENDIX.

LXXXII. LETTERS FROM COLONEL JOHN JONES, COMMISSIONER
IN IRELAND FOR PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

1. COLONEL JONES TO MAJOR SCOTT.

Honored Sir,

1652-3.

1. March.

Col. Jones
to
Major Scott.

The Lord is pleased (by varyous providences) to afford some matter of late to communicate unto you, to teach us our strength is in him who guidis the affaires and counsellis of men, according to his eternal purpose and will, and that wee have noe strength or wisdom of our owne whereon wee may relye.

I shall first mention those particulars wherein God is pleased to owne his weake instruments, as the delivering of Inis Buffin, and the rest of the adjacent islands, into the Parliament's possession; the articles of surrender are sent to the Parliament and counsell, and may be thought suteable to the difficulty of gaining of that place by force.

Questionless that service was owned by God, for during all the time of that Treaty, there was soe greate a calme that our shippis ridd in safety close to the island all the while, which they could not possibly have done if any winde had been stirringe, as Captain Clarke informs us; secondly, the delivering of several islands in the loughs in Ulster to our forces, in one of which Sir Phelim O'Neale was taken, and was yisterday tryed at our High Court of Justice at Dublin, and condemned of High Treason, and within a few hours a period will be given to his high titles as being created Earle of Tyrone, by the Ultaghes, according to their rude solemnities, Prince of Ulster by the Pope's Commission or Bull, Generall of all the Leinster and Ulster forces, by commission from the Lords of the Pale, and the Prince and cheefe actor in the horrid massacres and rebellion, by commission from the late Charles Stuart, as himselfe hath often confessed, and published in his manifestas; all which was made good by evidence at his tryall. This course of inquisition after blood, and doeing exemplary justice, is terrible to this nation; insoemuch that the murderers hearts faint, and their joynts tremble even to admiration, when they come to the barr. This cruell monster of men when he came first to the barr was scarce able to stand for trembling, or to speak for teares. I beleefe that some of their guilte of murthers have driven many out of late, insoemuch that the rebbles are lately growne numerous, and have beene instruments to give us some sharpe rebukes. About the 6th of February, neare Ranville Castle, in Er-Conaught, almost over against Inis Buffin, 800 Irish fell (out of an ambush in a narrow pass) upon 270

foote, which were marching that way to meete the forces that went by sea to reduce Buffin, and routed them. In this ingagement Captain Hassett, who commanded the party, and Captain Weston, Lieutenant Lewis and Lieutenant Hall, and about 46 private souldiours were slayne; yet the remainder of the party rallyed, and routed the enemye, and the enemy rallyed, and our party routed them the second tyme; butt being foote and strangers they could not pursue to considerable effect. A Captain of the enemy and some more men were slayne, and our own armes, and the enemyes armes upon the last rout were recovered by oure men, and the next day they took Lieutenant Generall Burke in the island, which I hope will be delivered up to justice. The Lord Muskerry is lately landed at Corke, and sayes he will cast himselfe upon the Parliaments mercy, pretending that clergie in Spaine had determined to murther him, and that Portugal would not entertayne him, of all which I beleve but my share; he is sent for to Dublin in salva custodia.

In Kerry, and Corke, and those parts very many are gone out lately; Colonell O'Silliuan Beere, and Colonell O'Driskall, and divers others who formerly came in on Muskerry's articles, are gone out, and reported to be 1500 men strong. They have taken [*blank*] Islands, in the Bay of Bantry (as I take it), for recovery of which place forces are ordered both by sea and land; those Muskerry rebbles fell upon one Captain Gibbons and 40 musketteres with him, killed the said Captain, Lieutenant Boone, Ensign Booth, and 34 private men, 6 only escapeing. The enemy then lost a Captain, a Lieutenant, and 6 men, and 27 wounded; this success made the enemy to attempt to surprise a convoy of about 90 foote, which was goeing from Dingle to force Needham, commanded by Lieutenant Lambart, with provision for that garrison, who being come within two myles of the fort, the enemy appeerd unto him, conceived to be in number 800, and thereupon the whole party left the carriadges, threw down there armes and ranne to Colonell Macffinnen's howse, being not farr off, except the Lieutenant and sixe men, who it seemes stood and were slayne; the enemy pursued them to Macfinnin's house to put them all to the sword, but Macfinnin being not soe unhospitable or barbarous as his neighbours would have him to bee, protested that himselfe and every man with him would dye in their own defense, unless they would accept of a ransome for the men, which being (with seeming difficulty) accepted, Mcffinnin payd the money presently and sent the men home. I have been the more particular in these two, because in them the Lord seems to rebuke us, and yet he does not leave us without daily testimony of his love and tenderness towards us. A party from Limerick fell lately upon those that are out in that county, and killed about 60 of them; the like number were killed by Corke forces lately, and at another tyme about 40; and this day we have intelligence from Colonell Barrow that Trinity Island, in the county of Cavan (as I take it), and some other island thereabouts, are delivered up unto him, and that he is now before Cloughwater Castle, and hath by a fiery floate burnt their boates or cottres (as he hopes), and with sluges hath burnt their corne, and hopes in a short tyme it will be rendered or quitted. This is their most confiding garrison in Ulster. God hath brought them very low, both in spirit and number in the north. There is noe way to reduce this land to a perfect and lasting peace, but by removing all heads of septs and priests and men of knowledge in armes, or otherwise

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Col. Jones
to
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in repute, out of this land, and breaking all kinds of interest among them, and by laying waste all fast countreyes in Ireland, and suffer noe mankind to live there but within garrisons, for which end Declarations are going out to lay wast the whole county of Kerry, and a great part of the countyes of Corke, Lymerick, Typerary, Clare, Galloway, Roscommon, Sligo, etc., the whole countyes of Letrime Fermanagh, Cavan, Tyrone, Monaghan, and Ardmagh, except peeces of barrownyes in some of them not considerable. Likewise part of Longford, Meath, and Lowth, bordering upon those countyes; the whole county of Wicklow, and part of King and Queen's countyes. I am afrayd I have too much presumed upon your patience in soe tedious a narration, butt your goodness will beare with more faults then this in

Your reall and humble servant,

J. J[ones].

Dublin, 1 March, 1652[-3].

2. COLONEL JONES TO MR. MORGAN LLOYD.

Most deare and beloved in the Lord,

1652.

Col. Jones

to

Morgan
Lloyd.

Yours of the 21st of the 5th came to my hand this day. I have not time to make knowne our wants unto you in this poore Ireland. The Irish bloody party in all places subdued, except a few in the north who keepe in woods, boggs, and mountaynes, inaccessible with an army, which will require time to subdue them by planting garrisons upon them to starve them, and yet God is pleased to hould forth some tokens of his displeasure; the sickness rages in Galloway and is spread over all that province. It fearfully brake out at Cashell, a few days since the people being taken suddenly with madness, whereof they dye instantly; 20 dyed in that manner in three days in that little towne. The sickness is in Dublin and countrey about, but not soe violent as in other places, but few escape that have it. Mr. Richardson, our auditor, sometimes a member of Allhallowes Ch., came home with us on Munday night, and the next day his wife, his maid, and two of his children were visited. Poore Colonell Barrow continues still in the hands of cruell bloody men, who will not release him under £2000 ransome, or pardon to them for their murders. I desire in behalfe of the servants of God here that our fellow members with you do earnestly seeke the Lord on our behalves, that his mind may be revealed unto us in these his reproofs, and that the Lord may deliver such of his servants as are now cast unto the furnace of affliction. It is good at all times (but especially when the Lord appeares terrible to the children of men by his judgments) to be striving and wrestling with the Lord for a spirit of prayer, of humility, of love, and of the feare of the Lord which proceedeth from love. It is good then to be dwelling with him in the coole under the mulberry trees, in and under his ordinance, not in speculations or unwarrantable empty notions, soaring soe high, that the wings of holy zeale are —, Gospell ordinances and administracions accounted contemptible and carnall, and esteemed yokes, not priviledges, from whence must follow a fearful and a hideous falling downe into the sea of perdition. These things I mencion, because some such wee have in Ireland; Lieutenant Colonel Bowen is gone soe farr in that way, that he

is become a professed Athiest, and is shortly to come to his trial for the same; there be some others of that way towards Corke. The Lord helpe us to watch over our spiritts, and to disserne this spirit of Delusion, this Dragon's Tayle, that strikes soe many professors out of the Church, whose fall shakes and darkens heaven, makes poore weake saints stagger. I have not time to enlarge, nor to write to my boy, nor other friends at present; I desire you to remember me to them. The Lord give you much comfort of your little one.

Your assured friend in Christ,
Jo. Jones.

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to
Major Scott.

LXXXIII. ARTICLES WITH COLONEL DONOGH O'CONNOR, 1652-3.

Articles of Agreement between Commissary Generall Reynolds, and Colonel Donogh O Connor, concluded at James-Town, March 19. 1652.

19. Mar.
Colonel
Donogh
O'Connor.

1 That the regiment under the command of Col. O Connor, and such parties as shall joyne with him, shall lay down armes at a randevvouz at Roscomon or Tulsk on the 25 of March instant, to such persons as Commis. Gen. Reynolds shall appoint.

2 That Col. Donogh O Connor's regiment, and such party as shall lay downe armes with him, shall have liberty to transport themselves into Spaine or any other country in amity with the States of England, and likewise the benefit of any agreement which they can make with the forreigne agents for that purpose.

3 That the regiments and parties shall have 14 dayes free-quarter upon their laying downe armes, and in case that within the said time the agreement before mentioned cannot be perfected, such further time shall bee allowed as the Commissioners of Parliament shall think fit, whereby they may be enabled to subsist untill the time of transportation.

4. That in their way to the water side free quarter or thoroughfare shall be allowed unto them.

5 That if no agreement can be made with any foreign agent, that then Commis. Gen. Reynolds shal afford his furtherance and assistance to procure such conditions as others of the Irish party have received at any time formerly.

6. That all officers and souldiers under the command of Col. O Connor, who shall lay downe armes at the time and place aforesaid, and shal transport themselves shal be indempnified for all things don by him or them; provided it extend not to exempt those from a tryal, or pardon who were guilty of the massacres or robberies committed upon the English at the beginning, or any murther since.

7 That all the clergy belonging to the party shall have liberty to go away, provided they had not a hand in murther, and do not exercise their function within the quarters during their stay, and that a list of their names be delivered at their randevvouz at Roscomon.

8 That the officers and souldiers that shal lay down arms at the randevvous

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aforesaid, shall be protected in their goods, and enjoy their personal estates if they desire to stay in the nation, otherwise to have licence to make saile of their goods, and the benefit of the former articles, in order to their transportation. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the day and year above written.

Donogh O'Connor. Ro: Mullit.

LXXXIV. ARTICLES WITH ULSTER PARTY, 1653.

1653.
27. April.
Articles
with
Ulster party.

Articles of Agreement betweene Collonel Theophilus Jones and Phillip Reily, on the behalfe of himselfe and his partie, and the Lord Eniskillin, Collonel Miles Reily, Collonel Mac Mahonne, Collonel Hugh McGueer, Collonel Conn O'Neil, Collonel Dannel O Cann, and such others of the Ulster partie as shal accept thereof by the 18th of May next, or before ensueing the date hereof.

1. Pardon of life and indempnety for all things don by his partie, except murther and robbery att the beginning, or any murther since and violation of protection.

2. Liberty of transportacion and that the benefitt of any agreement which they can make with the Spanish Agent, or any other in amity with the State, and protection to such as desire to remaine in the nacion.

3. Leave to make sale of their goods before there departure, and the enjoyment of their personall estates by such of them as desire to live in the nation.

4. Satisfaccion for their horses att reasonable prices.

5. Priests or any other in Popish orders to goe away with in one month: Provided during their stay they excersies not their function during there stay, and had no hand in murthers, massacres and robberies.

6. Such as are transported to have foureteene dayes free quarter after their laying downe armes and throughfare to the watter side.

7. That Collonel Reily with the partie now with him on the west side of Loughern lay downe their armes, and deliver such forts in the islands, with all the amunicion and provision therein that is in his powre, at or before the 18 of May next, at Crohan, and Collonel Hugh Mc Guier's regiment to lay downe their armes the 18 of May next, at Belcove fort, in the county of Fermanagh, and all others of his partie included in these articles are to lay downe their armes in the severall counties where their quarters are, in such places as the Governors of the severall counties shall apoynt.

8. That such Collonells of Collonel Relie's party as shall att any time, before the day of their laying downe armes, declare to the Governors of the respective countys or guarrisons there, being included in these articles, by giveing in an hostage for each of their performances to the said Governors, that then the said Governours, are to give to the respective Collonels and their companys, passes to secure them from the violence of the souldiers until the day of their laying downe

armes, they acting nothing prejudicial to the Comonwealth of England to their armyes or guarrrisons. APPENDIX.
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9. That the respective officers have liberty to dispose of their horses for their best advantage to any of the Parliament's party, as likewise liberty to weare their traveling armes. 27. April.
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10. That Major Charles Reily remaine as hostage, att the guarrrison of Lismore, for the performance of the laying downe armes of Collonel Phillip Reilly's regiments both of horse and foote, att the time and place aforesaid, as also for the delivering of all such forts, in islands, with all the amunicion, provision, and other utensells of warr, in any of the said forts that is now under his command; by provision is meant, that which is laid in for the publique store.

11. That in case the Lord Gennerall Fleetwood and Commissioners of Parliament assent not to the confirmacion of the above articles, att or before Wedsonday next, being the fourth day of May, that then these articles are to bee voyd and of none effect, and Major Charles Reilly is thereupon to bee returned safe unto Collonel Phillip Reilly, who is likewise to be freed from any ingagement by the above-said articles. In wittnes of all which, wee haue hereunto interchangably sett our hands and seals this 27 of Aprill, 1653.

Wittnes present,
Phi: Reily
Will: Thurnhill.

Phillip Reily.

I doe hereby engage and promise that upon notice given unto mee, by Collonel Jones of the Lord Gennerall Fleetwood and Comissioners of Parliament's confirmacion of the articles concluded betweene the said Collonel Jones and myselfe, bearing date this day, to deliver the Castle of Cloughwater, with all the armes, amunicion, provision, goods, and whatsoever elce is in the said Castle, to Collonel Jones, or to whome hee shall apoynt, for the use of the Comonwealth of England, as wittnes my hand, this 27 of Aprill, 1653.

Phillip Reily.

The explanacion of the article concerning murther given to Collonel Phillip Reilly himselfe is as followeth: Hee is not esteemed guilty of murder, except hee had actually a hand in a perticuler murder, or did comand the same, or except hee was present or had comanded when a perticuler murder was comitted by persons under his comand by his order—provided hee had no knowledge thereof before it was don, nor is it thereby intended that any kild in fight in the open feild at any time since the begining of the Rebellion, bee decreed and adjudged murther. Dated 27 Aprill.

Signed: Theo: Jones.

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LXXXV. CLAIMS OF ADVENTURERS FOR LANDS IN IRELAND, 1653.

An Order of the Councill of State now siting at White-hall.

Whereas divers of the inhabitants of this Commonwealth did, in the yeare 1642, and since, issue forth considerable sums of money by way of adventure for lands forfeited in Ireland (upon the late Rebellion) according to sundry Acts and Ordinances of Parliament granted in that behalfe, in pursuance whereof, and that every adventurer may receive satisfaction by lot, where his dividend of land shall be, it is therefore ordered by the Councill of State, that Methusalah Turner, of Cheapside, London, linnen draper, Robert Hammon, of Broadstreet, London, merchant, Henry Brandriffe, of Walbrook, London, merchant, Nathaniel Manton, of Ironmonger-Lane, London, merchant, Elias Roberts, of Broadstreet, London, merchant, Doctor Hubbard, Francis Glomer, Esq; Col. George Gill, and Lieut. Col. Fenton, or any five or more of them be intrusted and are hereby authorized to examine the truth of all mens claims, by comparing their receipts and assignments with the original books, and shall cause an entry to be made in a booke fairly written and kept for that purpose, of all and every such sum and sums of money (in words and not in figures) as shall be by them allowed; as also of the names as wel of the first adventurers, as of the person or persons now claiming the same: And shall likewise cause a transcript of the said originall bookes to be written, and therein make from time to time as they shall allow of any sum a memorandum upon the sum so by them allowed and there entred; that the same is allowed, to the end the same may not be again charged. And the said committee, or any five or more of them after the claims are cleared, shal contrive and appoint such a method for the management of all mens lots as to their utmost skil shall be most free from all offence, and just exception. And to the end all adventurers for lands in Ireland may have knowledge, and take notice hereof: It is further ordered, that in Grocers Hall, London, upon the twentieth day of July next insuing, being in the yeare of our Lord 1653, by eight of the clock in the morning this lottery shal begin. And the said committee, or any five or more of them are further ordered to admit so many adventurers to joyne in one and the same lot as shal desire it,

Provided no one lot exceed ten thousand pounds, and no more lots for the province of Munster then shall amount unto one hundred and ten thousand pounds. For the province of Leinster, two hundred and five thousand pounds. For the province of Vlster forty five thousand pounds, accounting all monies as doubled brought in upon the ordinances of the 14 of July 1643. and the 30 of November 1647. to make up the said sums; and in the second alotment for counties, no one lot to exceed five thousand pounds; and no more lots for the county of Waterford then shal amount unto twenty thousand pound: for the county of Limerick thirty thousand pounds: for the county of Tipperary threescore thousand pounds: for

the county of Eastmeath fifty and five thousand pounds: for the county of Westmeath threescore and ten thousand pounds: for the Kings County forty thousand pounds: for the Queens County forty thousand pounds: for the county of Antrim fifteen thousand pounds: for the county of Downe fifteen thousand pounds: for the county of Armagh fifteen thousand pounds; and after allotment is so made, to ascertaine what quantity of land is due to each of the said adventurers, according to the rates for the respective provinces, mentioned in the Act of Parliament in that behalfe, and the measure allowed by the said respective acts and ordinances, within which such adventurer comes: but for avoiding the inconveniencies that may arise from observing English and Irish measure, in the surveying and setting forth of the said lands, and that neverthelesse the adventurers to whom it doth belong, may have the benefit of Irish measure: It is ordered, that for such of the adventurers as have a right thereunto, the said committee shall compute and set downe how many acres English measure such adventurers proportion in Irish measure doth amount unto: and shal accordingly give unto each of the said adventurers a certificate, what number of acres (according to English measure) is due unto him, either by force of the said act, or in lieu and satisfaction of his proportion of acres Irish measure, according to the said former acts and ordinances, which certificate under the hands and seals of any five or more of the aforesaid Committee, shall be a sufficient warrant for every adventurer receiving the same to make his claim in Ireland. And the said committee shall cause an entry to be made in a book for that purpose, of all and every certificate and certificates which they shall give to any person or persons, expressing the sum in words and not in figures, the name of the first adventurer, and of the person to whom such certificate shall be given, together with the proportion of lands due to him, as the same shall be contained in the said certificate: and shall cause a transcript thereof in a parchment roll to be made and transmitted into the chamber of London, there to remain as a publick record.

Provided alwaies, the right of election for provinces in the manner of allotment, be preserved unto such as have, or shall claim the same upon the ordinances of the fourteenth of July, 1643. and the thirteenth of November 1647. And it is further ordered, that the said committee be authorized to receive one penny upon the pound, of and for every adventurer, for so much land as he shall be entituled or lay claim unto, towards the defraying of all incident charges here for carrying on this service.

John Thurloe, Secr.

LXXXVI. ORDER OF COUNCIL IN FAVOR OF LONDON COMPANIES, 1654.

Tuesday, the 29th of August, 1654.

At the Councell att Whitehall.

Whereas it doth appeare, upon the petition of the Companyes of London and examinacion of the matter, that the Society of the Governor and Assistants, London,

LXXXVI. MS. in the Library of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

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of the New Plantation in Ulster, in the Dominion of Ireland, and the severall Companyes of London and their under tennants, by means of a sentence in the Star Chamber, in the time of the late King, and judgment in the Exchequer and scire facias thereupon, have been most unjustly and illegally put [out] of possession of severall lordships, manors, territories, castles, fortes, messuages, lands tenements, houses, mills, rents, services, woods, underwoods, advowsons, tithes, courts, fishing, rivers, waters, watercourses, ferryes, immunities, customes, subsidyes, tunages, poundages, and divers other hereditaments, rights and privileges, in the Dominion of Ireland, heretofore granted unto the said Society by the letters patent of the late King James : which said sentence was afterwards, in the year one thousande six hundred forty and one, by severall votes in Parliament resolved that the citizens of London, and all those against whome the judgment was given in the scire facias, should be discharged thereof, and that the said citizens and all those of the said New Plantacion, and all under tennants and others put out of possession of the premises or any parte thereof, should be restored to the same possession they were in before the said sentence in the Starr Chamber : Now for that it doth seem very reasonable and just that the said cittizens of London and Companyes and their under tennants, and others concerned therein, should be restored to all and every the premises and their respective rights and interests therein, which his Highness and his Councell doe judge, cannot bee so properly effected but by new letters patent to be granted by his Highness to the same or the like effect as the former was ; therefore, it is ordered by His Highness the Lord Protector and the Councell that the said Citizens of London, if they thinke fitt, may sue forth new letters patent thereof accordingly ; and in the meane time, untill the same be obtained, it is ordered that the possession of all and every the premises, and of what ever else is granted in the said former letters patent unto the said Society of Governor and Assistants, to be forthwith restored to the said Society, cittizens of London, and Companies thereof, and their under tennants, according to their respective rights therein, and that all and every the new tenants, occupiers or possessors of all or any the premises or any parte thereof, other then those that can justly clayme any right, title, or interest from the said Society, cittizens of London, or Companyes or any of them, shall and doe peaceably and quietly surrender and yield up unto the said cittizens of London and Companies, or to their assigns or such as shall be authorized by them or either of them, all and every the premises they or of any them stand seized or possessed of, and that all and every person or persons whatsoever whom it doth or may concerne doe take notice thereof at their perill and doe yield, render, and pay all and every their rents, services, tithes, imports, customes, duties of tonnage and poundage, and all other rights and duties whatsoever unto the said cittizens of London and Companies and their assigns and under tennants according to their severall and respective rights therein in such manner and form as they should or ought to haue donn if the said sentence in the Star Chamber and Judgment thereupon had never beene or made.

W. Jessop, Clerk of the Councell.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS, NOTES, ETC. APPENDIX.

Vol. I., page 2.—*Keatinge, in his Irish monuments, and Connall Geoghegan, in his Englishe annualls.*—The works here referred to are the History of Ireland, compiled in Gaelic, early in the seventeenth century, by Geoffrey Keating, D.D., under the title of *Forus Feasa air Eirinn*; and the manuscript compilation in English, A.D. 1627, by Connall Mac Geoghegan, styled the “Annals of Clonmacnoise,” and dedicated to “his brother,” Terence Coghlan.—See Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. London: Spottiswoode.

Keating.
Mac Geoghegan.

Vol. I. page 5.—*The Earl of Desmond.*—The author here, by an oversight, confounds Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, who was executed at Drogheda, in 1467-8, with Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, who was killed in 1581.—See “History of the Viceroys of Ireland,” by J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., 1865: pp. 386, 589.

Earls of
Desmond.

Vol. I. page 6.—*Finysh Morrison in his chronicle.*—“An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent: First in the Latine tongue and then translated by him into English.” London: 1617.

Fynes
Moryson.

Vol. I. page 6.—*Brian O'Neill.*—Hugh O'Neill's son, Brian, was murdered at Brussels in 1617. See vol. i. p. 298.

Brian O'Neill.

Vol. I. page 12.—*Patrick Darcy, but more truly Dorchy, a Galway man.*—The native Irish sept of O'Dorchaidhe or O'Dorey anciently occupied the district of Partraighe or Partry, nearly co-extensive with the present parish of Ballyovey, co. Mayo. Some of the sept of O'Dorchaidhe assumed the name and arms of the Anglo-Norman house of D'Arcy, under a fabricated pedigree, an analysis of which will be found at page 47 of the “Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach,” edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D. for the Irish Archæological Society, 1844.

Darcy :
Dorey.

Vol. I. page 25.—*Colonel Montroe—descended of the O'Kahans of the north.*—This is also stated in the Scotch pedigrees of the Monro family. Monro referred to his own Irish extraction, in his letter to Owen O'Neill, vol. ii. p. 203.

Monro.

Vol. I. page 49.—*Clunaise skirmish.*—The engagement at Clones, included here among the events of 1642, took place in June, in the following year. See vol. i. p. 790, and vol. iii. pp. 199, 200.

Clones, 1643.

Vol. I. page 57.—*Roconnell skirmish.*—A “Relation concerning the Fight at Rathconnell” on the 7th of February, 1642-3, was appended to “The True State

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and Condition of the Kingdom of Ireland, sent to the House of Commons from their Committee there, whose names are signed thereunto, viz. Robert Reynolds, Robert Goodwyn, both Members of the said House." This account, printed at London, in March, 1642-3, confirms the statements in the "Aphorismical Discovery," and the references to Captain Brian, who went over to the Irish from the troop of Sir Thomas Lucas.

Bethlehem
Convent.

Vol. I. page 58.—*Convent of Bethlem*.—This convent, situated about five miles from Athlone, was of the order of St. Clare. The Abbess was the daughter of Sir Thomas Tuite, of Tuitestown, co. Westmeath.

"Dial of
Princes."

Vol. I. page 112.—*Dial of Princes*.—"Relox de Principes," compiled by Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Guadix, and first published in 1529.

Vol. I. page 237.—*Ceann coguis law*.—This is referred to as follows by Spenser, in his "View of the State of Ireland," Dublin: 1633, p. 25:—"Another Statute I remember, which having beene an auncient Irish custome, is now upon advisement made a law, and that is called the custome of *Kin-cogish*, which is, that every head of every sept, and every cheife of every kinred or family, should bee answerable and bound to bring foorth every one of that sept and kinred under it, at all times to be justified, when hee should be required or charged with any treason, felony, or other haynous crime."

"Bernardino
da Corte."

Vol. I. page 285.—*Clanricard then* [1648] *in Kilkenny was the Bernardino da Corte in Ormond's packe*.—"Barnardino da Corte, a Pauese, and an old seruitor of the Duke, by him greatly advanced is put in trust by his master with the keeping of the impregnable castle of Millan, before Ascanio the Duke's owne brother, who offered to vndertake the charge. At his departing from the citie, he leaues with him three thousand soldiers vnder trustie captaines, with prouision of victuals, munition, and mony, for many moneths, hoping ere long to returne out of Germanie with great succours. This castelan not enduring one shot of the cannon, or any appearance of danger, sels the place within twelue daies after the Duke was gone, for a great summe of money: a conduct of one hundred lances, and a pension for life: besides many other fauours and priuiledges. An act so infamous and hateful, as euen the French themselues to whom he betraid it, abhorred him and shunned his company and fellowship, as if he had ben some venomous serpent. In so much as playing at cards, they wold call for Barnardino da Corte, when they were to pul for a traitor (a sort in their pack, as knaues are in ours), to his perpetual reproach. With the shame hereof, and sting of a guilty conscience, he was so tormented, as within few daies he languished and died."—*Aphorismes Civill and Militarie of Fr. Guicciardine*. London: 1629, p. 276.

The Cathach.

Vol. I. page 299.—*The Cathach of Saint Columcille*.—For an account of the Psalter styled Cathach, ascribed to Saint Columba, now in the possession of Sir Richard O'Donnell, Bart., see Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London: Spottiswoode, 1874; also Life of St. Columba edited by Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, 1857.

Pages of the Cathach manuscript have been reproduced in facsimile in the first part of "Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland," London: Longmans, 1874. APPENDIX.

Vol. I. page 631.—*Death of Lord Caulfeild*.—"Sir Phelim O'Neil is handed down by history as the murderer of Lord Caulfeild, his neighbour in the country, and friend in Parliament. Yet he [O'Neill] treated him and his family with great care when he surprised the fort of Charlemont, on the 23rd of October, 1641; and there Lord Caulfeild was kept until the 14th of January, 1642, when he was sent with an escort towards Cloughouter Castle by a similar order, probably from Kilkenny, to that which brought Bishop Bedel thither. They were to rest the first night at Sir Phelim O'Neil's manor of Kynard (now Caledon); but as Lord Caulfeild was entering the gate, he was shot in the back by Edmund O'Hugh, a foster-brother of Sir Phelim, and thus murdered in the absence and without the knowledge of Sir Phelim. That Sir Phelim had no part in this murder is certain, for he was sorely distressed at it, and had O'Hugh committed to Armagh jail for trial for the murder; but he escaped, whereupon Sir Phelim had the sentry hanged for his connivance or neglect." "This calumny has prevailed in spite of the contemporary reports of Sir Phelim's worst enemies in his favour. Thus,—from Dublin, 1641-2—'The Lord Caulfeild was most barbarously murdered at Sir Phelim O'Neale's house, where he was shot dead with a brace of bullets by a foster-brother of Sir Phelim, when Sir Phelim was from home. Sir Phelim O'Neale, at his return, caused his foster-brother and two or three villains more to be hanged, who were conspirators in the death of the Lord Caulfeild.' 'A Relation of the present State and Condition of Ireland' 4to. London: 1641-2."—The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland. By John P. Prendergast, Barrister-at-Law: Dublin: 1875, p. 63.

Lord Caulfeild
and
Sir Phelim
O'Neill.

Vol. I. page 659.—*Owen O'Connolly*.—Proceedings of Council of State, London: 1648[-9], March 5.—Lieut.-Col. Owen O'Connolly came to Derby House this day, as promised in his bond given in Ireland. Owen O'Connolly.

1649, March 31.—Mr. Scott's report concerning Lieut.-Col. Owen O'Connolly to be reported to the House.

1649, April 7.—The petition of Lieut.-Col. Owen O'Connolly to be reported to the House.

1649, April 10.—To write to Col. Monk to proceed with the trial of Lieut.-Col. Owen O'Connolly, upon the evidence already obtained, as the council cannot determine the matter without reporting it to the House, where it may be very long, and there is great need of his service.

1649, April 11.—Order in Parliament that the pension of £200 a year conferred upon Col. Owen O'Connolly by Parliament, and the arrears thereof, be paid out of the £50,000 assigned to be paid out of Delinquents' estates for Ireland.

That the committee concerning Irish affairs sitting in the Star Chamber be required to see the order performed, and Mr. Scott take special care thereof.

1649, April 13.—To write a letter to Sir Charles Coote, concerning Lieut.-Col. O'Connolly, similar to that to Col. Monk of the 11th inst., with the desired alteration.

1649, July 23.—Order in Parliament that £100 be paid to Mr. O'Connolly, for

APPENDIX.
Owen
O'Connolly.

his charges in his employment for service of the Parliament, and that the Council of State take care for present payment thereof.

1649, August 3.—The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's letter from Swansea of the 30th inst. [ult.] on behalf of Lieut. Col. Owen O'Connolly, referred to the Irish Committee.

1649, August 12.—Warrant by Council of State for payment of money: "1649, August 12. From D. and C. lands, exigencies. To Walter Corey. Object: To enable him to return to Ireland, he coming over with Col. O'Connolly, but being left out of the list when the others were provided for. Sum: £10. 0. 0."—Calendar of State Papers, 1649-50, by M. A. Green. London: Longmans, 1875. For further notice of O'Connolly, see note at page 385, of present volume.

Vol. I. page 682.—*Il Colonello Fenel*.—This is probably an Italian misreading of Ferrall for Fennell.

Colonel
O'Hagan.

Vol. II. page 111.—*Sheane O'Hagan, Lieutenant-Colonel to Bryan Roe O'Neill*.—The Ulster party and O'Hagan are mentioned in the following letter, extant among Lord Clarendon's papers at Oxford:

"May it pleas your Excellencie,

"Vppon notice of the approach of the Vlster partie, I writt vnto them to march, accordeing to your Excellencie's orders, into theyr owne countrie, where they were desired for the aduancement of the publique service; letting them alsoe knowe that, if they did not, I shoulde indeavour to bring such of them as should com into this countie to an accompte for it; and then hoping they woulde be perswaded (at least) to keepe out of this countie; I onely intended to gett Collonel Buller to make som shew of marcheing this way, meaneinge to stopp him at two or three myles end. Butt, findeing by Hagan's second letter that his men were quartered in the countie, I thought it woulde be needefull to have him com through, and if the Vlster partie be gon this day, I will send him away to-morrow. I sead your Excellencie Hagan's letters, to the end you may know whether they sorte with the orders he pretends to have or not. I hope you will please to dyne to-morrow with

"Your Excellencie's most humble and faithfull servant,

"Inchiquin.

"Inchiquin, 25 Aug. [16]50.

"For his Excellencie, the Lord Liuetenant-Generall of Ireland.

Endorsed: "Lord President of Mounster. Dated and received 25 Aug. 1650. He has sent back the Ulster party to their own country."

Malone
and
Ussher.

Vol. II. page 120.—*Father Mallon's Reply to Doctor Usher, Primat of Ireland*.—Printed, in 1627, with the following title: "A Reply to Mr. James Vssher his Answer. Wherein it is discovered how answerlesse the said Mr. Vssher returneth. By William Malone, of the Society of Iesus."

Vol. II. page 127.—*Gaoidhil, etc.* "The Gaels and the foreigners are making

united, firm battle against the host of the Saxon, who are not constant in their alliance." *Teile, etc.*—"Excess of afflicting bondage." *Tug Dia, etc.*—The subsequent Latin is given as an equivalent for this Gaelic passage.

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Vol. II. page 137.—*Eyena taken.*—"We had likewise a more large and exact account from Col. Hewson, dated as the former, with the names of the officers taken, and the articles of the surrender of Finagh :

Capture
of Finagh,
1650-1.

"Sir, I marched from Dublin, and the places adjacent with 1600 foot, and 700 hors the 21. Febr. to reduce several garisons in Westmeath, and prevent the raising of forces there, which I had much notice of; when I came to Teeroghan I heard Preston and Dungan did straiten a garrison of ours in the King's county, I marched to Terril's pass for its relief, and there heard that Commis. Gen. Reynolds had dispersed them; I then wheeled towards Mullingar, and took in Kilbridge defended against me, where I found 200 barrels of corn; the next day marched to Mullingar; when I came there, the enemy quitted Tuetstown and Disert, both which I have garrisoned; I heard that Col. Reynolds had taken Donore, and 500 barrels of corn, and put most of them to the sword; I rode over to him, and we both agreed to fortifie Ballimore, which the enemy quitted, and now is made very tenable again. I marched to Ballimallock a considerable pass upon the Aine, and took it, and Sir Tho. Nugent's castle both in one day; then I marched to Finagh where I had notice all the Ultoghs would be there to defend that place: the last night I encamped by the castle upon the toughes [*sic*] and raised a battery, and at the third shot this morning, the enemy did quit the castle, and run away; we pursued, killed, and devoured most of them, and hasted to Finagh, where Phelim Mac Hugh, with 1500 foot was marching away on the other side of the river. We found an old foord and marched over 400 horse, and my regiment of foot, and sent them under the command of Sir Theophilus Jones, who pursued them, fell upon them, and kild Colonel O Cahan, and divers considerable officers, and about 400 privat souldiers, and took the prisoners in the inclosed mentioned. In the interim I attempted to storm Finnagh, but drew off with the loss of two men. I did summon them, then they desired hostages to come and treat, which I granted; in the interim came Commissary Gen. Reynolds, who was within 3 or 4 miles of us the last night, with his party, and we jointly did give them the conditions in the inclosed; and so this considerable garison is reduced to the Parliament's obedience; and I hope this march hath so startled the enemy, that he will have no heart (I hope he shall have no opportunity) to form an army, or raise forces on this side the Shannon this year: And hereunto hath the Lord brought us, and manifested his presence with us.

"Finnagh, 14 Martii, 1650[-1].

"Articles agreed upon between Commissarie-Generall Reynolds, Collonell Hewson, and Christopher Nugent, Capt. upon the surrender of Finnagh, this 14. of March 1650[-1], on the behalf of Major Christopher Dardis and the rest of the officers and souldiers in the said garrison of Finnagh.

"Imprimis. That the garrison of Finnagh be imediately surrendered in half an hour unto Capt. Hoare, who is appointed to receive the same.

APPENDIX.
Capture
of Finagh,
1650-1.

" II. That all the ammunition, stores, and provisions that are in the said garisons be delivered unto the said Captain, the said stores being in no way imbezelled or wasted.

" III. That the governor of the said garrison, Major Christopher Dardis shall be a prisoner at war, and have his parole for 14 days after the date hereof.

" IV. That all the rest of the officers and souldiers that are in the said garrison, shall march forth with their armes, for one mile, at which place they are to deliver their armes to those that shall be appointed to receive them, where they shall have a safe conduct to Ardagh in the county of Longford.

" V. That the said officers and souldiers of the said garrison, are permitted and suffered to march to their own garrison, for three dayes, during which time no hostility is to be acted against them, they acting nothing prejudicial to the state of England.

" VI. And that Captain Nugent and Cap. Cruise, remain hostages for the performance of the forementioned articles, dated 14. March, 1650[-1].

John Reynolds.

Jo. Hewson.

" A list of the prisoners taken at the fight neer Finagh, by the party under Colonel Hewson.

" Colonel Alexander Mac Donnel. Lieut. Col. John Mac Donnel. Major Darby Mac Donel. Capt. Donnell Mac Kay. Cap. Patrick Mac Cormack. Cap. Hector Mac Neal. Ca. Tirlagh O Quin. Cap. Patrick O Mullan. Ca. Arthur Mac Donnel. Ca. Donnel O Neal. Ca. Miles Reyley. Ca. Donnel Brady. Ca. Farrel Magaulye. Ca. Shane O Kernan. Lieut. Tirlagh Reyly. L. Archibald Mac Donnel. L. Brian Mac Dennis. L. Donnel Reyly. L. Owen Reylye. L. John Brady. L. Tho Brady. L. Tho. Fits Patrick Brady. L. Tirlagh Brady. L. Owen Mac Kerry. L. Phelim Mac Donelly. L. Phelim Mac Mulvyc. Ensi[gn] Tirlagh Rely. E. Hugh Relye. E. James Brady E. Brian Mac Carney. E. E. Brian mac Carney; Hugh Brady. E. Tirlagh Mac Keoghan. E. Edmond O Mulcahil. E. Phillip Mac Redan. E. Donnel Mac Gillaspirk. E. Phelim Mac Codan. E. Donnel O Neale. E. Donnel Mac Gee. E. Cormack Kavanagh. E. Hugh Mac Clemen. James O Hord, Quartermaster. Private soldiers and non Commission officers, 376."*

Vol. II. page 270.—*Irish Proverb*:—The purport is, that, by the pressure of necessity, persons are pushed on to success.

Articles
between
Ormonde
and
Owen O'Neill

Vol. II. page 300.—*Articles between Ormonde and Owen O'Neill, 1649*.—The transcript of these articles preserved in the Carte Papers, and here printed, appears to have been made with little care. Another copy, formerly in the possession of Edmund Borlase, author of the "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion" (London, 1680), is extant among the Sloan MSS., in the British Museum. This latter copy bears the date of 12th October, and concludes as follows:

" N. Plunkett. R. Barnewalle. Signed, sealed, and deliuered by the above named Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barnewall in the presence of vs:

* "Mercurius Politicus," London: 1651, No. 42, pp. 685-6.

Westmeath; Taafe; Daniell O'Neyl; Walter Nugent; Alex. Warren; James Flemminge; Thomas Nugent; Hugh Butler; Jo. Macabe."

The discrepancies between the Carte and British Museum transcripts are as follow :

APPENDIX.
Articles
between
Ormonde
and
Owen O'Neill.

CARTE PAPERS.

Heading.

Articles of agreement.
Agreed upon between.
Torlaugh O'Boill, of Cilldoris.
His parties.
The twentieth day of October.

Section 1.

Accorded, concluded.
The Bishope.
Others of the.
Concerning the Church livingses.

Lejtj.

Section 6.

Delenquence or enemyes estate or land.
His executors.
Estate or land.

Section 7.

Conditions.
Advance.
Coustoms.

Section 9.

The resident Commissioners.
Those of the said provence that submitted to the late peace, and the three none-resident to be chosen in like manner.

Section 14.

The one and twentieth of October.

Section 16.

Theire respective honnors, proprietors, or hereof.

Section 18.

Bryan Mc Phelim Brunse.

VOL. III.

BRITISH MUSEUM MS.

Heading.

Articles of peace.
Agreed upon by and between.
Tirlagh O'Boyle.
His partie.
The 12^o October.

Section 1.

Concluded, accorded.
The Bishops.
Others, the.
Concerning the Churches and Church livingses.
Laity.

Section 6.

Dilenquents lands and estates.
His Excellencie.
Estates and lands.

Section 7.

Custodiums.
Adherents.
Custodiums.

Section 9.

The Commissioners.
Those of the Residents to be chosen in like manner.

Section 14.

The 22th October.

Section 16.

The respective owners or proprietors, whereof.

Section 18.

Bryan Mc Phelim Birne.

3 D

APPENDIX.
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O'Connell.

Vol. II. page 337.—*Colonel John Hamilton, who killed [Owen] O'Connell.*—1649.—“While he [Venables] was here [at Belfast] he sent out a party under Lieutenant Colonel Conally, who was encountered as he marched to Antrim by George Monro, and a good strength of horse, and routed; Conally was there slain by Colonel John Hamilton. Such are the dispensations of the Almighty, as he did not live to receive the fruit of so great service as he had done to that kingdom, in discovering the plot. Moses saw the good land, but never entered.”—*History of the Irish Rebellion.* London: 1680, p. 225.

“We will leave Crumwell for a time, . . . and see what Collonel Venables is doing in the north, and Collonel O'Conally, who came over with Crumwell, and was to raise a regiment at Antrim forthwith (if he lived), where daily he got allarms of Colonel Hamilton and his small party of horse to be up and down the quarters next adjacent. On which Conolly went to Belfast and got from Collonel Venables two troops, consisting of about eighty horse, under the command of one Captain Reaper and Captain Lestrangle, who on their march coming by those hills from Leel, perceived Hamilton and his party near D——, north east of the bridge, on which they made haste, swearing nothing but that they would not face them.

“And so they advanced to them, Collonel O'Conally in the head of the forlorn, who charged up a lane, being so narrow they could not draw above half a dozen in a breast, and the other drawn so behind a killn, that Conally could not see them till he had his flank to their front, and so he charged them hotly, and Hamilton charged them in their flank so close that he put them to disorder, and to retire, and kept in so close amongst them, and those before Conally of his own party so close to him, that they fell confusedly on one another, that they could not rally or would not till all took the real route.

“And so most of them [were] killed with Captain Reaper, and Conally [was] taken prisoner, and got quarters, and a guard put on him to send him to Coleraine. But he prevented them, for being suffered to be on his own fleet mare, as they thought [he was safe] for the horseman kept next to him, the rest of the guard being at some distance, he gave him a leg and struck him backwards with his hand and tossed him off his horse; on which he would be away, but there being one on the guard had an eye after him, being well mounted, and [named] Hamilton, whose brother Conally killed in a duel upon a sudden falling out at Lisnegarvy the year before, went into the backside to decide the matter, after the first or second pass killed him, whose name was Captain Hamilton of Sir James Montgomerie's regiment—which his brother revenged, and gave Conally a kick and killed him, which by the law of arms he might do, in regard he broke his quarters. Then Conally's body was carried like a sack on a horse to — that night, and next day was sent for and interred at Antrim. The man was as stoute as could be desired, but of no more conduct than a man hot ired.”—“*The History of the Warr of Ireland from 1641 to 1653.* By a British Officer.” Dublin: 1873, pp. 92-4.

Axtel to
Preston,
1650.

Vol. II. page 406.—*Suggestions of Mr. Axtell to the governor of Waterford.*—The letter of Axtel to General Preston, referred to by Dean Boyle (p. 406), and by Ormonde (p. 411) in his letter to Cromwell, is given as follows in the letter from Sir Lewis Dyve to the Marquis of Newcastle, Hague, 1650:

"The Governor of Rosse his Letter to Generall Preston commanding in Waterford.

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"My Lord,

Axtel to
Preston,
1650.

"Having had experience of your Lordships honour, and civility, and considering the condition of the place under your command, what by contagiousnes within your citty, and the sword about it, and the regardles inconsiderableness of your party for your releife, induces me to sympathize with your Lordship, I haveing now a seasonable opportunity to offer such conditions to your Lordship, as may befit such a person of honour to accept hereof; and blemishes and objections being removed, you have no lesse presidents then the Lord of Ormond, and the Lord of Inchiquin; their Commissioners, and the Lord Lieutenant Generall Cromwell for each, and in behalfe of both parties have concluded for their comming in to the Lord Lieutenant General Cromwell, and to take up armes that will, others to goe beyond seas, with their equipage within two monthes. This was confirmed, and ratified last Friday at Fetherd. And I would not tell you a false thing for rockes of pearle; if you please to be so fortunate to your selfe, and family, as to adhere to this offer here inclosed they shall be confirmed under the Lord Cromwells hand, and seale, upon the capitulation, and agreement betwixt your Lordship, and my selfe, for the surrender of the citty to the use of the State of England; If you please, I shall meet you for a personall treaty, where you shall appoint for better satisfaction, and during our meeting, or going from it, no acts of hostility to be committed on either side, of which I assure to your Lordship if your Lordship promise the like to mee; And for the citizens they shall have the same conditions, as Rosse had, which is now a flourishing place. In tendernes to your Lordship, and the citty, that both may be preserved, and in a happy condition, I did pre-veyale to make these overtures, and negotiation, desiring your Lordship's answer I remain,

"My Lord, your Lordships humble servant,

D. Axtel.

"Rosse, April 30, 1650.

Vol. III. page 21.—*Major General Hugh O'Neill and Alexander Mac Donnell sent into England.*—Proceedings of Council of State, London: 1651[-2], January 16.—Twenty shillings a week to be allowed to Major-Gen. O'Neale for subsistence, as long as he is kept a prisoner.

Major-General
Hugh O'Neill,
and
Alexander
Mac Donnell.

Major-Gen. O'Neale to be committed close prisoner to the Tower, for being in arms against Parliament. The charge of the hire of the chamber in which he shall be kept prisoner to be paid by the State.

Col. Mac Donnell to be committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, for having been in arms against Parliament, and strict charge given to the keeper to have a special care of him. Two shillings a day to be allowed him whilst kept a prisoner.

[The Committee for Examinations] also to send for Major-Gen. O'Neale and Col. Mac Donnell, and examine them as to the correspondence held between the Irish and any other foreign states or princes, and report. To signify to the

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Lieutenant of the Tower that he is not to suffer any officer belonging to the Tower to take anything from Major-Gen. O'Neale upon his commitment, and if there be any fee due, the State will see it satisfied.

Major-General
Hugh O'Neill,
and
Alexander
Mac Donnell.

1651[-2], February 19.—The allowance of twenty shillings a week made by Council to Major-General Hugh O'Neill to be paid him out of the exigent money of Council, as also the hire of his chamber, and he to have the liberty of the Tower. Col. Alex. Mac Donnell to have the allowance of fourteen shillings a week made him at his commitment out of the contingent money of Council.

1651[2], March 16.—Mr. Frost to peruse the bills brought him from time to time by the keepers of Major-Gen. O'Neill and Col. Mac Donnell, and to pay such sums as he shall judge fit. 1652, April 1.—The servant of Major-Gen. Hugh O'Neill to have a pass for Ireland, he first bringing the letters which he shall carry with him open to the Clerk of the Council to be perused, and nothing being found therein prejudicial to the public.

Warrants of the Council of State: "1651[2], January 16. From Council of State. To Lieutenant of the Tower. Subject: To receive Major-General O'Neale and keep him close prisoner, for being in arms against Parliament.

"1651[2], January 16. From Council of State to Keeper of Newgate. Subject: To receive Col. Mac Donnell, and keep him close prisoner." Calendar of State Papers, 1649-50. Edited by M. A. Green. London: Longmans, 1875.

The following letter, relative to Major-General O'Neill in 1652, has been preserved among the Thurloe Papers (vol. i. p. 212):

"Propositions of the Spanish Ambassador to the Council of State [London] for leave to enlist a certain number of Irish in the King of Spain's service.

"Don Alonso de Cardenas del consejo de su mag. Catt. y su embaxador al parlamento de la republica de Inglaterra dize que en $\frac{1}{2}$ de Junio ultimo pasado escrivio un papel al muy honorable consejo de estado, pidiendo se sirviesse de conceder a su mag. Catt. el numero de Irlandeses que juzgasse conveniente y señalar algunos S^{res} del consejo con quienes pudiesse conferir cerca de lo particular de la leva y transportacion de dha gente a los dominios del rey su señor, y siendo V. S. nombradas para este efecto lo que propone y desea es prim^{te}. que pueda tener licencia para levantar en Irlanda, y transportar a los dominios del rey su S^{or} el numero de Irlandeses de que el honorable consejo de estado juzgare conveniente de hazerse a quien quanto mayor fuere el numero lo farà la obligacion de su mag. Catt.

"Desea assi mismo el dho embaxador, y suplica al consejo le haga favor de dar libertad al mayor general don Hugo O'Neill que aora se halla preso en la Torre de Londres atento a haver nacido en Flandes, y ser vasallo de su mag. y a no haver tenido parte (segun està informado, y cree el dho embaxador) en las primeras insurrecciones de Irlanda, ni en los excesos que en aquel tpo se cometieron, y a que será muy a proposito para facilitar dha leva, haziendole cabo de una parte della como lo será, en caso que el consejo le haga dho favor, pues por su experiencia en la gerra, y por el parentesco que tiene con muchos de aquella nacion, se piensa podrá sacar gran numero de aquellos pueblos, y recibiendo estefavor el dho embaxador offrezze empenar su palabra de que el dho mayor general O'Neill ni los Irlandeses

que se levantaren, y se huvieren transportado en los dominios del rey su S^{or} tomaràn
armas contra la republica de Inglaterra. Fha en Londres a 27 de Julio 1652.

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Major-General
Hugh O'Neill.

“Don Alonso de Cardenas.

Vol. III. page 22.—*About the twentieth of November.*—The precise date would
appear to be the 29th of October, 1651. See p. 257.

Vol. III. page 70.—*Protest against Colonel John FitzPatrick.*

“By the Nobility, Clergie, Gentry, Commanders and Officers of the Province
of Leinster.

“Whereas, Colonell John Fitz Patrick hath bene, by his Majestie's Cheife
Gouernor of the realme of Ireland, advanced first to a captaine of horse's place,
and soone after to the place of a colonell of foote, by vertue whereof he raised both
horse and foote, and by countenance of those places of honor and trust conferred
vpon him did exceedingly enrich himselfe, and by the vnrestrained liberty of plunder,
given by him, became soe numerous as raised his ambition to such an
vnnaturall height of sin and ingratitude, as contrary to his allegiance to his
Maiesty, the sacred tye of his publike oath taken by him and of his priuate
engagement to his comander in cheife subscribed by him, and seuerall publike
vowes and protestaciones soe lately made and taken by him in the Provinciall
Assembly at Leinster, even at the very time hauing consented to a generall appli-
cation for the nation dispatched in his sight, being resolved to prove a reprobate,
or rather, an apostate to his religion, and loyalty and fidelity to his King and
country, an absolute breach of the trust reposed in him, and euen at that time when
his Maiestie's Deputy of this kingdome writte for, and requested a nationall treaty
for the settlement of this realme, hath most treacherously and perjuriously, prefer-
ring his owne particular before the publike interest, entred to an agreement and
capitulated with persons entrusted by the Parliament of England for condiciones
tending to his owne peculiar advancement, assenting most inhumanly to the exclu-
sion of his owne father from life and fortune, and articling priuatly for his owne
estate in reuersion, making noe mencion of the like, for such as he intended to
embarke with him in his wicked exployts and attcheivments meereley to deceiue
them, and vndertaking to draw off his Maiestie's army vnto some or seuerall sea-
ports of this kingdome four thousand foote and four hundred horse, to be trans-
ported to the service of some forreigner in league with the Parliament or be
employed here at the State's eleccion, without providing in either of the said agree-
ments for the vse or exercise of the Catholicke religion, euen in one villadge of the
kingdome, rendering thereby all the interest incident to a nation a prey to his most
impious and unparrelleld ambition: and, in pursuance of the same agreement,
hath, and doeth still act, and contriue all the wayes and meanes he may to put his
wicked designes in execucion, by which vnnaturall perpetraciones, and indeavors,
he hath not onely giuen the first example and president of treason and perfidie of
the most dangerous consequence to the safty and preservacion of this kingdome,

Protest
against
Colonel John
Fitz Patrick,
1652.

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Protest
against
Colonel John
Fitz Patrick,
1652.

but alsoe hath administred cause to the enemy to promisse themselues greater assurance that others will runn the like score, to the great disadvantage of the nation in all their proceedings, as by the severall experiences, since his defection, was found, for which the said Colonell standeth deservedly excommunicated by the cleargie, and in respect thereof exempted from the congregacion of the faithfull, and in noe sorte to be communicated with. In consideracion whereof, and in discharge of our duty to God, our King, and countrey, and for prevention of the bad effects to be produced by such malicious machinacions, wee doe by this publike instrument protest against Colonell Fitz Patricke, for his said treacherous acts and agreements, as being most destructive and fatall to the Catholicke religion, his Majestie, and leige people, which wee declare to the world, whereby to remaine as an indelible brand of infamie vpon the said Fitz Patricke whethersoever he shall come, and vpon all that doe or shall adhere to him. Whereof wee desire all Christian Princes, States, and Potentates, to whom the said Fitz Patrick shall come, to take notice, and his Maiestie's subiects, specially the naties of this kingdome wheresoeuer they shall meet him.

“Walter Bagnall; Walter Dungan; Lysagh O'More; Rich. Barnwall.

Endorsed: “Read 18 May 1652.”—MS. British Museum, London. Egerton, No. 1048, page 152.

Vol. III. page 86.—Movements in Wexford:

Wexford,
1652.

“Thursday, May 27 [1652]. We had from Ireland an account of a singular piece of service of which we had some notice last week, by letters from Wexford, May 6, thus:

“Sir, these are to let you know of some action that was most gallantly performed by our Lieutenant Colonel Throgmorton: yesterday being the Lords day, Com. Gen. Duncan [Dungan] came with 500 foot and 400 horse before our town and took all the cattell that were about it, left not a cow to give milk, they having intelligence that the garrison was all, or most part drawn out near Ross, some 16 miles from us; we having no considerable party to withstand them, I having command of all the English inhabitants, was commanded to keep the walls for fear of a storm, as they did formerly to Ross; about 12 of the clock they drew off the prey, having received intelligence that Lieutenant Colonel Throgmorton was comming with two troops of horse from Limrick, Captain Boulton's troop, and Captain Franklin's, and had commanded most of the foot out of the out garisons to meet him about Temun, we presently sent messengers to the Lievtenant Colonel, but before they came he was engaged with the enemy; at the first charge they behaved themselves very gallantly and put our men to disorder so that it was doubtfull that our horse and foot would not rally, but it pleased the Lord so to infatuate the enemy, that they had not power to pursue before we had rallied; upon the second charge we beat up their foot to their horse, and so put them to the rout. We killed at least 200, and took few prisoners but officers, pursued them at least two miles, and if we had had day-light, and but 40 fresh horse, I am confident we had destroyed them all. We had 170 horse, and 350 foot, their foot and horse were chosen out of all their

regiments; we lost about 30 men, but never a Commission officer, and about 60 wounded.”—“A Perfect Account of the daily intelligence from the armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the navy at sea, and other transactions of, and in relation to this Common-Wealth. London: printed by Bernard Alsop, 1652. From Wednesday, May the 26, to Wednesday, June 2, 1652.”—Number 74, page 586.

APPENDIX.
Wexford.
1652.

Vol. III. p. 123.—*Mas*, etc.—Gaelic.—“If he be frail, he will betray.”

Vol. III. p. 124.—Spain.—The “Aphorismical” writer does not refer to the matters stated in the following paper, relative to the application of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ulster to the King of Spain, through Father Francis Fox, who is mentioned at page 12, and elsewhere, in the present volume:—

Spain
and
Ulster,
1652.

“That, in the year [16]52, the clergy assembled in the province of Ulster sent Friar Francis Fox to the King of Spain, to complain of their great sufferings by the English, which they conceived was chiefly occasioned by his majesty’s league with the Parliament; and that all the Irish then in arms were such as adhered to the Nuncio and his majesty’s interest; Ormond, Inchiquin, and the rest of that faction having deserted the country.

“That the said clergy and Ulster forces would all swear allegiance to his Majesty, and deliver to him all the holds in their power, if he would relieve them; for want of which many of the nation, hearing they might be received into his service for Spain, laid down arms to capitulate with his agents.

“To which the King answered: Your nation has formerly much depended upon my ancestors, but of late more upon France, as appears by their application thither, and to Rome, and other nations, and valued not me. But, however, now [that] they are pleased to offer themselves to me, and that the other factions are all gone, I will give you one thousand crowns to bear the charges, and my letters to the clergy and army, assuring them that I will give them two hundred thousand crowns a month to maintain the war; and that when I sent White, my agent there, to raise men for my service here, he promised me he would not bring over any that were in arms, only other distressed persons; but this business must be privately carried on, the Parliament’s present power being such that I do not hold it convenient to be publicly known their enemy. And in case you cannot hold out, I will give orders for your transportation hither, and will then give all the men of your nation to be under the command of the Ulster officers, and such others as have been faithful to me and the Nuncio; and you shall have with you my letters to the Ambassador at London, to use his endeavours to procure liberty of religion for the remaining part of your nation.

“The Friar died in Ireland, before he could deliver the abovesaid letters, which are yet forthcoming, having his pass from the King in the name of a Captain employed about his majesty’s affairs (as to other matters, wherein he desired all persons relating to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England (in amity with him) for to take notice, and be aiding to him.”—State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq., London: 1742, i. p. 221.

APPENDIX.

Vol. III. page 130.—*Colonel Richard Grace and Colonel Jerome Sankey.*

Colonel
Richard
Grace,
1652.

"From Roscrea, August 17 [1652].—Colonel Sankey having reduced severall islands and loughs at length drew before Inch-lough, a very strong island in the midst of a great lough, being stockadoed, and having works 12 foot high. The enemy perceiving his resolution to block them up with severall forts (having finisht one in a very considerable place) they sent out to Sankey to have a safe conduct for Colonel Richard Grace to come and treat for the fort, and his whole party, which was accordingly sent in, and an agreement was made and the place surrendred upon articles, the main whereof was, that Grace and his party should have indemnity for past actions in relation to the warr, and have 4 months time to recover their debts and transport themselves beyond-sea, into any nation in amity with the Commonwealth of England, which was yielded unto to avoid the charge and trouble of a 3 months siege.

"Colonel Sankey hath had a sore mortallity among his horses, having lost at least 300 hors by sicknes out of the troops under his command, within few weeks. At his taking possession of Grace's island, he had deliver'd up to him one iron great gun, 119 muskets, 20 and odd firelocks, and 50 odd pikes, a parcell of good arms and well fix't, 3 barrels of powder and 2 of bullet with match proporcionable.

"Fitz-Patrick, Carroll, and O'Dwire are shipt and gon with 1050 men in all, being earnest suitors for more."—"Mercurius Politicus." London: 1652.

Ulster party
and
Parliament-
arians.

Saingel :
Singland.

Vol. III. Pages 137-41. Negotiations between the Ulster party and the Parliamentarians.—The capitulations, here referred to, between the Ulster party and the Parliamentarians, appear to be those embodied in the Articles dated 21st. September, 1652, given at page 347 of the present volume.

Vol. II. p. 195.—Victory at Saingel.—Richard Bourke, of Enniskillen, in a deposition made in July, 1643, stated that "the Rebels speak of a dismal and fatal blow which the English shall receive, say they, in a battle at Cas-Saingel, which they understand to be Singland at the south gate of Limerick: saying that shall be a final end of the war. And thenceforth the Irish alone shall enjoy the kingdom of Ireland to the end of the world." According to the late Dr. John O'Donovan, the prophecy relating to Singland was current, in 1848, among the peasantry in the county of Limerick, where it was believed that the battle would yet be fought.

St. Patrick.

Vol. III. p. 196.—St. Patrick.—The reliquary, still extant, styled in Irish *Fiacail Phadruig*,—"the shrine of St. Patrick's tooth," formerly preserved at Cong, in the county of Mayo.

Diary, 1650-1.

Vol. III. p. 231.—*The annexed map.*—The map here referred to is not now to be found in the manuscript of the Diary.

LETTER TO CHARLES II. FROM HUGH O'NEILL, AS EARL OF TYRONE, 1660.

[SEE PREFACE, PAGE XLVII.]

May it please ^r Ma^{ty}

The Title of Earle of Tyrone being lawfully fallen to mee by the death of my Cousen that was lately possesed of it, I thought it my duty to give ^r Ma^{ty} writt all summitie & account thereof beseeching ^r Ma^{ty} to accept of mee in that qualitee as your most obedient subiect that the world may see ^r Ma^{ty}s grace towards mee is not like then was that of all ^r R^l progenitors towards my predecessours, whereof I have in my Sands authentique papers, further imploring with all dewe respect and summitie ^r Ma^{ty}s grace and pardon for all faults my predecessours or I may have committed against ^r R^l crowne and dignity upon the assurance that ther is not long more in the hearts of all us that remaine of that familie, then to sacrifice our lives and all that is deare to us for the future in in ^r R^l service as ^r Ma^{ty}s most obedient and most faithfull subiects.

And thus I doe not only beseech ^r Ma^{ty} in my owne behalf but in theirs also that shall succeed mee (my longe continued indisposition of healt making me trustly feare my life will not last longe enough to quett mee in those occasions I desire of satisfieing it according to my duty in ^r Ma^{ty}s R^l service (who knowes but god may bless some of them, if hee please to dis-

=pose other wise of mee as to make them
 wortley of that place in ^r Matys esteeme
 and fauourth which ^r Matys R^e progenitors
 of blessed memory haue been pleased to Son or
 Ius. It being the maxime of all great Prin-
 =ces and Monarches (such as ^r Matys is) to pre-
 =sume that where there is good and ancient-
 =ly noble blood, that the deeds and actions
 should corresponde with it.

Your Maty may be gratically plea-
 =sed to beleue, what ever ^r Matys R^e:
 will and intention is towards the family
 that in my owne person nothing shall ever bee
 wanting of the duty and allegiance of aloy-
 =al subject towards ^r Matys R^e Person crowne
 and dig nitye, and that (so for meanes fauouring
 mee to know it) I shall neuer cease to pray
 to god to blesse ^r Matys with all happynesse
 both temporall and eternall as

May it please ^r Matys

^r Matys

most obedient and most
 humble subject and seruant.

Hugh oneill Earle of
 Tyrone

Madrid 27.^e
 of ster 1646

ORIGINAL IN BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

AUTOGRAPH OF HUGH O'NEILL, WHEN COMMANDER IN CLONMEL AGAINST OLIVER CROMWELL, 1649-50.

Hugo neill

ORIGINAL IN ORMONDE ARCHIVES, KILKENNY CASTLE.

GLOSSARY.

- Abilements**, i. 42; ii. 77; iii. 36; equipments.
Abone (French), i. 157; ii. 74; iii. 39, 47; to make good.
Abruinge, i. 117; a-brewing.
Acer, i. 76; acre.
Adishoras (Spanish), ii. 168; untimely, unseasonably.
Admiration, i. 252; wonder.
Affye (French), ii. 118, 151; to confide in.
Albe, iii. 4; all be.
Alferes (Spanish), ii. 57; Ensign.
Allowance, ii. 141; permission.
Alter, ii. 137; altar.
Alumnes (Latin), i. 275; alumni, foster-children.
Amarie, iii. 68; marry.
Ambages (Latin), ii. 151; windings.
Ambashie, i. 80; embassy.
Ambiguous, ii. 131; ambiguous.
Ambo-dexter, ii. 136; ambi-dexter.
Ameane, ii. 37; a mean.
Amishe, i. 128; amiss.
Amusinge, i. 86; ii. 68; iii. 109; pondering.
Anathems, i. 252; iii. 79; anathemas.
Ancient, i. 427; Ensign.
Andanger, i. 235; endanger.
Aneere, i. 175; iii. 136; come near.
Annals, i. 2; annals.
Anothomies, ii. 90; iii. 44; anatomies, skeletons.
Anthidotts, i. 189; antidotes.
Antigoniste, i. 99; antagonist.
Aparance, i. 67; appearance.
Aparent, i. 227; apparent.
Aportation, i. 40; carriage.
Appellation, i. 199; iii. 73; appeal.
Apreses (Latin), i. 274; a præses, a president.
Ascented, ii. 105; assented.
Assecution (Latin), i. 218, 226, 288; ii. 111; iii. 49; following up.
Assevered, i. 90; asseverated.
Asseyses, **Azeizes**, i. 78, 295; assizes.
Assnicale, iii. 74; asinine.
Assure, i. 21, 231; make sure of, secure.
Asswaded, ii. 51; assuaged.
Athor, i. 278; author.
Atonment, i. 117, 159; iii. 19; atonement.
Attestators, i. 246; witnesses.
Attune, ii. 79; a tune.
Auayle, i. 147; avail.
Auer, i. 153; aver, verify.
Auxiomes, i. 183; axioms.
Awivinge, iii. 43; a-wiving.
Baile, iii. 43; ball.
Ballybeatagh, **Balliboe** (Irish), i. 339, 348; ii. 480; subdivisions of land.
Bankroutes (French), ii. 43, 99; bankrupts.
Banes, iii. 121; bans, maledictions.
Banfullnesse, i. 276; banefulness, wickedness.
Banketting, i. 147; banquetting.
Banninge, i. 252; execrating.
Bater, i. 149; batter.
Bawon, i. 60, 260; ii. 19, 22, 69, 133; enclosed space between external walls and fort.
Beare, i. 241; beer.
Beaten soldier, i. 43; experienced soldier.
Bed-red, i. 276; bed-ridden.
Beefes, i. 88; beeves, bullocks.
Beited, i. 217; baited.
Benemerittinge, i. 169, 171; ii. 89; well-deserving.
Beoffes, i. 75; beeves, bullocks.
Beseede, i. 223; besides, in addition to.
Beuray, i. 157; bewray, betray.
Beye, iii. 68; by.
Bidinge, ii. 161; bidding.
Billett, i. 68, 92, 284; a letter.
Bipes (Latin), i. 213; bipennis, two-edged.
Bisks, i. 110; biscuits.

- Bisionos (Spanish), i. 48 ; raw or inexperienced soldiers.
 Bivame (Latin), iii. 136 ; a place where two roads meet.
 Blish, i. 112 ; iii. 59 ; bliss.
 Bloudshuckers, i. 171 ; bloodsuckers.
 Blown, i. 80 ; blown.
 Blydinge, i. 178 ; bleeding.
 Boare, i. 252 ; bore.
 Bocardo (Spanish), iii. 87 ; bocado, extreme point.
 Bomblers, ii. 85 ; bunglers.
 Boode, ii. 32 ; bud.
 Bore, i. 197 ; boar.
 Borrac, iii. 69 ; fortified dwelling.
 Bounde, ii. 25 ; bond.
 Boute-feu (French), i. 698 ; fire-brand.
 Brandized, ii. 97 ; brandished.
 Braveries, i. 115 ; finery.
 Brede, i. 84 ; bread.
 Breefe, ii. 142 ; a brief ; abridgment.
 Breeke, ii. 121 ; brick.
 Brest, ii. 49 ; breast.
 Bride, i. 63 ; ii. 66, 70, 120 ; iii. 42 ; breed.
 Brigatt, iii. 34 ; brigade.
 Brinds, iii. 134 ; brims.
 Bruinge, i. 186 ; brewing.
 Brumalle (Latin), i. 208 ; brumal, wintry.
 Brute, i. 12, 161, 217 ; ii. 46 ; iii. 2 ; report.
 Buggett, i. 88 ; iii. 122 ; budget.
 Buttinge, i. 292 ; boundary.
 Buy, i. 96 ; by.
 By, i. 131, 268 ; be.
 By like, i. 290 ; belike.
 Cabinetts, i. 206 ; iii. 69 ; council chambers.
 Cadation, ii. 92 ; settlement.
 Cadow, i. 539 ; blanket.
 Caducat (Latin), ii. 58, 80 ; perishable.
 Calce (Latin), iii. 25 ; at the end.
 Calefication, i. 63 ; ii. 42, 52 ; iii. 6 ; qualification.
 Calefied, i. 278 ; qualified.
 Caliver, i. 319 ; gun.
 Callagh (Irish), i. 244, 249 ; iii. 80, 140 ; *caillteach*, old woman.
 Campania (Spanish), i. 65, 84 ; ii. 55 ; iii. 19 ; field.
 Canceled, i. 118, 137 ; cankered.
 Canon, i. 273 ; ecclesiastical.
 Cant, iii. 354 ; sale.
 Caoch (Irish), iii. 119, 122 ; blind.
 Carde, iii. 91, 126 ; chart.
 Caribidine, iii. 49 ; Charybdine.
 Carier, i. 9 ; career.
 Carroushinge, ii. 99 ; carousing.
 Cashinge, ii. 74 ; quashing.
 Cashocke, i. 115 ; cassock.
 Cathedratike, i. 277 ; episcopal fee.
 Cathegorically, i. 198 ; categorically.
 Cautelous, i. 60 ; iii. 60 ; crafty, cautious.
 Cauterial, i. 189 ; ii. 88, 98 ; seared.
 Ceann coguis law, i. 237. See vol. iii. 380.
 Ceasinge, i. 270 ; seizing.
 Cede, i. 78 ; ii. 85 ; resign.
 Censer, i. 136, 188 ; iii. 5 ; sincere.
 Censure, i. 173 ; judgment.
 Censures, ii. 42 ; censurers.
 Ceruicall, ii. 87 ; cervical.
 Champion, i. 18 ; iii. 67 ; champagne, level ground.
 Channtler, i. 238 ; chandler.
 Chaunceable, i. 74 ; changeable.
 Chawes, i. 197 ; jaws.
 Cheitinge, ii. 131 ; cheating.
 Chettingest, i. 78 ; cheatingest.
 Chocked, i. 252 ; choked.
 Cide, i. 247 ; iii. 115 ; Cid.
 Clarke, i. 241 ; clerk.
 Clownize, i. 206 ; clownish.
 Cnapsackes, ii. 93 ; knapsacks.
 Coaction, i. 147 ; compulsion.
 Coalinge, i. 191 ; blackening.
 Coaste, iii. 35 ; cost.
 Coche, iii. 123 ; coach, chariot.
 Cogginge, i. 145, 282 ; ii. 43 ; iii. 90 ; cheating.
 Collogue, i. 106 ; iii. 7, 38 ; to talk closely with, to plot.
 Colution, i. 79, 148 ; iii. 28 ; collusion.
 Combred, ii. 128 ; encumbered.
 Comes, ii. 164 ; becomes.
 Comettee, ii. 106 ; committee.
 Comons, i. 172 ; commons.
 Compite, i. 167, 284 ; ii. 85 ; iii. 10, 74 ; to agree with, to correspond with.
 Compited, ii. 117 ; competed with.
 Composure, i. 110 ; composition.
 Conatien, ii. 173 ; iii. 39 ; belonging to Con-nacht.
 Condescended, i. 93 ; ii. 106 ; consented.
 Conflamed, i. 129 ; blazing.
 Conformation, i. 136 ; confirmation.
 Conniève, iii. 70 ; connive.
 Connsailes, i. 179 ; counsels.
 Consaites, i. 179 ; conceits.
 Conogramicall, ii. 62 ; chronogrammatical.
 Conthriuers, i. 239 ; contrivers.
 Contiguum, iii. 51 ; contiguous.
 Controuayle, iii. 104 ; countervail.

- Contumax, i. 197, 228 ; ii. 96, 106 ; iii. 104 ;
 contumacious.
 Conuoy, i. 150 ; convoy.
 Corned, ii. 123 ; hardened.
 Correption, ii. 89 ; diminishing, cutting off.
 Cott (Irish), i. 84, 241 ; iii. 189 ; boat. *See* iii.
 228.
 Couetise, i. 147 ; covetousness.
 Could, i. 172 ; cold.
 Cunctator (Latin), ii. 62 ; cunctator, delayer.
 Course, i. 284 ; coarse.
 Covencing, i. 171 ; convincing.
 Covinence, i. 351 ; covine, fraudulent agree-
 ment.
 Crastination, i. 73 ; ii. 27 ; delaying.
 Creats, Keraghts, i. 50, 209, 320, 341 ; ii. 20 ;
 iii. 120. *See* Preface, vol. i. p. xxxiv.
 Criticke, i. 164 ; critical.
 Crope, i. 254 ; crop.
 Crubb, i. 22 ; ii. 26, 39, 69 ; iii. 105 ; curb,
 suppress.
 Crue, i. 16 ; crew.
 Cruentall, i. 236 ; bloody.
 Cugell, i. 25, 89 ; cudgel.
 Cugles, iii. 114 ; cudgels.
 Cunctation (Latin), i. 161 ; ii. 43, 84-86 ; de-
 laying.
 Cunterie, iii. 6 ; country.
 Currant, i. 19 ; concurring with.
 Cussine, ii. 85 ; cushion.
 Custodiams, i. 78, 294 ; iii. 37, 98 ; terminable
 grants of land.
 Dals, i. 280 ; dales.
 Dannte, i. 239 ; daunt.
 Deboiste, i. 249 ; ii. 98 ; debauched.
 Decease, i. 164 ; disease.
 Deere, i. 221, 286 ; dear.
 Deereful, i. 116 ; direful.
 Defeizance, iii. 102 ; defeasance.
 Defluxed, iii. 122 ; fell away.
 Defuncts, i. 280 ; deceased.
 Demulginge, i. 52 ; promulgating.
 Denne, i. 135 ; to lurk or lie hid.
 Dept, i. 136 ; depth.
 Derogued, ii. 146 ; abrogated.
 Dexter, ii. 53, 60, 77, 95 ; iii. 69 ; dexterous.
 Died, i. 51 ; dyed.
 Dictamen (Latin), i. 107, 136 ; order.
 Dietie, i. 256 ; deity.
 Diffide, ii. 56, 63 ; to distrust.
 Diffinitorium, ii. 2, 109 ; Diffinitory, Council
 of Franciscans.
 Dileame, i. 359 ; dilemma.
 Diluge, i. 46 ; deluge.
 Disannulled, i. 142 ; annulled.
 Discatholic, ii. 69 ; uncatholic.
 Disclaime in, i. 101 ; disclaim.
 Discomodities, i. 93 ; inconveniences.
 Discontended, i. 95 ; discontented.
 Discretorium, ii. 109 ; Chapter of Franciscans.
 Discuishinge, iii. 72 ; discussing.
 Discused, i. 193 ; discussed.
 Disdeceau, i. 254 ; deceive.
 Disgovernment, i. 97 ; misgovernment.
 Disguishe, i. 171 ; iii. 9, 55 ; disguised.
 Disinterested, iii. 57 ; disinterested.
 Distant, iii. 106 ; distance.
 Distined, i. 101 ; destined.
 Distroies, i. 213 ; destroys.
 Disuantagious, i. 291 ; ii. 55 ; disadvantageous.
 Diswade, i. 229 ; iii. 7 ; dissuade.
 Doome, i. 98 ; ii. 109, 160 ; judgment.
 Dottinge, i. 132 ; doting.
 Dragoniers, iii. 117 ; dragoons.
 Drake, ii. 446 ; cannon.
 Duble, i. 174 ; double.
 Due, i. 148 ; do.
 Dumbs, i. 42, 158 ; ii. 162 ; iii. 21 ; dumps.
 Dwarfise, iii. 74 ; dwarfish.
 Easilier, ii. 44 ; more easily.
 Eaue, i. 241 ; eve.
 Ebriete, iii. 91 ; inebriety.
 Edge, i. 260 ; ii. 58 ; iii. 14, 124 ; egg on,
 incite.
 Effluxed, ii. 103 ; elapsed.
 Eftsoone, i. 139 ; very soon.
 Embalshomed, iii. 22 ; embalmed.
 Embeshell, ii. 22, 81 ; embezzle.
 Emblema, iii. 29 ; emblem, enigma.
 Embrion, iii. 140 ; embryo.
 Eminent, i. 158 ; imminent.
 Empeache, i. 220 ; impeach.
 Enfrenchinge, i. 142, 288 ; iii. 12 ; infringing.
 Enuie, i. 159 ; ii. 102 ; envy.
 Ephisonomie, iii. 21 ; physiognomy.
 Epithome, Epythome, i. 173, 256, 290 ; ii. 167 ;
 iii. 10, 44, 90 ; epitome.
 Equipollent, iii. 37 ; equivalent.
 Equirier (French), i. 244 ; ecuyer, esquire.
 Erre, iii. 93, ere.
 Eternished, ii. 66 ; eternised.
 Exchannee, i. 74 ; iii. 40, 122 ; exchange.
 Exemplar, i. 174 ; ii. 34, 42 ; pattern, model.
 Exentricke, i. 271 ; eccentric.
 Exercite, i. 180 ; completed, performed.
 Exhallative, i. 116 ; exhalative, exhaled.
 Exigent, i. 84, 235 ; emergency.
 Experimented, i. 139 ; experienced.

Exploratores (Latin), ii. 79; scouts.
 Exscape, iii. 89; escape.
 Extenuitie, i. 161; ii. 48, 58; poverty.
 Extrauagant, ii. 176; foreign to.
 Extreate, i. 145; estreat.

Fained, i. 135, 275; feigned.
 Falacian, i. 274; ii. 131; deceitful.
 Fardinge, i. 286; farthing.
 Faries, i. 71; fairies.
 Fayler, i. 132; failure.
 Faylers, iii. 2; failers, defaulters.
 Faysable, ii. 35, 174; iii. 54; feasible.
 Fearful, i. 189, 226; timorous, formidable.
 Fearied, ii. 57; ferried.
 Feasons, i. 75; pheasants.
 Feathered, i. 218, fathered.
 Fecall, iii. 13; excremental.
 Fecunde, iii. 6, fruitful.
 Fede, i. 209; fed.
 Feilds, i. 163; fields.
 Felix, i. 33, 105; fortunate.
 Fenche, i. 161, 292; fence.
 Fetches, i. 80, 106; iii. 44; designs, schemes.
 Fewell, i. 253; fuel.
 Fexe, fescue, i. 290; ii. 91; dregs.
 Firme, i. 131, confirmation.
 Fixion, i. 92, 181; ii. 84; fiction.
 Fleame, i. 107; flame.
 Flematically, i. 231; phlegmatically.
 Flenche, iii. 73, 111; flinch.
 Floude, i. 261; flood.
 Fly-butlers, iii. 85; freebooters.
 Foperie, i. 74, 115, 207; ii. 10, 21, 66, 81;
 iii. 35; trifling, foolery.
 Fornaces, i. 130; furnaces.
 Fowle, i. 172; ii. 27, 145; foul.
 Foyle, i. 6; iii. 7; failure.
 Frencie, i. 204; frenzy.
 Fried, ii. 100; freed.
 Froath, i. 279; iii. 74; froth.
 Fumie, i. 61; smoky.
 Fundation, ii. 96; foundation.
 Fundator, iii. 75; founder.
 Furall, ii. 72; thievish.
 Fyne, i. 144; fine.

Gabells, ii. 99; taxes.
 Galed, i. 287; galled.
 Gallien, ii. 90; Galenical, relating to Galen.
 Ganopanne (French), i. 191; "Gaigne-pain,"
 mercenary.
 Gape, i. 15, 48, 118; gap.
 Garrans (Irish), i. 84; ii. 25; iii. 69; horses.
 Garrsone, i. 242; boy, attendant.

Gassetts, i. 90, 248; gazettes.
 Gaue, i. 155; gave.
 Gelte, ii. 121; gold.
 Genious, i. 217; ii. 176; genius.
 Glade, i. 231; glad.
 Glan, ii. 36; glen.
 Gleblande, i. 76; glebe-land.
 Glosses, ii. 82; comments.
 Goastly, ii. 31; ghostly.
 Goshope, i. 99; iii. 59; gossip.
 Granados (Spanish), i. 102; grenades.
 Greened, ii. 43; ground.
 Greeve, i. 81; grew.
 Grosaries, i. 110; ii. 176; groceries.
 Groundlins, ii. 127; groundlings.
 Growte (French), iii. 20; grotte, grotto.
 Gyre, i. 58; iii. 9, 114; jeer.

Hagg ragge, ii. 48; rabble.
 Harbrough, ii. 96; harbour.
 Haynous, ii. 96; heinous.
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 Hearcke, ii. 39; hark.
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 Heathis, i. 189; heathenish.
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 Hott podge, i. 293; hotch-potch.
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 Houers, i. 152; hours.
 Houllinge, ii. 89; howling.
 Houltis, i. 117; iii. 128; strongholds.
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 Ince, i. 78; ii. 80; inch.
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 Ioconde, iii. 20; jocund.
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 Itche, i. 133; annoyance.
 Its, i. 218; it is.

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 Karde, ii. 43; card.
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 Kern, iii. 297; Irish foot-soldier.
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 Kide, i. 278; kite or hawk.
 Kieve, i. 254; keeve or brewing vessel.
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 Lansado (Spanish), ii. 87; infuriated, goaded.
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 Liulihooode, i. 292; livelihood.
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 Maner, i. 132; manner.
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- Meine, i. 239; mine.
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 Mendacia (Latin), iii. 82; falsehoods.
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 Misdeceaeue, i. 237; deceive.
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 Misleade, ii. 105; misled.
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 Moe, ii. 36; more.
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 Monaster, i. 255; monastery.
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 Mortered, i. 59; pounded in a mortar.
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 Moule, ii. 121; mould, make.
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 Myters, i. 278; metres, verses.

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 Naught, ii. 132; evil.
 Naul, i. 131; navy.
 Neaste, ii. 164; nest.
 Neece, i. 77; ii. 85; nice.
 Neegardly, i. 205; niggardly.
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 Nequam (Latin), iii. 25, 53; unjust.
 Netly, i. 20; neatly.
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 Nocumentis, i. 192; injuries, wrongs.
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 Oke, i. 241; oak.
 Ont, ii. 60; on it.
 Opposall, i. 193; opposition.
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 Paterne, ii. 128; pattern.
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 Peepinge, i. 83; piping.
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- Pincht, ii. 120; pinched.
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 Pismeers, i. 294; pismires, ants.
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 Ranke, i. 127; place.
 Rankor, i. 251; rancour.
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 Rash, iii. 25; tear, rend.
 Rasinge, i. 251; racing.
 Rawlinge, ii. 60; rolling.
 Reache, ii. 21; capacity.
 Reallists, ii. 118; iii. 85; realist, sincere, true.
 Rebated, i. 114; abated.
 Recantion, i. 36; recantation.
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 Reefenesse, ii. 80; ripeness.
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 Reepe, i. 155; ripe.
 Reformado, ii. 253; iii. 159; disbanded.
 Reforme, iii. 37; disband.
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 Reigle, ii. 13, 39, 91; regulate.
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 Riffled, i. 152; rifled.
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 Rome, ii. 126; roam.
 Romescot, i. 306; tax.
 Roode, i. 245; the Cross.
 Roote banke, i. 39, 145; bankrupt.
 Rubb, i. 43, 58, 120; ii. 37, 55, 99; iii. 29;
 opposition, impediment.
 Ruffin, i. 123; ruffian.
 Ruinated, i. 212; ruined.
 Runinge, i. 146; running.
 Ruayne, i. 143, 210; ruin.
 Ryall, i. 82; royal.

 Saf, i. 97; ii. 198; safe.
 Saltrie, ii. 60, 89; iii. 118; salty, briny.
 Salue, i. 137; salve.
 Sanidie, ii. 10; sandy.
 Sauor, i. 275, 282; savour.
 Savadg, iii. 67; savage.
 Sawced, i. 284; sauced.
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 Scelerous, i. 277; wicked.
 Sceme, i. 185; scheme, plot.
 Scicophants, iii. 47; sycophants.
 Seonce, i. 30, 84; ii. 45, 98; iii. 106; fort,
 height.
 Scrachinge, ii. 60; scratching.
 Scriuners, i. 9; iii. 90; authors, writers.
 Scroule, iii. 103; scroll.
 Seaferinge, i. 70, 119; seafaring.
 Seauen, i. 220; seven.
 Secludinge, iii. 50; excluding.
 Sedation, ii. 70; quieting.
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 Seisinge, i. 187; seizing.
 Selter, i. 186; settler.
 Semi-dietie, i. 284; semi-deity.
 Senclesse, ii. 99; senseless.
 Sense, i. 167, 180, 210; decision, opinion.
 Sent, i. 282; scent.
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 Sessiogh (Irish), *seisreach*, i. 349; a sub-division
 of land.
 Settle, ii. 24, 166; settling.
 Seuerly, i. 218; severely.
 Shamfastness, i. 225; shamefacedness.

 Shawlopp (French), i. 104; chaloupe, shallop,
 a small ship.
 Sheafes, i. 129; sheaves.
 Sheate, i. 273; sheathe.
 Sheathes, iii. 125; scythes.
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 Shipwrake, i. 66; shipwreck.
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 Shokinge, ii. 101; sucking.
 Shootherly, iii. 140; southerly.
 Shoowre, iii. 134; sour.
 Shotted, ii. 94; shot.
 Showells, ii. 102; shovels.
 Shreude, ii. 175; shrewd.
 Shuckers, i. 156; suckers.
 Shunke, i. 63; sunk.
 Shuttlers, i. 86, 169; ii. 28, 46; sutlers.
 Shwarued, i. 217; swerved.
 Shwifte, i. 83; ii. 67; swift.
 Shwine, i. 258; swine.
 Signed, i. 239; branded.
 Signment, i. 223; association under signature.
 Signorie, ii. 166; domain.
 Sincke, ii. 174; sink.
 Sincks, i. 252; sinks, sewers.
 Skills, ii. 124; matters.
 Skine, skean (Irish), i. 57; iii. 298; *scian*,
 knife, sword.
 Slackinge, ii. 35; slackening.
 Slaightly, i. 79; slightly.
 Sleibhthe (Irish), i. 50, 232; iii. 80; moun-
 tains.
 Slipe, i. 245; iii. 38; slip.
 Sluges, iii. 371; heavy cannon.
 Smale, i. 91, 116; ii. 41, 44, 55; small.
 Smelinge, ii. 112; smelling.
 Smoother, iii. 46; smother.
 Smoothly, ii. 94; smoothly.
 Snakinge, iii. 90; sneaking.
 Sodred, i. 188; soldered.
 Sola, i. 289; sole.
 Somer, i. 87; summer.
 Songed, i. 199; sung.
 Soueraigne, i. 221; sovereign.
 Sourcinge, i. 221; ii. 117; surging.
 Sowre, ii. 42; sour.
 Spanded, i. 252; spanned.
 Spide, i. 240; speed.
 Spitte, i. 252; spite.
 Spronge, ii. 120; sprung.
 Squalled, i. 277; squalid.
 Squemish, i. 276; squeamish.

- Stacke, iii. 9; stake.
 Stager, i. 155; stagger.
 Stamocke, i. 69, 84, 96, 172, 253; ii. 27, 40; iii. 11; stomach.
 Stanes, i. 255; stones.
 Starue, ii. 170; starve.
 Starulinge, i. 152, 263; starveling.
 Statists, i. 76, 218; statesmen.
 Stikinge, ii. 162; sticking.
 Stile, ii. 60; still, distil.
 Stillinge, i. 244; styling.
 Stiple, i. 60; steeple.
 Stiroppe, iii. 106; stirrups.
 Straight, i. 96, 198; strict, strait.
 Straine, i. 172; tendency.
 Stricke, iii. 50; strike.
 Styre, i. 95, 97; ii. 33; iii. 91, 126; steer.
 Styrrer, i. 101, 223; ii. 52, 62; steerer.
 Subreptitious, i. 100; surreptitious.
 Subrogated, i. 140; substituted.
 Sudaine, i. 96; ii. 27; iii. 76; sudden.
 Suites, ii. 142; suits.
 Sumulate, ii. 77; simulate.
 Supreamall, i. 241; supreme.
 Surcease, i. 81; iii. 55; cease.
 Surmishe, i. 5, 142; ii. 180; iii. 6; surmise.
 Surueive, i. 220, 268; ii. 41; survive.
 Suruitiue, ii. 51; surviving.
 Surveywe, ii. 26; survive.
 Sutable, i. 81; suitable.
 Suteth, i. 176; ii. 123; suiteth.
 Sutors, ii. 108; suitors.
 Swarue, i. 153, 161; swerve.
 Sweete, ii. 101; sweat.
 Swimed, i. 83; swam.
 Take up, ii. 132; make up.
 Tale, i. 83; tall.
 Tapissed, ii. 63; lurking, lying hid.
 Tapissied, ii. 127; covered.
 Tary, i. 240; tarry.
 Tate, tathe, i. 339, 349; subdivision of land.
 Teared, ii. 60; wept.
 Tearinge, i. 247; ii. 135; weeping.
 Tearmes, i. 139; terms.
 Teddered, i. 237; tethered.
 Teige (Irish), *Tadgh*, Christian name applied satirically to the Irish.
 Tenalia, ii. 264; out-works in fortification.
 Tenuine, ii. 79; weak.
 Theeues, i. 294; thieves.
 Theevwise, ii. 22; thievish.
 Then, i. 185; than.
 Theoricke, ii. 85; iii. 121; theory.
 They, i. 196; ii. 157; thy, thee.
 Through, i. 254; trough.
 Thwarte, ii. 36, 118; iii. 42; crooked.
 Ticke, i. 51; thick.
 Timerarious, i. 90; temerarious, rash.
 Timeritie, i. 248; temerity.
 Timly, i. 126; timely.
 Tirany, i. 65; tyranny.
 Tode, i. 78; toad.
 Tollsher, i. 37, 244; ii. 171; iii. 73; tholsel, town hall.
 Tooels, ii. 172; tools.
 Touche, ii. 40; agreement, honour pledged.
 Toute, i. 278; disordered person.
 Towe, i. 269; toe.
 Toyes, i. 92; toys.
 Toyles, i. 119; toils.
 Tracte, i. 87; ii. 201; track.
 Traduced, i. 286; reduced.
 Traisse, i. 255; trash.
 Transuert, ii. 2; iii. 80; change.
 Trape, i. 282; trap.
 Trashes, ii. 43; trash, finery.
 Traueller, i. 244; traveller.
 Travayle, i. 147, 164; ii. 34; iii. 8; exertion, labour.
 Treacerie, i. 178; treachery.
 Treague, ii. 174; truce.
 Treates, ii. 133; threats.
 Tribunes, ii. 147; leaders.
 Trinchante, i. 133; trenchant.
 Trincer, ii. 115; trencher.
 Tripe, iii. 136; trip.
 Trippe, i. 189; iii. 37; trip.
 Tritinge, ii. 89; treading.
 Triuiall, i. 292; trivial.
 Troncke, truncke, i. 61, 102, 148; trunk.
 Trothe, i. 120; throat.
 Trowe, i. 218; believe.
 Trusts, i. 83; thrusts.
 Tryale, i. 267; trial.
 Tryan (Irish), i. 348; *trian*, sub-division of land.
 Tuck, iii. 278; a rapier.
 Tugh, i. 151; tough.
 Turkisse, i. 75; turkeys.
 Twesdaie, i. 165; ii. 31; Tuesday.
 Twile, i. 274; it will.
 Tye, i. 132, 213, 225; tie, obligation.
 Tyethes, i. 287; ii. 36, 178; tithes.
 Tyrednesse, ii. 93; tiredness.
 Tyron, i. 59, 162; tyro.
 Tyronizinge, i. 29; tyrannizing.
 Uardian, iii. 73; guardian, warden.
 Uente, i. 251; vent.

- Ulsters, ii. 341; Ulstermen.
 Ultogh, ii. 335; iii. 370, 383; Ulsterman.
 Unexpended, iii. 106; unexpended.
 Uncontroable, ii. 121; uncontrolable.
 Uncredible, ii. 179; incredible.
 Undergoen, i. 205; iii. 6; undergone.
 Undertakers, i. 74; settlers.
 Unfeyned, i. 240; unfeigned.
 Unhabitted, i. 155; uninhabited.
 Unhumane, i. 251; inhuman.
 Unoculus (Latin), i. 49; one-eyed.
 Unreepen, ii. 141; iii. 32; unripened.
 Unshamfully, ii. 26; shamelessly.
 Untyred, ii. 21; untired.
 Unualid, i. 133; invalid.
 Ussed, i. 183; used.

 Vacuation, i. 103; evacuation.
 Vade, wade, ii. 5; to proceed.
 Vagations, ii. 143; wanderings.
 Vaile, i. 166; veil.
 Valerous, i. 174; valorous.
 Vallare, (Latin), ii. 62; corona vallaris.
 Vandaliros (Spanish), ii. 78; bandaliers.
 Vandos (Spanish), i. 35; bands.
 Veine, ii. 145; character, disposition.
 Vendicat, iii. 99; vindicate.
 Venterous, i. 256; venturous.
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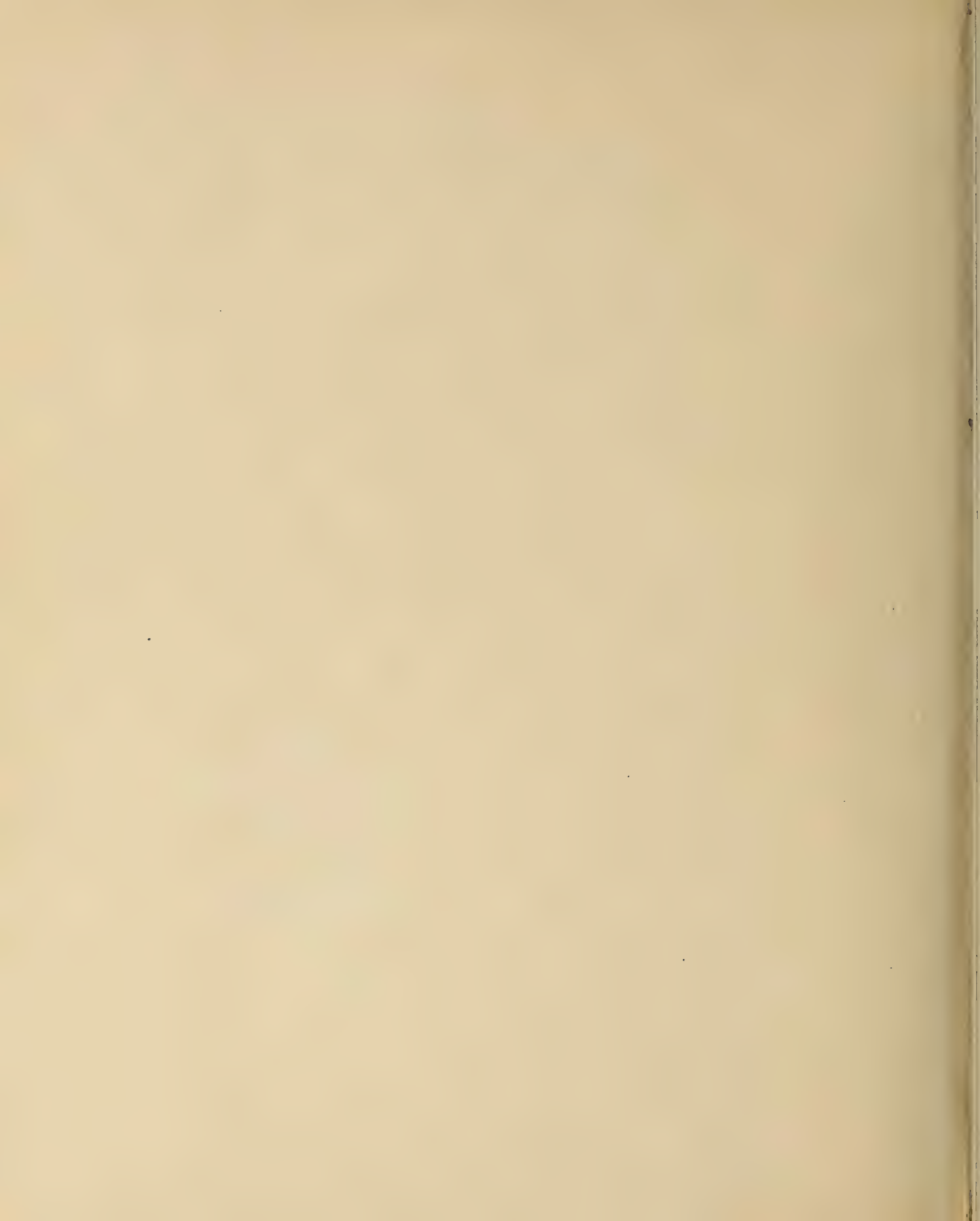
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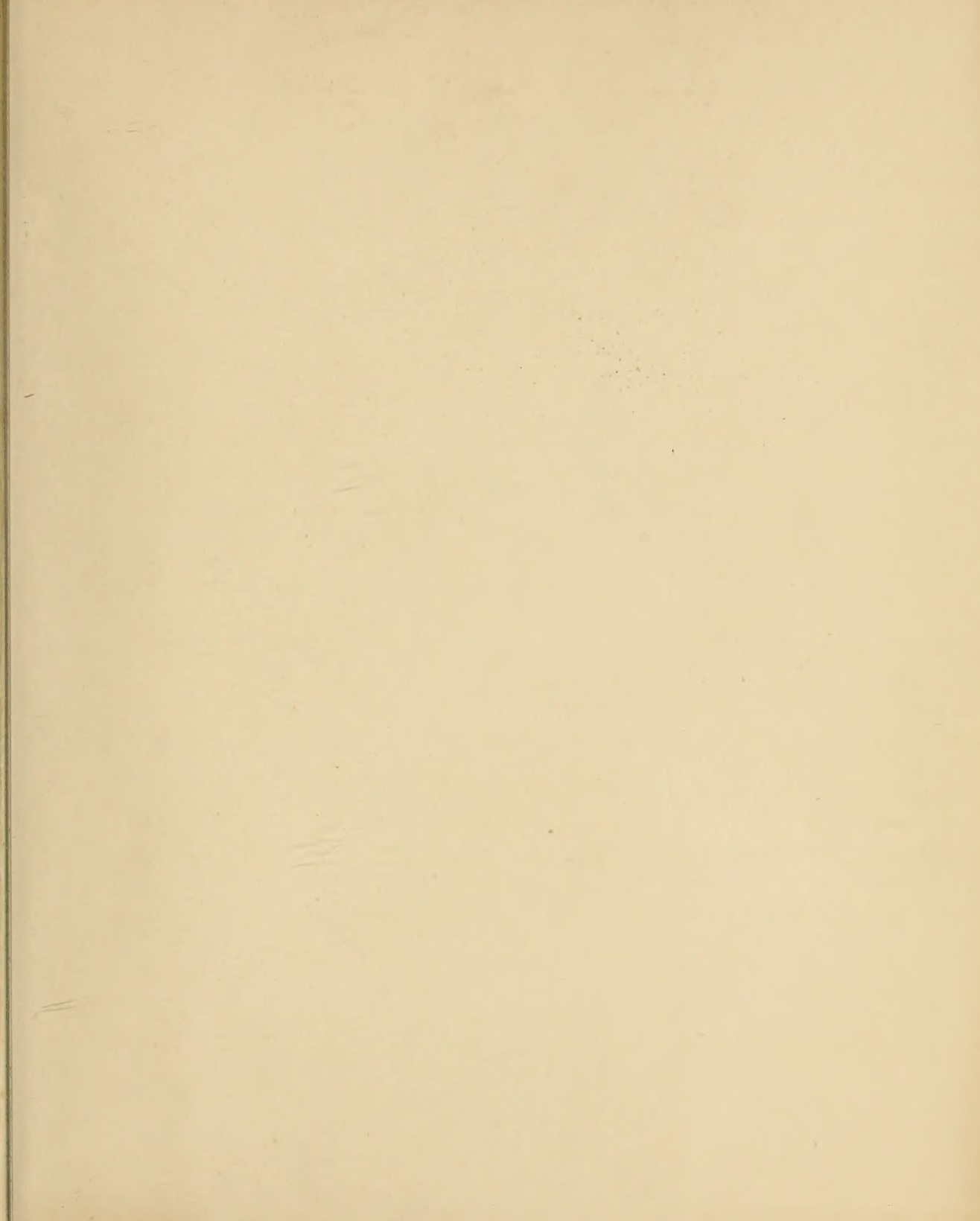
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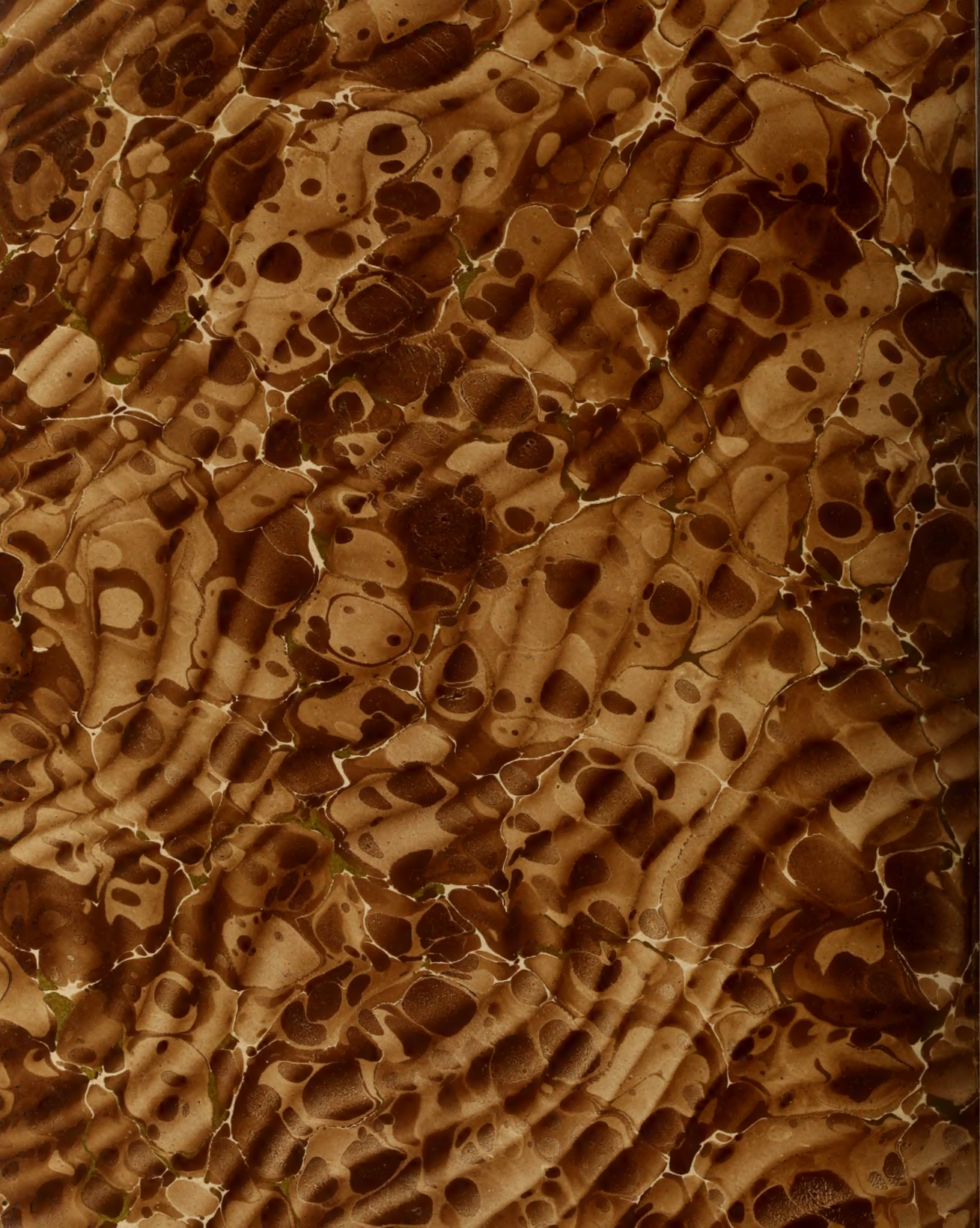
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